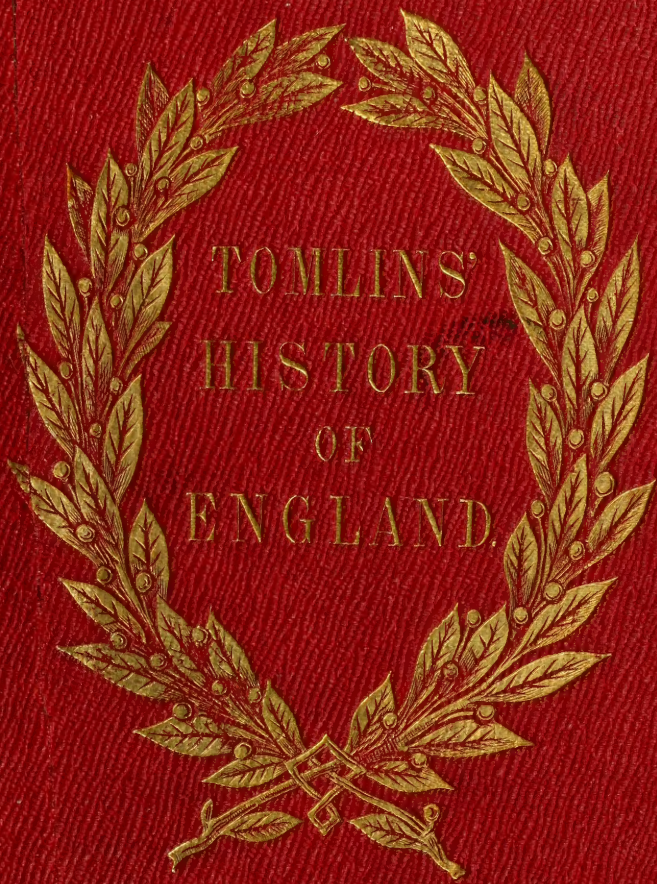


3 1761 08115213 4

TOMLINS'  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.







*Presented to the*  
LIBRARY *of the*  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
*by*  
ONTARIO LEGISLATIVE  
LIBRARY



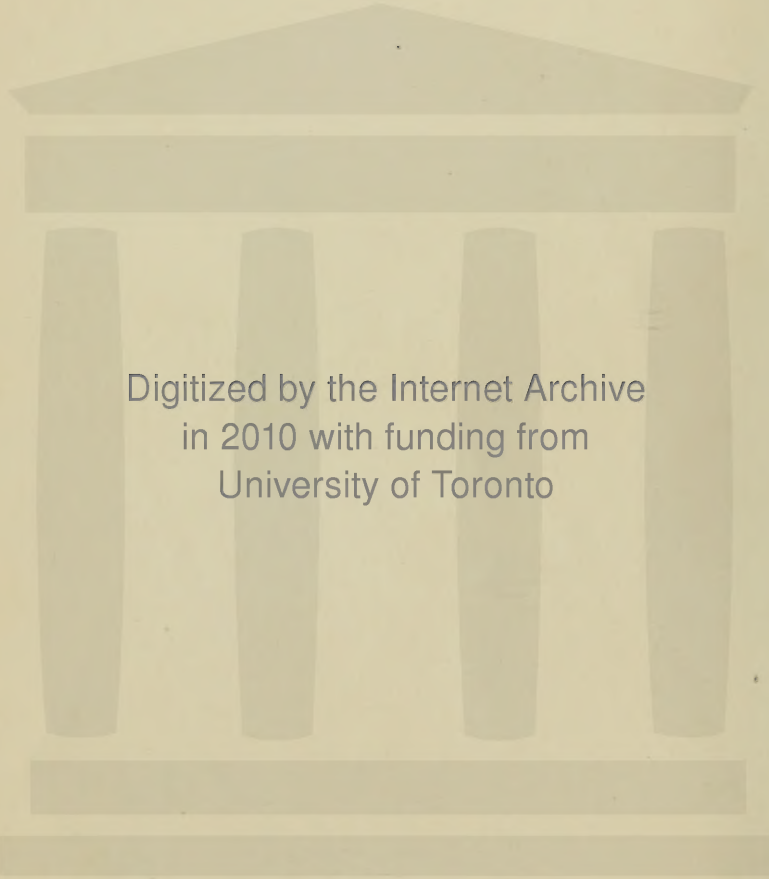
bip

L 2, 10, 0

3 vols

\$p





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2010 with funding from  
University of Toronto



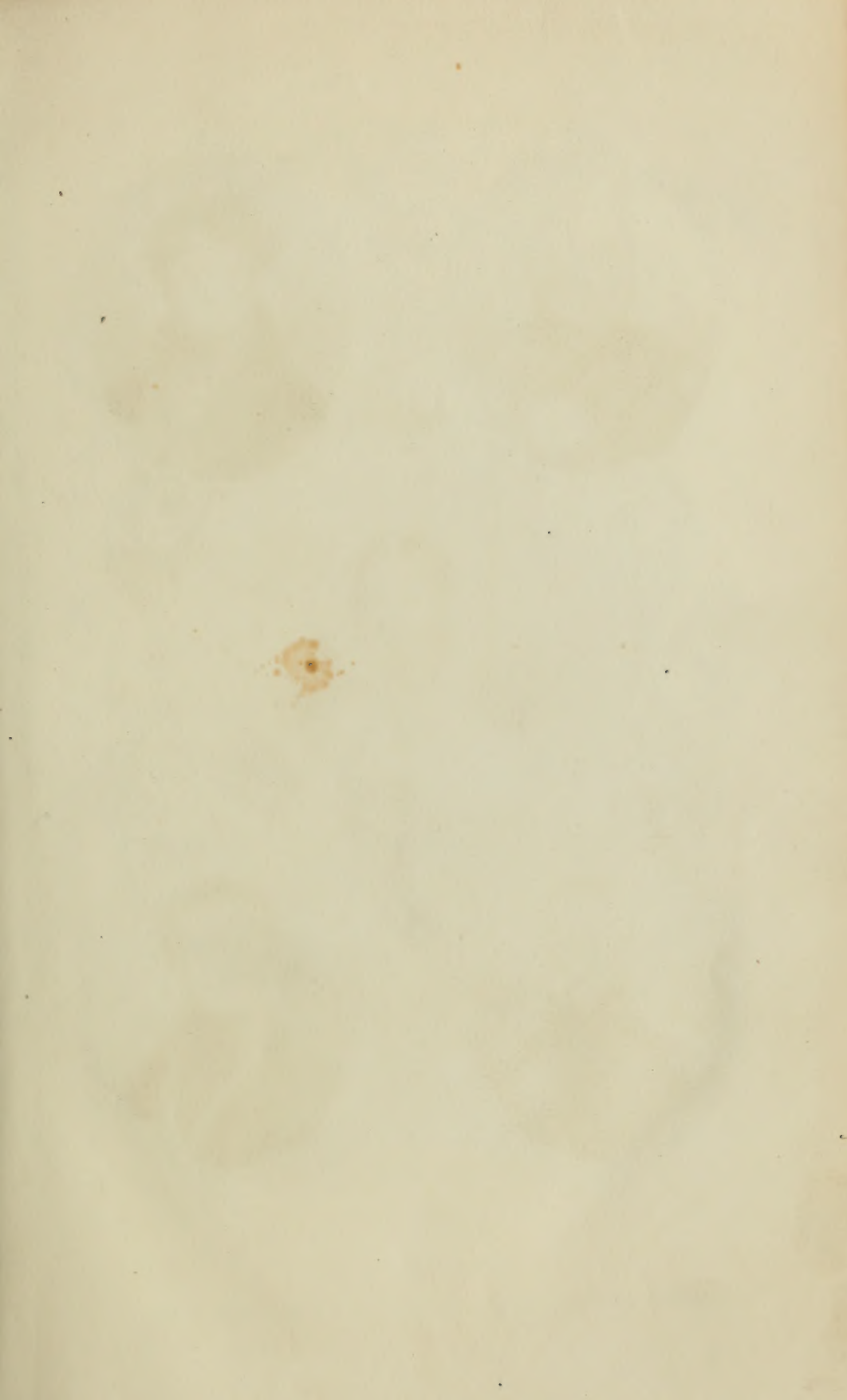
# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. I.



CITY PRESS, LONG LANE:  
W. B. COLLINGRIDGE.







*Drawn by C. Norbert.*

*Engd by Phillips.*



A  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,  
from the

INVASION BY THE ROMANS, B.C. 55,  
TO THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, A.D. 1841.

BY F. G. TOMLINS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.



*From a Sketch by Lieut. Greenwood.*

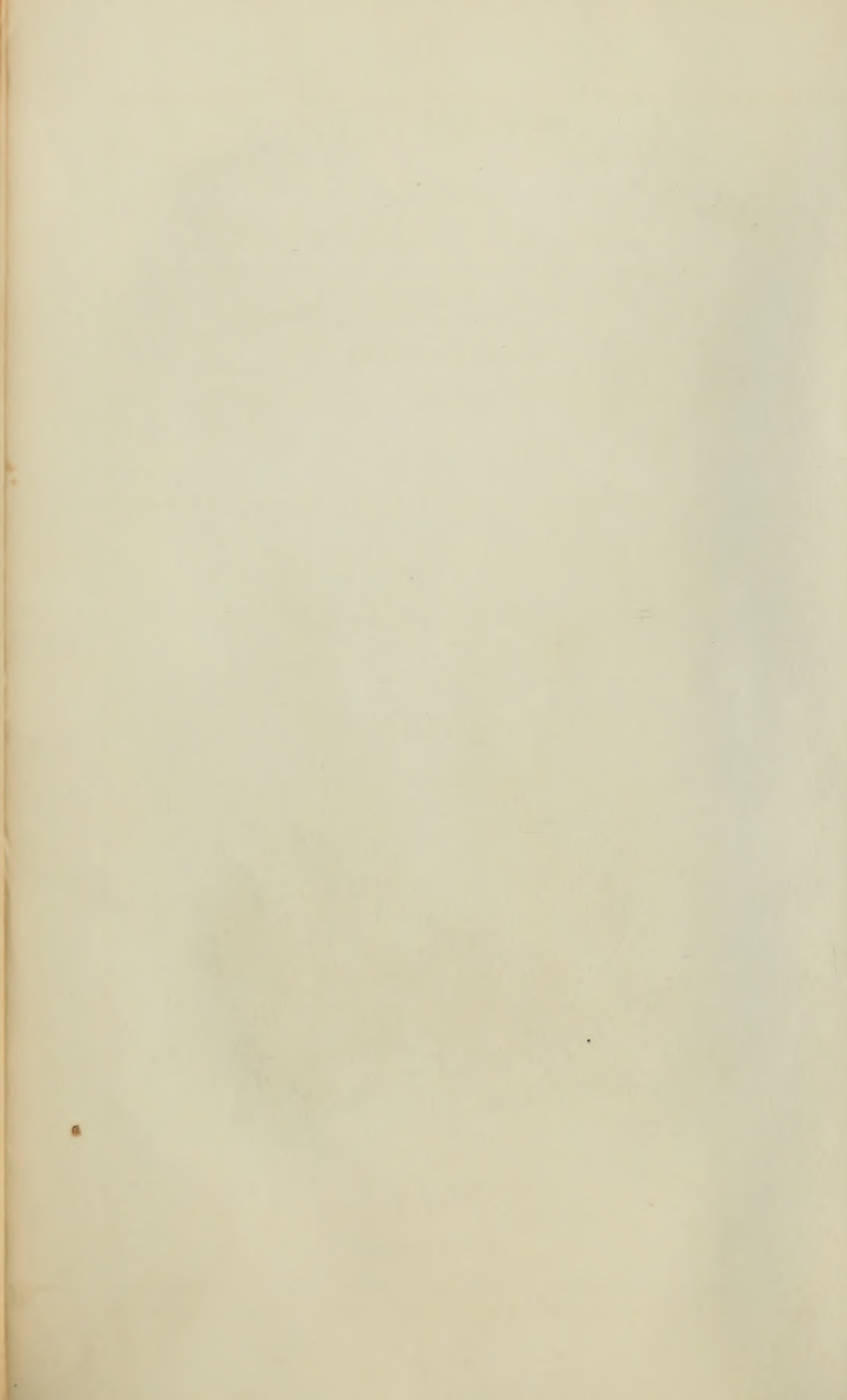
GEN<sup>L</sup> POLLOCK FORCING THE KYBUR PASS.

*Engraved by Phillips.*

Vol. I.

LONDON:

JOHN KENDRICK, A, CHARLOTTE ROW, MANSION HOUSE.



A  
**HISTORY OF ENGLAND;**

COMBINING THE VARIOUS HISTORIES

BY

RAPIN, HENRY, HUME, SMOLLETT, AND BELSHAM:

CORRECTED BY REFERENCE TO

FURNER, LINGARD, MACKINTOSH, HALLAM, BRODIE, GODWIN.

*And other Sources.*

COMPILED AND ARRANGED

BY

**F. G. TOMLINS.**

EDITOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," "ANCIENT UNIVERSAL HISTORY,"

&c. &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

FROM THE

INVASION BY THE ROMANS, B. C. 55, TO THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, A. D. 1841.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

JOHN KENDRICK, 4, CHARLOTTE ROW,  
MANSION HOUSE.



3162



50  
T65  
V.1

## PREFACE.

---

THE materials of English history are more copious than those of any other country. The spirit of liberty and the consequent inclination to discussion, which has animated the nation from the remotest periods of civilization, have tended to this circumstance. From Gildas to Baker extends a long line of excellent chroniclers ; and from Bacon to Hallam we possess a rich mass of what may be termed philosophical historians. Of the latter class, the names of Rapin, Hume, Smollett, and Henry, are the most widely diffused ; although amongst the reading classes, the more modern, Hallam, Turner, Lingard, Mackintosh, Brodie, Godwin, and others, are establishing a decisive authority. To extraneous materials, such as particular histories, extended biographies, and controversial dissertations, in which we equally abound, it is not within the compass of our present purpose to allude.

With such a profusion of histories, it may appear strange that an additional one should be required ; but the very accumulation proves the necessity. Each successive historian has written with a view of superseding his predecessor, and has produced arguments wherewith to justify his literary usurpation. Rapin found the English annals a disjointed mass of party statements ; Hume thought them a prolix collection concocted without spirit and without purport ; Henry complained that the progress of civilization was not developed ; and later historians have urged against all their precursors, political bias and want of due research. These latter have again divided amongst themselves. One is accused of scepticism, and another of bigotry. One, it is said, leans towards the aristocracy, another towards the democracy. One is too full of dissertation, another too minute in his narration.

These mutual accusations have all some truth in them. History, unfortunately, is a kind of border land in literature, which, bounded on one hand by politics, and on the other by religion and morality, has but too often become the field where opposing theories have fiercely contended. Our chroniclers are not so deeply chargeable with this fault, as our philosophical writers. When statesmen became historians ; when More narrated the reign of the last Yorkist ; and Bacon drew the portrait of the first Tudor ; then commenced a system of party writing, that has ever since tinged our annals with a false and delusive colour. The honour of history then disappeared ; and a rhetoric, as specious, and more brilliant, than that which disgraced the declining grandeur of Rome, arose.

But though our historians may but too much have assimilated themselves to the literati of a decaying empire ; thank Heaven ! the people have progressed in an opposite direction. Whilst our annalists have been sinking to special pleading, the mass have risen to solid thinking. The power of party has been daily lessening ; the prejudices of distinct classes are gradually melting, and an earnest desire for the truth is universally manifesting itself.

To meet this feeling, the present history has been compiled ; and with a just admiration of the unrivalled ability which adorns much of our annals, the Editor has humbly approached

his task ; guided by the admirable criticism which has now for thirty years done so much to purify and elevate the public taste. To combine, as far as is practicable, the excellencies of all parties, has been his aim ; and thus to give in a connected mode, those improvements and additions which the last half century has afforded to this branch of our literature.

Hume is the basis of the work, and his eloquent narration is only broken in upon, where he is discovered to have erred from a want of those means, which the diligence of subsequent historians has supplied ; or where his political bias has been proved to have led him into erroneous statements. The Saxon portion of the history is taken from Rapin, a name which always inspires respect, if not admiration, from the fidelity and diligence with which he composed. His language is poor and tedious ; though in the present condensation it has been retrenched, where it was possible to do so, without altering his style ; it being the particular object of the present series of works to give the standard authors of the country with all their originality, when compatible with the conveyance of sound and undoubted facts. But the great feature of the present undertaking, is the incorporation of that portion of the history by Henry, which illustrates the progress of the nation in Literature, Arts, and Manners ; a part of history which has been but too much neglected, although these are subjects which concern every one ; and are often far more important than the most brilliant victory or the most successful treaty. It has been the error of historians to deem a notice of them beneath the dignity of history ; a phrase which generally means an inflated account of the transactings of a few individuals out of a nation. But we are growing wiser ; the means by which men have been humanized, and by which civilized comforts have been multiplied, are now deemed more worthy of consideration than the change of a dynasty or the contest of a faction.

Turner, Lingard, Mackintosh, and Hallam, have all been carefully looked to during the progress of the work ; and the opinions of these, in many respects admirable writers, have been quoted when they have thrown new light on our history : and equal care has been taken to refer for the like purpose to all the other modern celebrated writers who have treated of a later period, and particularly Godwin, Brodie, and D'Israeli.

To that class, even, who can afford to indulge in the luxury of books, our work may offer the advantage of giving in a succinct shape the excellencies of many authors. But to those to whom books are a necessary, and the means of procuring them a consideration, we confidently offer it as a valuable collection, which will at once save them much time and money. A history of his native country, must be, to every intelligent inhabitant of it a desideratum ; and in the present he will find, not a work re-written by one whose name cannot attract attention, but a combination of our most celebrated writers ; illustrated by much interesting information from those later authors who are alone prevented, by the high price of their works, from benefitting that class, whose pecuniary circumstances are not commensurate with the mental elevation which modern education has bestowed upon them.



# CONTENTS

OF

## THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION . . . Page 1

### CHAPTER I.

From the first Invasion of Britain by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, to the calling in of the Saxons. Containing the Space of about five hundred Years . . . 2

The State of the British Church, from the Conversion of the Britons to the coming of the Saxons . . . 14

### CHAP. II.

From the Arrival of the Saxons to the Retreat of the Britons into Wales. Containing about the Space of one hundred and thirty Years . . . 15

The State of the British Church, from the Arrival of the Saxons to the Retreat of the Britons into Wales . . . 26

### CHAP. III.

Concerning the most Remarkable Events during the various Kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, and their Union. Containing the Space of two hundred and forty-three Years . . . 27

Of the Octarchy in general . . . 28

The State of the Church, from the Conversion of the English to the Dissolution of the Heptarchy . . . 45

### CHAP. IV.

Origin of the Danes. Their continual Irruptions, from the Reign of Egbert to Edward the Martyr. The Laws and Customs introduced by Alfred the Great, which are the Basis of the present Laws of England. The State of the Church and Religion, from Egbert to Edward the Martyr inclusive . . . 58

### CHAP. V.

Containing the Reigns of the Kings of England, from Ethelred II. to the Norman Conquest, being the Space of about eighty-eight Years . . . 86

State of the Church, from Ethelred II., to the Norman Conquest . . . 110

### CHAP. VI.

#### THE ANGLO-SAXON GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS.

First Saxon Government. Succession of the Kings. The Wittenagemot. The Aristocracy. The several Orders of Men. Courts of Justice. Criminal Law. Rules of Proof. Military Force. Public Revenue. Value of Money. Manners . . . Page 113

### CHAP. VII.

#### WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Consequences of the Battle of Hastings. Submission of the English. Settlement of the Government. King's Return to Normandy. Discontents of the English. Their Insurrections. Rigours of the Norman Government. New Insurrections. New Rigours of the Government. Introduction of the feudal Law. Innovation in Ecclesiastical Government. Insurrection of the Norman Barons. Dispute about Investitures. Revolt of Prince Robert. Domesday Book. The New Forest. War with France. Death and Character of William the Conqueror . . . 124

### CHAP. VIII.

#### WILLIAM RUFUS.

Accession of William Rufus. Conspiracy against the King. Invasion of Normandy. The Crusades. Acquisition of Normandy. Quarrel with Anselm the Primate. Death and Character of William Rufus . . . 139

### CHAP. IX.

#### HENRY I.

The Crusades. Accession of Henry. Marriage of the King. Invasion by Duke Robert. Accommodation with Robert. Attack of Normandy. Conquest of Normandy. Continuation of the Quarrel with Anselm the Primate. Compromise with him. Wars abroad. Death of Prince William. King's Second Marriage. Death and Character of Henry . . . 147

### CHAP. X.

#### STEPHEN.

Accession of Stephen. War with Scotland. Insurrection in favour of Matilda. Stephen taken

Prisoner. Matilda crowned. Stephen released. Restored to the Crown. Continuation of the Civil Wars. Compromise between the King and Prince Henry. Death of the King. Page 159

#### CHAP. XI.

##### HENRY II.

State of Europe, of France. First Acts of Henry's Government. Disputes between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers. Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Quarrel between the King and Becket. Constitutions of Clarendon. Banishment of Becket. Compromise with him. His return from Banishment. His Murder. Grief and Submission of the King. 106

#### CHAP. XII.

State of Ireland. Conquest of that Island. The King's Accommodation with the Court of Rome. Revolt of young Henry and his Brothers. Wars and Insurrections. War with Scotland. Penance of Henry for Becket's Murder. William, King of Scotland, defeated and taken Prisoner. The King's Accommodation with his Sons. The King's equitable Administration. Crusades. Revolt of Prince Richard. Death and Character of Henry. Miscellaneous Transactions of his Reign. 182

#### CHAP. XIII.

##### RICHARD I.

The King's Preparations for the Crusade. Sets out on the Crusade. Transactions in Sicily. King's Arrival in Palestine. State of Palestine. Disorders in England. The King's heroic Actions in Palestine. His Return to Palestine. Captivity in Germany. War with France. The King's Delivery. Return to England. War with France. Death and Character of the King. Miscellaneous Transactions of his Reign. 196

#### CHAP. XIV.

##### JOHN.

Accession of the King. His Marriage. War with France. Murder of Arthur, Duke of Brittany. The King expelled from all the French Provinces. The King's Quarrel with the Court of Rome. Cardinal Langton appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Interdict of the Kingdom. Excommunication of the King. The King's Submission to the Pope. Discontents of the Barons. Insurrection of the Barons. Magna Charta. Renewal of the Civil Wars. Prince Lewis called over. Death and Character of the King. 207

#### APPENDIX.

SECTION I.—History of the Changes in the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England, that were introduced in the Reign of William I., from 1066 to 1087. 224

SECTION II.—History of the Changes in the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England, in the Reigns of William II., Henry I., Stephen, Henry II., Richard I., and John, from 1087 to 1215. 233

Translation of the Great Charter of King John, granted June 15th, A.D. 1215, in the seventeenth year of his reign. 240

SECTION III.—The History of Learning in Great Britain, from the Landing of William, Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066, to the Death of King John, A.D. 1216. Page 244

Of the Sciences cultivated from A.D. 1066, to A.D. 1216. ibid.

History of the most Learned Men who flourished in Britain, from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1216. 250

History of the chief Seminaries of Learning in Great Britain, from 1066 to 1216. 256

History of the Necessary Arts in Britain from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1216. 259

The History of the Fine or Pleasing Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music, in Great Britain, from 1066 to 1216. 267

The History of Commerce, Coin, and Shipping, in Great Britain, from the Landing of William, Duke of Normandy, 1066, to the Death of King John, 1216. 274

SECTION IV.—History of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Customs, Language, Dress, Diet, and Diversions, of the People of Great Britain, from the Landing of William, Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066, to the Death of King John, A.D. 1216. 284

#### CHAP. XV.

##### HENRY III.

Settlement of the Government. General Pacification. Death of the Protector. Some Commotions. Hubert de Burgh displaced. The Bishop of Winchester Minister. King's Partiality to Foreigners. Grievances. Ecclesiastical Grievances. Earl of Cornwall elected King of the Romans. Discontent of the Barons. Simon de Mountfort, Earl of Leicester. Provisions of Oxford. Usurpation of the Barons. Prince Edward. Civil Wars of the Barons. Reference to the King of France. Renewal of the Civil Wars. Battle of Lewis. House of Commons. Battle of Evesham, and Death of Leicester. Settlement of the Government. Death and Character of the King. Miscellaneous Transactions of this Reign. 294

#### CHAP. XVI.

##### EDWARD I.

Civil Administration of the King. Conquest of Wales. Affairs of Scotland. Competitors for the Crown of Scotland. Reference to Edward. Homage of Scotland. Award of Edward in favour of Baliol. War with France. Digression concerning the Constitution of Parliament. War with Scotland. Scotland subdued. War with France. Dissensions with the Clergy. Arbitrary Measures. Peace with France. Revolt of Scotland. That Kingdom again subdued. Again revolts. Is again subdued. Robert Bruce. Third revolt of Scotland. Death and Character of the King. Miscellaneous Transactions of this Reign. 315

#### CHAP. XVII.

##### EDWARD II.

Weakness of the King. His Passion for Favourites. Piers Gaveston. Discontent of the Barons. Mur-

der of Gaveston. War with Scotland. Battle of Bannockburn. Hugh le Despenser. Civil Commotions. Execution of the Earl of Lancaster. Conspiracy against the King. Insurrection. The King dethroned. Murdered. His Character. Page 334

## CHAP. XVIII.

## EDWARD III.

War with Scotland. Execution of the Earl of Kent. Execution of Mortimer, Earl of March. State of Scotland. War with that Kingdom. King's Claim to the Crown of France. Preparations for War with France. War. Naval Victory. Domestic Disturbances. Affairs of Brittany. Renewal of the War with France. Invasion of France. Battle of Creci. War with Scotland. Captivity of the King of Scots . 345

## CHAP. XIX.

Institution of the Garter. State of France. Battle of Poitiers. Captivity of the King of France. State of that Kingdom. Invasion of France. Peace of Bretigni. State of France. Expedition into Castile. Rupture with France. Ill Success of the English. Death of the Prince of Wales. Death and Character of the King . 365

## CHAP. XX

## RICHARD II.

Government during the Minority. Insurrection of the Common People. Discontents of the Barons. Civil Commotions. Expulsion or Execution of the King's Ministers. Cabals of the Duke of Gloucester. Murder of the Duke of Gloucester. Banishment of Henry, Duke of Hereford. Return of Henry. General Insurrection. Deposition of the King. His Death and Character 376

## APPENDIX.

Containing an Account of the Progress of the Constitution, Learning, the Arts, Manners, &c. from the Year 1216 to 1399 393

SECTION I.—Changes in the Constitution, and Laws of Britain, from 1216 to 1399 . . . . . ibid.

SECTION II.—History of Learning in Great Britain, from the Death of King John, in 1216 to the Accession of Henry IV. in 1399 . . . . . 408

An Account of the Sciences that were cultivated in Britain, from 1216 to 1399 . . . . . ibid.

History of the most Learned Men who flourished in Britain, from 1216 to 1399 . . . . . 415

History of the chief Seminaries of Learning in Great Britain, from 1216 to 1399 . . . . . 422

History of the Necessary Arts in Great Britain from 1216 to 1399 . . . . . 424

History of the Fine and Pleasing Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music, in Britain, from 1216 to 1399 . . . . . 430

SECTION III.—History of Commerce, Coin, and Shipping, in Great Britain, from the Death of King John, in 1216, to the Accession of Henry IV. in 1399 . . . . . 434

SECTION IV.—History of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, Remarkable Customs, Language, Dress, Diet, and Diversions, of the People of England, from the Death of King John in 1216, to the Accession of Henry IV. in 1399 . . . . . Page 441

## CHAP. XXII.\*

## HENRY IV.

Title of the King. A Conspiracy. An Insurrection in Wales. The Earl of Northumberland rebels. Battle of Shrewsbury. State of Scotland. Parliamentary Transactions. Death and Character of the King . . . . . 453

## CHAP. XXIII.

## HENRY V.

The King's former Disorders. His Reformation. The Lollards. Punishment of Lord Cobham. State of France. Invasion of that Kingdom. Battle of Azincour. State of France. New Invasion of France. Assassination of the Duke of Burgundy. Treaty of Troye. Marriage of the King. His Death and Character 459

## CHAP. XXIV.

## HENRY VI.

Government during the Minority. State of France. Military Operations. Battle of Verneuil. Siege of Orleans. The Maid of Orleans. The Siege of Orleans raised. The King of France crowned at Rheims. Prudence of the Duke of Bedford. Execution of the Maid of Orleans. Defection of the Duke of Burgundy. Death of the Duke of Bedford. Decline of the English in France. Marriage of the King with Margaret of Anjou. Murder of the Duke of Gloucester. State of France. Renewal of the War with France. The English expelled France . . . . . 470

## CHAP. XXV.

Claim of the Duke of York to the Crown. The Earl of Warwick. Impeachment of the Duke of Suffolk. His Banishment and Death. Popular Insurrection. The Parties of York and Lancaster. First Armament of the Duke of York. First Battle of St. Albans. Battle of Blore-heath. Of Northampton. A Parliament. Battle of Wakefield. Death of the Duke of York. Battle of Mortimer's Cross. Second Battle of St. Albans. Edward IV. assumes the Crown . . . . . 485

## CHAP. XXVI.

## EDWARD IV.

Battle of Tooton. Henry escapes into Scotland. A Parliament. Battle of Hexham. Henry taken Prisoner, and confined to the Tower. King's Marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Grey. Warwick disgusted. Alliance with Burgundy. Insurrection in Yorkshire. Battle of Banbury. Warwick and Clarence banished. Warwick and Clarence return. Edward IV. expelled. Henry VI. restored. Edward IV. returns. Battle of

\* Owing to a mis-print there is no Chapter numbered XXI



## CONTENTS.

Barnet and Death of Warwick. Battle of Tewkesbury, and Murder of Prince Edward. Death of Henry VI. Invasion of France. Peace of Pecquigni. Trial and Execution of the Duke of Clarence. Death, and Character of Edward IV. Page 494

### CHAP. XXVII.

EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III.

Edward V. State of the Court. The Earl of Rivers arrested. Duke of Gloucester Protector. Execution of Lord Hastings. The Protector aims at the Crown. Assumes the Crown. Murder of Edward V. and of the Duke of York. Richard III. Duke of Buckingham discontented. The Earl of Richmond, Buckingham executed. Invasion by the Earl of Richmond. Battle of Bosworth. Death, and Character of Richard III. . . . . 508

### APPENDIX.

SECTION I.—History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws, of England, from A.D. 1399, to A.D. 1485 . . . . . 516

SECTION II.—State of Learning in Britain from A.D. 1399, to A.D. 1485 . . . . . 526  
History of the Learned Men who flourished in Britain, from A.D. 1399 to A.D. 1485 . . . . . 529  
History of the chief Seminaries of Learning . . . . . 533

SECTION III.—History of the Arts, from the Accession of Henry IV. A.D. 1399, to the Accession of Henry VII. A.D. 1485 . . . . . ibid.  
History of the Useful Arts . . . . . 534  
History of the Fine Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music . . . . . 539

The History of Commerce, Coin, and Shipping, A.D. 1399, to A.D. 1485 . . . . . 543

SECTION IV.—The History of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Customs, Language, Dress, Diet, and Diversions, from 1399 to 1485 . . . . . 548

### CHAP. XXVIII.

HENRY VII.

Accession of Henry VII. His Title to the Crown. King's Prejudice against the House of York. His joyful Reception in London. His Coronation. Sweating Sickness. A Parliament. Entail of the Crown. King's Marriage. An Insurrection. Discontents of the People. Lambert Simnel. Revolt of Ireland. Intrigues of the Duchess of Burgundy. Lambert Simnel invades England. Battle of Stoke. Queen's Coronation . . . . . 557

### CHAP. XXIX.

State of Foreign Affairs. State of Scotland, of Spain, of the Low Countries, of France, of Brittany. French Invasion of Brittany. French Embassy to England. Dissimulation of the French Court. An Insurrection in the North. Suppressed. King sends Forces into Brittany. Annexation of Brittany to France. A Parliament.

War with France. Invasion of France. Peace with France. Perkin Warbeck. His Imposture. He is avowed by the Duchess of Burgundy, and by many of the English Nobility. Trial and Execution of Stanley. A Parliament. Page 564

### CHAP. XXX.

Perkin retires to Scotland. Insurrection in the West. Battle of Blackheath. Truce with Scotland. Perkin taken Prisoner. Perkin executed. The Earl of Warwick executed. Marriage of Prince Arthur with Catherine of Arragon. His Death. Marriage of the Princess Margaret with the King of Scotland. Oppressions of the People. A Parliament. Arrival of the King of Castile. Intrigues of the Earl of Suffolk. Sickness of the King. His Death, and Character . . . . . 574

### CHAP. XXXI.

HENRY VIII.

Popularity of the new King. His Ministers. Punishment of Empson and Dudley. King's Marriage. Foreign Affairs. Julius II. League of Cambray. War with France. Expedition to Fontarabia. Deceit of Ferdinand. Return of the English. Leo X. A Parliament. War with Scotland. Wolsey Minister. His Character. Invasion of France. Battle of Guinegate. Battle of Flodden. Peace with France. Marriage of Mary to Lewis, and afterwards to Suffolk. . . . . 584

### CHAP. XXXII.

Wolsey's Administration. Progress of Francis I. Jealousy of Henry. Tournay delivered to France. Wolsey appointed Legate. His Manner of exercising that Office. Death of the Emperor Maximilian. Charles, King of Spain, chosen Emperor. Interview between Henry and Francis near Calais. The Emperor Charles arrives in England. Mediation of Henry. Trial and Condemnation of the Duke of Buckingham . . . . . 595

### CHAP. XXXIII.

Rise and Progress of the Reformation. Martin Luther. Henry receives the Title of Defender of the Faith. War with France. Invasion of France. War with Scotland. A Parliament. Invasion of France. Italian Wars. The King of France invades Italy. Battle of Pavia, and Captivity of Francis. Francis recovers his Liberty. Sack of Rome. League with France . . . . . 600

### CHAP. XXXIV.

Scruples concerning the King's Marriage. The King enters into these Scruples. Anne Boleyn. Henry applies to the Pope for a Divorce. The Pope favourable. The Emperor threatens him. The Pope's ambiguous Conduct. The Cause evoked to Rome. Wolsey's Fall. Commencement of the Reformation in England. Foreign Affairs. Wolsey's Death. A Parliament. Progress of the Reformation. A Parliament. King's final Breach with Rome. A Parliament . . . . . 617

### CHAP. XXXV.

Religious Principles of the people. Of the king.

Of the Ministers. Further Progress of the Reformation. Sir Thomas More. The Maid of Kent. Trial and Execution of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Of Sir Thomas More. King excommunicated. Death of Queen Catherine. Suppression of the lesser Monasteries. A Parliament. A Convocation. Translation of the Bible. Disgrace of Queen Anne. Her Trial, and Execution. A Parliament. A Convocation. Discontents among the People. Insurrection. Birth of Prince Edward, and Death of Queen Jane. Suppression of the greater Monasteries. Cardinal Pole . . . . . Page 632

CHAP. XXXVI.

Disputation with Lambert. A Parliament. Law of the Six Articles. Proclamations made equal to Laws. Settlement of the Succession. King's Projects of Marriage. He marries Anne of Cleves. He dislikes her. A Parliament. Fall of Cromwell. His Execution. King's Divorce from Anne of Cleves. His Marriage with Catherine Howard. State of Affairs in Scotland. Discovery of the Queen's dissolute Life. A Parliament. Ecclesiastical Affairs . . . . . 654

CHAP. XXXVII.

War with Scotland. Victory at Solway. Death of James V. Treaty with Scotland. New Rupture. Rupture with France. A Parliament. Affairs of Scotland. A Parliament. Campaign in France. A Parliament. Peace with France and Scotland. Persecutions. Execution of the Earl of Surrey. Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk. Death of the King. His Character. Review of his Reign . . . . . 664

APPENDIX.

SECTION I.—Summary of the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England, from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547 . . . . . 680

SECTION II.—History of Learning, of Learned Men, and of the chief Seminaries of Learning that were founded from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547 . . . . . 686

A brief Account of the Sciences that were most successfully cultivated in Britain, from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547 . . . . . *ibid.*

History of the most Learned Men who flourished in England, from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547 . . . . . 690

History of the principal Seminaries of Learning that were founded in England from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547 . . . . . 694

SECTION III.—History of the Arts in England, from the Accession of Henry VII., A.D. 1485, to the Accession of Edward VI., A.D. 1547 . . . . . 695

History of the Necessary and Useful Arts . . . . . *ibid.*

History of the Fine Arts, from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547 . . . . . 700

SECTION IV.—The History of Commerce, Coin, and Shipping in England, from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547 . . . . . 702

SECTION V.—History of Manners, Literature, &c., from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547 . . . . . 711

CHAP. XXXVIII.

EDWARD VI.

Accession. Coronation. Funeral of Henry VIII.

State of the Regency. Innovations in the Regency. Hertford Protector. Reformation completed. Gardiner's Opposition. Foreign Affairs. Progress of the Reformation in Scotland. Assassination of Cardinal Beaton. Conduct of the War with Scotland. Battle of Pinkie. A Parliament. Further Progress of the Reformation. Affairs of Scotland. Young Queen of Scots sent into France. Cabals of Lord Seymour. Dudley, Earl of Warwick. A Parliament. Attainder of Lord Seymour. His Execution. Ecclesiastical Affairs . . . . . Page 722

CHAP. XXXIX.

Discontents of the People. Insurrections. Conduct of the War with Scotland, with France. Factions in the Council. Conspiracy against Somerset. Somerset resigns the Protectorship. A Parliament. Peace with France and Scotland. Boulogne surrendered. Persecution of Gardiner. Warwick created Duke of Northumberland. His Ambition. Trial of Somerset. His Execution. A Parliament. A new Parliament. Succession changed. The King's Sickness and Death . . . . . 739

CHAP. XL.

MARY.

Lady Jane Grey proclaimed Queen. Deserted by the People. The Queen proclaimed and acknowledged. Northumberland executed. Catholic Religion restored. A Parliament. Deliberations with regard to the Queen's Marriage. Queen's Marriage with Philip. Wyatt's Insurrection. Suppressed. Execution of Lady Jane Grey. A Parliament. Philip's Arrival in England . . . . . 751

CHAP. XLI.

Reasons for and against Toleration. Persecutions. A Parliament. The Queen's Extortions. The Emperor resigns his Crown. Execution of Cranmer. War with France. Battle of St. Quintin. Calais taken by the French. Affairs of Scotland. Marriage of the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots. A Parliament. Death of the Queen . . . . . 763

CHAP. XLII.

ELIZABETH.

The Queen's Popularity. Re-establishment of the Protestant Religion. A Parliament. Peace with France. Disgust between the Queen and Mary Queen of Scots. Affairs of Scotland. Interposals of the Queen in the Affairs of Scotland. Settlement of Scotland. French Affairs. Arrival of Mary in Scotland. Bigotry of the Scotch Reformers. Wise Government of Elizabeth . . . . . 779

CHAP. XLIII.

State of Europe. Civil Wars of France. Havre de Grace put in Possession of the English. A Parliament. Havre lost. Affairs of Scotland. Insurrections in Scotland. Imprisonment of Mary. Mary flies into England. Conference at York and Hampton Court . . . . . 790

## CHAP. XLIV.

Character of the Puritans. Duke of Norfolk's Conspiracy. Insurrection in the North. Assassination of the Earl of Murray. A Parliament. Civil Wars of France. Affairs of the Low Countries. New Conspiracy of the Duke of Norfolk. Trial of Norfolk. His Execution. Scotch Affairs. French Affairs. Massacre of Paris. French Affairs. Civil Wars of the Low Countries. A Parliament . . . . . Page 807

## CHAP. XLV.

Affairs of Scotland. Spanish Affairs. Sir Francis Drake. A Parliament. Negotiations of Marriage with the Duke of Anjou. Affairs of Scotland. Letter of Queen Mary to Elizabeth. Conspiracies in England. A Parliament. The Ecclesiastical Commission. Affairs of the Low Countries. Hostilities with Spain . . . . . 830

## CHAP. XLVI.

Zeal of the Catholics. Babington's Conspiracy. Mary's knowledge of the Conspiracy. The Conspirators seized and executed. Resolution to try the Queen of Scots. The Commissioners prevail on her to submit to the Trial. The Trial. Sentence against Mary. Interposition of King James. Reasons for the Execution of Mary. The Execution. Mary's Character. The Queen's affected Sorrow. Drake destroys the Spanish Fleet at Cadiz. Philip projects the Invasion of

England. The Invincible Armada. Preparations in England. The Armada arrives in the Channel. Defeated. A Parliament. Expedition against Portugal. Affairs of Scotland . . . . . Page 846

## CHAP. XLVII.

French Affairs. Murder of the Duke of Guise. Murder of Henry III. Progress of Henry IV. Naval Enterprises against Spain. A Parliament. Henry IV. embraces the Catholic Religion. Scotch Affairs. Naval Enterprises. A Parliament. Peace of Vervius. The Earl of Essex 872

## CHAP. XLVIII.

State of Ireland. Tyrone's rebellion. Essex sent over to Ireland. His ill Success. Returns to England. Is Disgraced. His Intrigues. His Insurrection. His Trial and Execution. French Affairs. Mountjoy's Success in Ireland. Defeat of the Spaniards and Irish. A Parliament. Tyrone's submission. Queen's sickness, Death, and Character. . . . . 885

## APPENDIX.

1547—1603.

Government . . . . .	902
Revenue, Commerce, Maritime Enterprises, &c. . . . .	907
Manners, Literature, &c. . . . .	913
Architecture . . . . .	932



# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

---

## INTRODUCTION.

**A**LL ancient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celtæ; but as no authentic memorials exist before those given by the Romans on conquering the island, nothing but conjectures can be formed of the circumstances of the earlier inhabitants.

According to Cesar and other Roman writers, the Britons were generally tall and well made, and, like most of the Irish at this day, yellow-haired. Their constitutions were so good, that they frequently lived a hundred and twenty years. This length of days was probably owing to their sobriety and temperance, as much or more than to the wholesomeness of the air. The use of clothes was scarce known in the island. None but the inhabitants of the southern coasts covered their nakedness with the skins of wild beasts, carelessly thrown over them. By way of ornament, they made incisions in their bodies in the shape of flowers, trees, and animals, which, with the juice of woad, they painted of a sky-colour, that never wore out. They lived in woods, in huts covered over with skins, boughs, or turf. Their usual food was milk, and flesh got by hunting; their woods and plains being well stocked with game. They did not eat fish, though the rivers and seas that surrounded them were plentifully stored with them. Their towns or rather villages were only a confused parcel of huts placed at a little distance from each other, without any order or distinction of streets. They generally stood in the middle of a wood, the avenues of which were defended by slight ramparts of earth, or with the trees that were felled to clear the ground. They were as quick of apprehension as their neighbours the Gauls, and, if Tacitus may be credited, of greater penetration. Diodorus Siculus does not scruple to prefer their honesty and integrity before that of the Romans. Ten or a dozen brothers or friends lived all together, and had their wives in common. This custom continued a long time among them after they were grown very civilized by their commerce with the Romans. A British lady being upbraided one day by Julia, Severus's empress, with a custom so contrary to the practice of other nations, is said to have returned this bold answer, "The Roman ladies have little reason to reproach us upon this account, since we do publicly with the best of our men no more than what they do privately with the worst of theirs, freedmen and slaves."

Cesar gives a great character of the valour of the Britons, and their going to battle with undaunted bravery. They fought for the most part in chariots,

from whence, furiously driving among their enemies, they flung their darts; but, when they had to deal with the horse, they left their chariots to fight on foot with advantage.

As well situated for trade as the Britons were, we do not find they had any large vessels, or ventured to sea beyond the coast of Gaul. Their chief commerce was with the Phœnician merchants, who, after the discovery of the island, exported every year great quantities of tin, with which they carried on a profitable trade with distant nations. But, notwithstanding all the care of the Phœnicians to conceal from whence they derived that metal, the Greeks discovered it ultimately, and came and traded also to the same place.

The Britons worshipped almost the same gods as the Gauls. Dis and Samoths were deities equally adored by both nations. But the Britons had a very particular veneration for Andate, the goddess of victory, to whom they sacrificed their prisoners of war. The Druids, as well among the Britons as Gauls, had the care and direction of all religious matters. The name Druid comes from the word *Deru*, signifying in the British or Celtic language an oak, like *Drus* in the Greek. The mistletoe that grows upon the oak was looked upon by them as a most sacred thing, and the greatest blessing from heaven. The Druids were held in such veneration by the people, that their authority was almost absolute. No public and scarcely any private affairs were transacted without their approbation. The chief of the Druids was a sort of pontiff or high priest, who had authority over all the rest. This dignity was elective: and sometimes, when the candidates were of equal merit, such quarrels and broils raged among them, that they fell to blows before the election was over.

The bards, among both Britons and Gauls, were priests of an inferior order to the Druids. Their business was, to celebrate the praises of their heroes in verses and songs, which they composed and sang to their harps. They continued in being a long time. There were some even after the Romans had entirely abandoned the island.

A third sort of priests, as well in Britain as in Gaul, were the Eubates, who applied themselves chiefly to the study of philosophy, and the contemplation of the wonderful works of nature, as *Marcellinus* informs us.

The following are a few of the most remarkable of the Druidical maxims and rules:—

"None must be instructed but in the sacred groves. Mistletoe must be gathered with reverence, and, if possible, in the sixth moon. It must be cut with a golden bill.

Every thing derives its origin from Heaven.

The arena of the sciences must not be committed to writing, but to the memory.

Great care is to be taken of the education of children.

The powder of mistletoe makes women fruitful.

The disobedient are to be shut out from the sacrifices.

Souls are immortal.

The soul after death goes into other bodies.

If the world is destroyed, it will be by fire or water.

Upon extraordinary emergencies a man must be sacrificed.

According as the body falls, or moves after it is fallen; according as the blood flows, or the wound opens, future events are foretold.

Prisoners of war are to be slain upon the altars, or burnt alive enclosed in wicker, in honour of the gods.

All commerce with strangers must be prohibited.

He that comes last to the assembly of the states, ought to be punished with death.

Children are to be brought up apart from their parents, until they are fourteen years of age.

Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next.

There is another world, and they who kill themselves to accompany their friends thither, will live with them there.

Letters given to dying persons, or thrown on the funeral piles of the dead, will faithfully be delivered in the other world.

The moon is a sovereign remedy for all things, as its name in Celtic implies.

Let the disobedient be excommunicated; let him be deprived of the benefit of the law; let him be avoided by all, and rendered incapable of any employ.

All masters of families are kings in their own houses, they have a power of life and death over their wives, children, and slaves."

These articles may serve to give us a specimen of the principles and religion of the Druids, which flourished a long while in Great Britain as well as in Gaul. It spread as far as Italy, as appears by Augustus's injunction to the Romans not to celebrate its mysteries. There were women, as well as men, Druids. It was a female Druid of Tungria, who, according to Vopiscus, foretold to Dioclesian (when a private soldier in Gallia) that he would be emperor of Rome.

The form of government amongst the Britons may be learnt by that of the Gauls; both nations were of Celtic extraction. The country was divided into several petty states, with a chief over each. Some of these being more powerful than the rest, kept their neighbours in a sort of dependence; and one of them, upon great and imminent dangers, was by common consent chosen commander, whose power was limited, as well as the time of his administration. During his office, he was considered as a sovereign magistrate, having power to put the laws in execution, and act as captain-general of all their forces. Livy (according to the custom of the Romans) calls this magistrate king. But a modern author, who believed he understood better the nature of that dignity, affirms the title of king not to be at all proper for the person invested with it, and therefore calls him only Paramount, or one superior to the rest. The country between the

Tyne and the Channel was divided into seventeen petty states, with each its chief dignified by autours with the name of king. When Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, the command of their army was conferred by the Britons on Cassibelanus, king or chief of the Trinobantes; and in the time of Claudius, Caractacus, king of the Silures, was chosen general. These nations had frequent quarrels and contests. But we have no certain knowledge of their affairs; and therefore the beginning of their history can be dated no further back than Cæsar's invasion.

## CHAPTER I.

*From the first Invasion of Britain by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, to the calling in of the Saxons. Containing the space of about five hundred years.*

THE Romans were become masters of almost all Europe, of the best part of Africa, and of the richest countries of Asia, before they undertook the conquest of Britain. Julius Cæsar was the first that formed the project of that conquest during his government of Gaul. He considered it would be no small advantage if he could take a view of the island, which was almost wholly unknown to all but the merchants who traded on the coasts. And these merchants themselves were so little acquainted with what Cæsar wanted to know, that he could learn from them neither the extent of the island, nor whether it was well peopled, much less could they give him any information concerning the ports and havens, and whether there were any fit to receive ships of burden. This uncertainty made him resolve to send Volusenus to view the coasts as far as was possible without danger, whilst his troops were marching to the place of embarkation.

The Britons, receiving intelligence by the merchants of Cæsar's design, endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, by sending ambassadors with offers of obedience to the Romans, and the delivery of hostages. Cæsar gave the ambassadors a very civil reception, but, exhorting them to persist in their resolution, dismissed them without telling them positively what he intended to do. With them he sent Comius (whom he had a few days before made king of the Atrebatæ) with instructions to persuade the Britons to make an alliance with the Romans, and acquaint them with his design to come over into their island. They were by no means pleased with the news, for they expected what they had done would have induced the Roman general to alter his resolution. And whether Comius spoke to them too haughtily, or they determined to let the Romans perceive they did not fear them, they committed the ambassador to prison, loading him with irons.

Volusenus, who had meantime coasted along the southern parts of the island without landing, returned and gave an account of the discoveries he had made. Whereupon Cæsar embarked two legions on board eighty transports, leaving orders for the horse to follow with all speed in eighteen more that could not yet join the fleet, and were expected every moment; but his orders were not timely enough executed. At his arrival on the coasts of Britain, he saw the hills and cliffs that



ran out into the sea, covered with troops, that could easily with their darts prevent his landing: upon which he determined to look out for some other place, where he might land his army with less danger. He lay by till three in the afternoon, expecting some ships that were not yet come up. Upon their joining the fleet, he made sail, and came to anchor about two leagues farther, near a plain and open shore. The Britons, perceiving his intent, sent their chariots and horse that way, whilst the rest of their army advanced to support them. The main difficulty in landing proceeded from the largeness of the vessels, which hindered them from coming near enough to the shore; so that the Roman soldiers saw themselves under a necessity of leaping into the sea armed as they were, in order to attack their enemies, who stood ready to receive them on dry ground. Cesar, perceiving his soldiers did not exert their usual bravery on this occasion, ordered some galleys to get as near the shore as possible, and set upon the enemy in the flank. This precaution had the desired effect: for the slings, engines, and arrows, were so well employed from these galleys, that the courage of the Britons began to abate. But the Romans still demurred upon throwing themselves into the water, and, perhaps, would hardly have done it at all, had not the standard-bearer of the tenth legion shown them the way, by leaping in first with his colours in his hand, crying out aloud, "Follow me, fellow-soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman eagle into the hands of the enemy. For my part, I am resolved to discharge my duty to Cesar and the commonwealth." Emulation and shame causing the soldiers to forget the danger, they courageously followed him, and began the fight. But their resolution was not able to compel the Britons to give ground; and the Romans, constrained thus to fight in the water without keeping their ranks, would in the end have been repulsed, had not Cesar caused some armed boats to ply about with recruits, which made the enemy fall back a little. The Romans improving this advantage, advanced with all possible expedition, and getting firm footing, pressed the Britons so vigorously, that at length they put them to rout. They durst not however pursue them, because the horse were not yet come; which Cesar says was the only thing that hindered the victory from being complete.

The Britons, astonished at the Roman valour, and fearing that a more obstinate resistance would but expose them to greater mischiefs, sent Comius back to Cesar, throwing the blame of his ill-treatment on the fury of the populace. At the same time ambassadors were dispatched to sue for peace, and offer hostages. Cesar very readily pardoned them on condition they would send him a certain number of hostages; a part of whom were immediately delivered, with a promise to send the rest.

Peace being thus concluded, four days after landing, the British troops were dismissed, and some of their chief men came to Cesar to manage the concerns of their nation. Meanwhile, the ships that were transporting the Roman horse, putting to sea, met with a violent storm, which forced them back again into the ports of Gaul. The same storm fell likewise upon Cesar's fleet lying in the road.

The Britons who were with Cesar soon perceived his want of provisions, ships, and cavalry,

and resolved to use all possible means to cut off provisions and beguile him till winter came on. Cesar, perceiving their intentions, took care to lay in as great a stock of provisions as he could, and put them under a strong guard within the camp. Then, sending to Gaul for part of what he had occasion for to refit his fleet, he made use of the timber and iron of the broken vessels to repair the rest. The soldiers laboured with so uncommon a diligence, that in a few days the fleet was in a condition to sail, twelve ships only having been lost.

The seventh legion having been sent out to forage, news was brought to Cesar, that a cloud or dust was seen to rise from that quarter. He suspected immediately what was the matter; and taking with him two cohorts that guarded the camp, ordered the rest of the forces to follow with all expedition. When he came to the place he found the legion surrounded by the enemy, and overpowered by numbers. As the harvest was brought in every where else, the Britons did not question but the Romans would come and forage there, and lay in readiness to fall upon them. It was very easy to put soldiers in disorder that had quitted their arms, and were dispersed up and down to gather corn. They killed some at the first onset; and to prevent the rest from escaping, began to surround them with their chariots. Cesar came very seasonably to the relief of the legions, and saved them from being all taken or slain. Having brought them off, he stood some time in order of battle in sight of the enemy, but at length retreated to his camp, not deeming it proper to engage, unless compelled to it.

The Britons, flushed with this success, drew together a greater body of troops, with a resolution to attack the Roman camp. Though Cesar had but thirty horse in all, he drew up his men, that the enemy might not think he was afraid of them. They attacked him, as he foresaw; but instead of forcing the camp, they were vigorously repulsed and pursued for several miles, which so disheartened them that they sent the same day ambassadors to Cesar to sue for peace. The posture of Cesar's affairs would not suffer him to improve his victory, because he had no horse to oppose those of the enemy. This consideration induced him to conclude a treaty with them, whereby they were bound to deliver a greater number of hostages, and send them to Gaul, where he intended to go as soon as possible. Though the passage was not long, the fear of exposing his fleet to another storm, if he stayed till the equinox, made him hasten his departure. The Britons neglecting to send their hostages, he put his troops into winter-quarters, and formed the design of a more important expedition in the following spring. Meanwhile, the senate being informed of Cesar's exploits in Britain, a procession of twenty days was decreed to him, though the advantages he had gained were of little consequence to the commonwealth.

Cesar, according to his custom, went and passed part of the winter in Italy, leaving orders with his officers to repair the old, and build some more new ships. When he had received advice that his orders were executed, he came to Portus Itius, where he found six hundred ships and twenty-eight galleys, on board of which he put five legions and two thousand horse. He conducted this numerous fleet to a place on the British coast, marked by



him the summer before, and landed his forces without opposition. The Britons, as he was told afterwards, at the sight of so mighty an armament, thought fit to retire into the country, behind some hills. Cesar, according to the Roman custom, fortified his camp, and leaving a guard, set out in the night in quest of the enemy. Having marched about twelve miles, he saw them posted on the other side of a river, to oppose his passage. Though resolute at first, they could not withstand the furious charge of the Roman horse, and were forced at length to quit their post. They retired a little farther into a wood, the avenues whereof were blocked up with huge trees, laid across one another, and which seemed to have been fortified in some former war. Though difficult to force these intrenchments, the seventh legion performed that service, and obliged the Britons to betake themselves to flight. But night coming on, and the country unknown, Cesar forbade all pursuit.

Next day, he divided his army into three bodies, which marched at some distance from each other in pursuit of the enemy. During the march, he received the melancholy news that his fleet was almost entirely destroyed by a violent storm, most of the ships being dashed to pieces or driven ashore. As this accident might be attended with ill consequences, he hastened back to the sea side, where he found forty of his ships destroyed, and the rest so damaged that they were hardly repairable. He set all the carpenters of the fleet and army to work, sending for others at the same time from Gaul. To prevent the same misfortune again, as soon as the ships were refitted, he employed his soldiers, night and day, to draw them by strength of arms into the midst of the camp. This work, notwithstanding the difficulty of it, was finished in ten days. Meanwhile, he wrote to Labienus, his lieutenant in Gaul, to build more ships, and send them over when ready. Then, leaving a sufficient force to guard the camp, he resumed the design interrupted by the misfortune befalling his fleet.

He had not marched far before he was informed that the enemy's forces were much increased, under the conduct of Cassibelanus, king of the Trinobantes, whose kingdom lay beyond the Thames, about eighty miles from the sea. This prince had hitherto waged continual wars with his neighbours; but upon the Romans' approach they had concluded a peace with him, and chosen him commander-in-chief. Whilst the Roman army was on the march, they found themselves attacked on a sudden by the British horse and chariots. But this attack, though vigorous, was repulsed with great loss to the Britons; nevertheless, they were not disheartened. Some days after, whilst the Romans were employed about their entrenchments, a body of Britons, that lay concealed in the neighbouring woods, fell furiously upon those that guarded the camp, and put them into great disorder. Cesar seeing this, immediately sent two cohorts to their assistance, who, surprised at the British manner of fighting, were routed at the first charge. *Quantus Laberius Durus*, a tribune, was slain in the action. As this battle was fought in sight of the camp, Cesar saw plainly the great disadvantage the Romans, encumbered with their heavy armour, lay under against swift and light-armed enemies that engaged in small parties only, with a body of reserve in their rear, from

whence they were continually recruited. The Roman horse were no less embarrassed than the foot. As the Britons frequently counterfeited a retreat, the horsemen detached to pursue them were immediately cut in pieces; so that it was equally dangerous to pursue the enemy or to retire. The confused manner of Cesar's relating this affair is a clear evidence that the Romans were worsted, though he does not say it in so many words.

On the morrow, the Britons posted themselves on some hills within sight of the Roman camp. As they appeared to be but few in number, it was thought they had no design to engage a second time. Meanwhile, Cesar sending out all the horse to forage, with three legions to guard them, the Britons fell with great fury upon the foragers, who were defended by their guard. The resistance made by the legions giving Cesar time to advance with the rest of the army, a great battle ensued, wherein the Britons were entirely defeated.

After this victory, Cesar marched towards the Thames, with intent to penetrate into Cassibelanus's dominions. When he came to the river side, at a very difficult ford, he found the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank. Besides their great numbers, they had fortified that part of the river with sharp stakes driven so deep that some of them did not appear above the water, as deserters said afterwards. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Cesar resolved to attack them, and ordered the horse to ride in, and the foot to follow, the soldiers being scarce able to hold their hands above water to carry their arms. The attack was made with such resolution, that the Britons were at length forced to quit their post, and leave the Romans a free passage. Cassibelanus finding he could not hinder Cesar's passing the Thames, dismissed his army, reserving only four thousand chariots, with which he harassed the Romans, and endeavoured to deprive them of provisions, by carrying off all the corn and cattle that lay in their rout. The Romans were great sufferers in this march; for they did not dare to make the least excursion in search of provisions, for fear of sallies from the woods and coverts.

Meanwhile, the Trinobantes, upon Cesar's approaching their country, sent deputies to him to sue for peace, praying him also to take into his protection Mandubratius, their king, who fled into Gaul upon Cassibelanus's murdering his father, Immanuelius, and depriving him of his dominions. Cesar promised to send back Mandubratius, if they would supply him with provisions and deliver forty hostages, to which they immediately agreed. Several other states following the example of the Trinobantes, Cesar found himself in condition to attack the capital city of Cassibelanus, where the country people were retired with their flocks and herds. What the Britons called a city was only a wood fenced with a ditch, to defend them against the incursions of their enemies. Though this entrenchment seemed very strong, Cesar ordered it to be stormed so briskly at two different places, that the Britons, not being able to stand the assault, fled out at one of the avenues, but not without having great numbers slain and captured, and leaving behind them abundance of cattle.

Whilst Cesar was advancing into the enemy's country, the Kentish men, inhabiting the south

coast, over against Gaul, drew their forces together, with a design to cut off the Romans that were left to guard their ships. As soon as they were ready, they marched under the conduct of four kings, namely, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, and furiously attacked the Roman camp; but after a long and obstinate fight were repulsed, and King Cingetorix was taken prisoner.

After such frequent defeats, Cassibelanus, considering that most of his kingdom was in subjection to the Romans, and that several neighbouring states had made, or were ready to make, their submission, treated with them likewise, by the mediation of Comius. He easily obtained a peace, Cesar's resolution to return to Gaul not permitting him to pursue his conquests in Britain. Besides, he considered that the weather, now beginning to grow bad, would help Cassibelanus to defend himself the rest of the campaign, as well as the whole ensuing winter. By the conditions of the treaty, the Britons were annually to pay the Romans a certain tribute; and Cassibelanus was to deliver a number of hostages, and leave Mandubratius in quiet possession of his dominions. Though Cesar had scarce ships enough to transport his army, he chose rather to stow his men on board what vessels he had, than run the hazard of being surprised by the autumnal equinox. He embarked them, therefore, in the best manner he could, and receiving the hostages, put to sea, and safely arrived in Gaul.\*

This is the account given by that great general of his two expeditions into Britain, and which, though penned with great apparent modesty, has been generally esteemed a very partial statement, greatly too much in his own favour, and equally unjust to his opponents. Many are of opinion Cesar was often defeated by the Britons, and that his success was always very dubious.

After Cesar's death the tribute was not paid, nor, perhaps, demanded for twenty years. But when Augustus was firmly settled in the possession of the empire, he undertook to compel the Britons to observe their agreement with his predecessor. Tenuantius, successor of Cassibelanus, sent rich presents, which were laid up in the Capitol. Cunobelinus, his successor, followed his example, and had money coined, some pieces of which are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious, with the five first letters of his name, *C, u, n, o, b,* or, *C, a, m,* the three first of Camelodunum, his capital city, on one side; and on the reverse, a man sitting and coining money, with these letters, *T, A, S, C, I, A,* by which antiquaries understand that this money was designed for the payment of the tribute.

Tiberius, successor of Augustus, neglected Britain, as a country of little consequence, it being unknown to him; as did also Caligula, his successor; and the Britons preserved their liberty above ninety years, during the reigns of the four first emperors; their subjection to the Romans not commencing till the time of Claudius, who was more particularly incited to resubjugate Britain by the treacherous representations of Bericus, a Briton, who had unsuccessfully endeavoured to raise a sedition against Togodumnus and Carac-

tacus, who succeeded their father, Cunobelinus. Plautius, a distinguished general, was sent into Britain by the Roman emperor; who, after fighting various battles, in which each party by turns were successful, reduced the Britons to a state of great weakness. The Emperor Claudius came himself, and completed the conquest, in a decisive victory at Camelodunum, a settlement in Essex.

Ostorius Scapula succeeded Plautius. He found the Britons making continual inroads into the Roman conquests, and resolved to confine them between the Avon and Severn, by means of forts built between the two rivers. He made Camelodunum a military colony, and much about the same time London was also made a trading colony; and that part of Britain lying between the Thames and the sea was reduced into the form of a province, and called Britannia Prima.

The Iceni,\* not yet weakened by the foregoing wars, having, from the beginning, been in alliance with the Romans, were the first that opposed Ostorius's design. Some neighbouring nations followed their example, and joining their forces under one general, they encamped on advantageous ground, throwing up in haste a breast-work of flints, to prevent the attempts of the horse. Though Ostorius was then without any but the auxiliary forces, he attacked them; ordering the horse to dismount and support those that were to charge first. The resistance of the Britons was more obstinate than expected; nevertheless, their intrenchments were forced at last with great slaughter on their side. After this victory, Ostorius reduced the Cangi† and the Brigantes.‡ But the Silures,§ the bravest and most powerful of all the Britons, could not be tamed either by clemency or severity. Their forces were so considerable, that the legions were obliged to march against them. They were headed by their king, Caractacus; famous for his great exploits, and universally esteemed by his countrymen, being accounted the best general Britain had ever produced. This prince, whom the nations in alliance with the Silures had made commander-in-chief, had retired into the country of the Ordovices,|| where, assembling all his forces, he chose an advantageous post of very difficult access, and drew up his army on the side of a steep hill, with a little river¶ at the bottom, which, though fordable in many places, was of great service to him. His camp being surrounded with a sort of rampart of flints and stones, he seemed to be out of all danger. The Romans, however, passed the river, though with many killed and wounded; and it was not possible for the Britons to stand against the warlike and veteran troops, who quickly put them to flight. Besides the loss sustained by the Britons in the action, their defeat was the more considerable by the taking of the wife, daughters, and brothers of Caractacus, who, flying for protection to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantines, was

\* The inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.

† Generally supposed to be inhabitants of the western parts of Wales.

‡ Inhabitants of Yorkshshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland.

§ Inhabitants of Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire.

|| Inhabitants of Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire.

¶ Horsley takes this river to be the Severn rather than the Dee.

\* It is conjectured that Cesar's second expedition was in May, and that he returned to Gaul about the middle of September. For in a letter to Cicero from Britain, dated September 1, Cesar says, he was "come to the sea-side in order to embark."



by her delivered up to the Romans, for fear of drawing a victorious army into her country, should she think of protecting the vanquished prince. Caractacus had now commanded the confederate army of the Britons nine years; and his fame had reached as far as Rome, where all were surprised at his so long resisting the Roman power. The emperor ordered him and the other captives to be sent to Rome. On a day appointed, the people being all present, and the emperor seated on his throne, there came first Caractacus's vassals and retinue, with the caparisons and other spoils of war; then his wife, daughters, and brothers; and lastly, Caractacus himself, walking with a settled countenance, without holding down his head, or appearing too much dejected at his misfortune. He addressed the emperor in a speech of somewhat of the following substance:—

"If my moderation had been as great as my birth or fortune, Rome had seen me this day her ally, and not captive, and perhaps she would not have disdained to rank in the number of her friends a prince royally descended, and who commanded many nations. My present condition is as dishonourable to me as it is glorious to you. I had arms, horses, riches, and grandeur. Is it strange I should part with them unwillingly? Does it follow, because you have a mind to rule over all, that therefore every one must tamely submit? Had I sooner been betrayed to you, neither your glory nor my misfortunes had been rendered so famous, and my punishment would have been buried in eternal oblivion. But now, if you preserve my life, I shall be a standing monument of your clemency to future ages." The emperor, moved with these words, pardoned the captives.

The Britons resumed their courage, and successfully attacked the Romans that were left to build forts in the country of the Silures; and, had not timely relief come from the neighbouring garrisons, would have cut them to pieces. The commander and eight captains, with a number of soldiers, were slain. Another time they improved their advantage in such a manner, that Ostorius was obliged to advance with the legions, after having tried in vain to retrieve the battle with supplies of the light-armed troops. The coming of the legions revived the courage of the Romans, and forced the Britons to retreat, though with little loss. After this there were several conflicts with various success, according to the circumstances of time and place.

The Silures, of all the British nations, were the most obstinate, being exasperated at the emperor's saying, Britain would have no peace, till, like the Sicambri, they were transported into some foreign country. They surprised two cohorts, which, from the avarice of the officers, and an eager desire of pillage, had advanced too far into the enemy's quarters. By distributing the spoil and prisoners, they endeavoured to draw in the rest of the nations to revolt. Ostorius died about this time with vexation at not being able to put an end to the war.

Aulus Didius was immediately sent over, who found matters in a worse condition than ever. His arrival was some check to the Silures, who, exalted by their late success, were making inroads into the frontiers of the Roman province.

Meanwhile, Venutius, king of the Brigantes, successor of Caractacus in the command of the army, persuaded by Cartimandua his queen (the

same that betrayed Caractacus), entered into an alliance with the Romans; satisfied with preserving his own dominions, without troubling himself about the affairs of the other nations. A quarrel arising between him and his queen, and ending in a domestic war, he was compelled to declare against the Romans, they having prematurely espoused the cause of his queen.

Veranius, who had succeeded Didius in the reign of Nero, died before he had done any thing remarkable. Suetonius Paulinus was appointed to fill his place. Great achievements were expected of this general, whose merit was compared with Corbulo's, who had lately conquered Armenia. The moment he came to his government, he formed the project of conquering the Isle of Mona, now called Anglesea. He passed the foot over in flat-bottomed boats, the sea being very shallow in that place, the horse following, some swimming, others fording. The islanders were drawn up on the other side, with the women running up and down, dressed like furies, their hair hanging loose, firebrands in their hands, and surrounded by the Druids, who, with hands lifted up to heaven, poured out dreadful curses and imprecations. This unexpected spectacle so astonished the Romans, that they stood still, exposed to the enemy's darts. But at length, the shame of being daunted by a company of frantic women and priests, and the exhortation of their general, bringing them to their senses and courage, they fell upon the enemy sword in hand, and became masters of the island. The first thing Paulinus did was to order all the consecrated groves to be cut down, where the islanders sacrificed their captives, and consulted their gods by inspecting the entrails of men.

But, whilst Paulinus was employed in this expedition, unexpected occurrences obliged him to leave Mona in an abrupt manner, to settle affairs of much greater moment.

Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, left by will the emperor and his daughters co-heirs to his great treasures, in expectation of procuring by that means Nero's protection for his family and people. But this precaution had a quite contrary effect. The emperor's officers seized upon all his effects in their master's name. Boadicea, his widow, a woman of great courage and a high spirit, expressing her resentment of the injury done to her daughters, the brutality of the officers was so outrageous, that they ordered her to be publicly whipped, and caused her daughters to be ravished by the soldiers.

The Britons looked upon this outrage with such indignation, that the whole island was possessed with a spirit of revolt. The Iceni led the way, and were soon followed by their neighbours the Trinobantes. Venutius and his party joined with them, and, in short, all the nations in subjection to the Romans rose in arms with one consent, the city of London only excepted. The Roman historians themselves own, that the injustice and violence of the emperor's officers gave the Britons but too just cause to revolt. They were thrust out of their possessions without any form of law, by the veterans that were sent to settle in the island. Caius Decianus, Nero's procurator, without any regard to the ordinance of Claudius, which left the vanquished in possession of their goods, confiscated their estates to the emperor's use. The petitions presented to him on that occasion were all rejected and without



alleging any other reason but his will, which he made a law, caring for nothing but his own and his master's profit. Seneca himself, with all the noble sentiments of moderation and disinterestedness which shine in his writings, but which were never seen in his practice, is said to have contributed very much to the insurrection, by rigorously exacting on a sudden the money he had lent some of the Britons upon usury. This treatment raised in the minds of the people so great an aversion to a foreign yoke, that they were unanimously determined to shake it off. Venutius cherished the rebellion to the utmost of his power, and the very adherents of the queen laying aside their domestic quarrels, and renouncing the friendship of the Romans, joined with the rest of their countrymen for the recovery of their liberty.

Boadicea, animated with an ardent desire of revenge, headed the revolt, who fell in a sudden and furious manner upon the Romans dispersed in their colonies, which were more carefully embellished than fortified, massacring all without distinction of age or sex. Unheard-of cruelties were perpetrated on this occasion, and strange punishments invented to glut the fury of the enraged people. Eighty thousand Romans are computed to have perished in the massacre.

Paulinus receiving advice of this revolution, suddenly quitted the Isle of Mona to march against the revolted Britons, who had an army of a hundred thousand men, under the conduct of Boadicea, whose noble stature and heroic courage excited their deepest veneration. This princess ardently desired to engage with Paulinus, whose army was only ten thousand strong, in expectation of completing her revenge, by the destruction of so considerable a remnant of the enemy. Meanwhile, Paulinus, expecting no succours from any place, was in great straits. The ninth legion, commanded by Petilius Cerealis, had just been entirely defeated. Pœnius Posthumus, with a considerable detachment of the second, refused, contrary to the law of arms, to obey his general's orders, to come and join him. Thus Paulinus was under the necessity either of marching against his enemies with his little army, or of securing them in some town. He chose the latter, and shut himself up in London, but quickly altered his resolution. Foreseeing his endeavours to save that colony would endanger the whole province, he marched out, notwithstanding the cries and entreaties of the inhabitants not to abandon them to the fury of the rebels: therefore, instead of retiring from the Britons, he resolved to meet them. He pitched upon a narrow piece of ground for the field of battle, with a forest behind that secured him from ambuscades in the rear, and a large plain in front, where the Britons were encamped. He drew up the legions close together in the centre, the light-armed around them, and the cavalry as the two wings. The Britons swarmed about the plain in battalions and squadrons, exulting in their numbers, and secure of victory. Their wives and children were brought into the field in waggons, which lined their intrenchments, to be witnesses of their actions and partners in the spoil.

Boadicea, with her daughters by her side in the chariot, rode up and down, addressing herself to the several nations. She is said at the end of her harangue to have let loose a hare she concealed in her bosom, as a good omen of victory.

The Romans commenced the battle by darting their javelins without quitting the advantage of their post. When their quivers were emptied, they advanced sword in hand. Whilst the fight was carried on with darts at a distance, the Britons were in hopes the Romans, daunted by the number of their enemies, would take to flight. But when they saw the legions advancing sword in hand, with short and thick steps, and no signs of fear in their looks, they fell into disorder, which continually increased, there being no leaders or officers capable of repairing it. The Romans seeing them thus shaken, fell upon them with great fury, and the Roman horse in the wings breaking through the British cavalry, a terrible rout ensued; the great number of carriages, full of unserviceable multitudes, becoming an obstacle to the flight of the Britons. The Roman soldiers spared neither age nor sex, but sacrificed to their revenge the women and children, and even the very horses. This victory equalled their most famous ones; if it be true, as Tacitus affirms, that eighty thousand Britons were slain, with the loss only of four hundred Romans, and as many wounded. Boadicea escaped falling into the hands of the conquerors, but was touched with so deep a sense of her shame and loss, that she ended her days with poison. On the other side, Pœnius Posthumus, who refused to obey his general, either to avoid the punishment due to his offence, or for grief at losing his share of the glory of the victory, stabbed himself.

The Britons, in the utmost consternation, without general or army, fled before their enemies, without offering the least resistance. Their misery was farther increased by a famine, brought upon themselves by neglecting to sow their lands. And it cannot be doubted Paulinus's army would have been sufficient to complete the conquest of Britain, if dissensions arising among the Romans had not prevented them from improving their advantages.

During the short reigns of Galba and Otho, the Britons had neither governor nor general. Vitellius being come to the empire, sent Vectius Bolanus into Britain, to take upon him the command of the army. He continued in the province till Vespasian, who succeeded Vitellius on the imperial throne, being informed of the state of Britain, sent thither Petilius Cerealis; who, during his government, attacked and defeated in several battles the Brigantes, the most numerous and considerable of all the British nations. Julius Frontinus succeeded him, and acquired no less glory than his predecessor, by subduing the warlike Silures, whose country seemed, by its situation, to screen them from all attacks.

Towards the end of Vespasian's reign, Julius Agricola arrived in Britain to succeed Frontinus. Some time before he was appointed governor of Britain, the Ordovices had surprised and cut to pieces a body of Roman horse, quartered in their frontiers. Agricola immediately attacked them, and notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, made them pay dear for the advantage they had lately gained.

War was not the only affair that employed the new governor. Whilst his arms were triumphant, he carefully inquired about every thing relating to the government of the province. He spent the whole winter after his first campaign, in diligent

regulating several abuses crept in by the avarice or negligence of former governors. He prevented all kind of exactions; caused justice to be administered punctually and impartially; and endeavoured to remove every occasion of discontent. These proceedings gained the affection of the Britons to such a degree, that he had no cause to fear a revolt whilst he should be employed in making new conquests. Vespasian dying about this time, his son Titus succeeded him, and, knowing Agricola's great merit, continued him in his government.

In the spring the general took the field again, and marched towards the north, where he made some conquests. He observed the Romans commonly lost in the winter what they gained in the summer, because they durst not venture to quarter in the conquered countries, which were too much exposed. To prevent this inconvenience, he resolved to build forts in proper places, where garrisons might be kept in the winter, always ready to repulse the enemy. As he was a great master in the art of fortification, these forts were built and situated in such manner, that the Romans were never under a necessity to quit them, nor the enemies ever able to take them.

Agricola, in a series of most skilful campaigns, entirely subdued the island; penetrating far beyond his predecessors into Caledonia, whither such of the Britons as remained unsubdued had retired. Here at the feet of the Grampian hills he gained his conclusive and most celebrated victory over Galgacus, one of the last of those heroic native chieftains who struggled against the arrogant domination of the Romans.

Agricola it was who gave the finishing blow to the liberty of Britain. By his valour and prudent conduct all that part of the island lying south of the two Friths, was reduced to a Roman province; and the northern part only remained free to the inhabitants, a wild uncultivated country, not worth the conquering or keeping.

Though the loss of their liberty seemed to be an irreparable damage to the Britons, it was in some measure repaired by the great alteration for the better in their customs and manners. In a short time they laid aside their rude and savage life, and assumed the manners of their conquerors. Arts and sciences, little regarded by the Britons before this revolution, flourished among them as much as in any other part of the Roman dominions. In a word, from mere savages the Britons became exceedingly civilized. After this reformation, they made but faint struggles for the recovery of their liberty, being pleased, for the most part, with their servitude. It must, however, be confessed, that a great many chose to lose their possessions, and retire into the north among the Picts and Scots, rather than live in subjection to the Roman yoke. These were the men that, joining with those who afforded them refuge, made continual war with the Romans, in maintenance of the liberty their unhappy country had lost. They spared not even their countrymen, whom they looked upon with abhorrence for being pleased with their slavery. These were the men that with the Picts and Scots obliged emperors themselves to come over in person, and oppose the efforts of their invincible

armies. As for the subjects of the empire, they endured all the hardships that are the usual lot of the vanquished. Exorbitant taxes were laid upon them

on numberless pretences. Their estates were taken from them and given to the veterans that were continually coming to settle in the island. The flower of their youth were made soldiers, and dispersed in the other provinces of the empire; according to the usual policy of the Romans, who always transported large numbers levied in a conquered country into other remote regions; for instance, the Britons into Pannonia, the Batavians into Illyria, the Germans into Britain, to keep them at a distance from their own country; and by thus draining the conquered nations of their main strength, they disabled them from revolting, and at the same time made use of them to acquire new conquests.

After Agricola's departure from Britain, we have but a slender account of what passed in the island till the reign of Adrian. We only know that Sallustius Lucullus was sent hither by Domitian, to whose suspicious or jealousy he quickly fell a sacrifice. It is to be presumed, the subjects of the empire were quiet, and the inhabitants of the north suffered to enjoy their liberty in peace. The Roman historians mention also in the reigns of Nerva and Trajan some commotions in the island that were quickly appeased; but the particulars are unknown. It may likewise be observed in this interval, the Romans, after their conquests, suffered kings to be in Britain; for they gloried in having such for their subjects; Juvenal speaks of King Arviragus, who reigned in some part of the island under Domitian.

In the first year of Adrian, the northern people, a mixture, as supposed, of Picts, Scots, and Britons, but confounded by the Roman historians under the name of Caledonians, made an irruption into the Roman province. Their first exploit was to demolish some of Agricola's fortresses between the two Friths. Adrian, being informed of these commotions, appointed Julius Severus governor of Britain, but, before he had time to perform any thing, he was suddenly recalled and employed elsewhere. The Caledonians continuing to infest the Roman territories, the emperor resolved to go over in person, and subdue these fierce and troublesome people. As soon as they heard of his arrival, they relinquished the country they were possessed of, and retired to the north. Adrian advanced as far as York, where he met some of Agricola's old soldiers, that had been with him in the northern parts. The description these gave him of the country he intended to conquer, diverted him from pursuing his expedition. Besides that the bogs and mountains he was to pass would have engaged him in a war more laborious than honourable, he easily perceived, that, should his undertaking be crowned with success, it would procure no great advantage to the empire. Wherefore he came to a resolution to leave to the Caledonians all the country between the two Friths and the Tyne; in hopes by thus enlarging their bounds to keep them quiet: but, at the same time to secure the Roman province from their incursions, he caused a rampart of earth to be thrown up, covered with turf, from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway-Frith. This rampart was eighty miles in length, and ran quite across the country from east to west; by which he secured the southern parts, leaving the Caledonians all the lands between the new rampart and



the isthmus that parts the two Friths. Having thus settled matters in the island, he returned to Rome, and was honoured with the title of Restorer of Britain, as appears by some medals.

After these last irruptions of the northern people, there had long been a mortal enmity betwixt them and the southern Britons. These last finding themselves entirely separated by inclination and interest from the rest of the inhabitants of the island, were the more forward to embrace the customs and manners of the Romans. And afterwards, by means of the arts and sciences, became by degrees capable of being instructed in the Christian religion, which until then was scarce known in the island.

How strong soever Adrian's rampart might be, it was not sufficient to prevent the inroads of the northern people. Indeed, they behaved peaceably as long as there were Roman troops enough on their borders to defend the rampart. But the moment these were removed, as it sometimes happened, they began their usual ravages. And, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, not satisfied with their booty, they destroyed the rampart in several places. Antoninus being informed of it, and fearing their boldness, if not curbed, would carry them to greater undertakings, ordered Lollius Urbicus to go and quell them. The new governor, (having first subdued the Brigantes, who endeavoured to shake off the Roman yoke,) in order to put a stop to the northern irruptions, raised another rampart on the neck of land between the two Friths, where Agricola had formerly built his fortresses. Thus the inhabitants of the north were confined within narrower bounds than before. By means of this rampart and a camp at a little distance where troops were kept ready to march on occasion, he compelled the Caledonians to remain peaceably in their country. Though Antoninus was never in Britain himself, this expedition, as done by his orders, and under his auspices, gained him the title of Britannicus.

Marcus Aurelius, his successor, gave the government of Britain to Calphurnius Agricola. This governor checked the insolence of the Caledonians, and strengthened the emperor's dominion over such of the Britons as seemed to bear their yoke with the most reluctance. It was in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, that Lucius, a British king, embraced the Christian religion, which had been long before planted in the island, but for want of due cultivation had taken no deep root.

During the reign of Commodus, successor of Marcus Aurelius, there were great commotions in Britain. The northern men taking up arms, cut in pieces the Roman army, commanded by an inexperienced general, and made great ravages in the province. All Britain was in danger of being lost, if the emperor had not speedily sent Ulpius Marcellus, a general of great reputation. The new governor defeated the rebels in several encounters, and by his conduct put an end, in a very short space, to this dangerous war.

Severus divided Britain into two governments. The first, containing the southern parts, was given to Heracitus; and Virius Lupus had the second, consisting of the northern provinces bordering upon the Caledonians, by whom he was so infested, that he was compelled at last to purchase a peace with money.

After this treaty Britain remained in quiet till the fifteenth year of Severus, when the Caledo-

nians renewed their incursions into the Roman province. The Roman soldiers having enjoyed several years peace, were grown so effeminate and negligent, that they seemed never to have had the least tincture of military discipline. It was this that emboldened the Caledonians, and made them think they should not neglect so fair an opportunity to attack their neighbours, who till then had appeared so formidable to them.—They made such progress, that the emperor, though sixty years of age, and afflicted with the gout, resolved to go in person and chastise their insolence. His intent was, to completely prevent the continual commotions in Britain, by the entire conquest of the north. To that purpose he drew together a numerous army, and set out for Britain, accompanied by his sons Caracalla and Geta. The Caledonians, when they heard of his arrival, sent ambassadors to demand peace upon honourable terms. But he refused to listen to them, unless they would submit to his mercy; which they not consenting to, he marched towards their country with his eldest son Caracalla, leaving Geta at London, to take care of the southern parts.

It was with infinite toil that he penetrated to the utmost bounds of the north, cutting down woods, draining bogs, or filling them with bavinis. By this hard duty and the continual ambuscades of the enemy, he lost 50,000 men. He, however, accomplished his design, and subdued these fierce and hitherto unconquered people. But soon perceiving how fruitless it was, since he could not possibly keep the country in subjection without a great army always on the spot, he relinquished these conquests; and confining himself to Adrian's former project, he divided the island into two parts by a wall, in the place where Adrian threw up his rampart. This wall, of which there are still some remains, was called by the ancient Britons Mursever, or Severus's wall, and must not be, as it is by some, confounded with the rampart raised by Lollius Urbicus between the two Friths. The emperor having nothing more to do in the north, returned to York, leaving the finishing of the wall and command of the army to his son Caracalla. This expedition caused him to assume the title of Britannicus Maximus. Caracalla, no longer restrained by the emperor's father's presence, suffered the soldiers to commit all manner of licentiousness: so that the Caledonians, unused to the yoke, took up arms with one accord. Severus hearing of this revolt, but not knowing the cause, ordered the rebels to be all massacred. Severus died shortly after at York, and the two princes his sons concluded a peace with the Caledonians,\* and returned to Rome.

Little is known of the affairs of Britain from the death of Severus to the reign of Dioclesian. There is reason to suppose that some of the thirty tyrants who were in possession of the em-

\* The inhabitants of Caledonia were the Picts and Scots, as to whom a great controversy exists among historians. Hume, having investigated the subject with his usual philosophical acuteness, says, "The Picts seem to have been a tribe of the native British race, who having been chased into the northern parts by the conquests of Agricola, had there intermingled with the ancient inhabitants." The Scots were derived from the same Celtic origin, had first been established in Ireland, had migrated to the north-west coasts of this island, and had been long accustomed, as well from their old as their new seats, to infest the Roman province by piracy and rapine."



pire were acknowledged, if not personally present, in Britain. Probus was the first emperor who permitted the Britons to plant vines as well as the Gauls or Spaniards. But in all appearance, no great benefit was reaped by this permission. Probus also, after subduing the Vandals and Burgundians, sent over great numbers of them into Britain. These new colonies are generally thought to have been settled on Gogmagog-hill, near Cambridge, where there remains to this day a fortification, imagined to be the work of these foreigners. It is, however, on better evidence, ascribed to the Danes, who were long masters of Cambridge.

In the beginning of Dioclesian's reign, Carausius had the command of a fleet, with orders to scour the seas of the piratical Franks and Saxons, who perpetually infested the Belgic, Armorican, and British coasts. Carausius found means to enrich himself immensely, by plundering the pirates, or taking shares with them in their spoils. After which, he began by degrees to receive the emperor's commands with less respect and submission. Maximian was then emperor of the west, Dioclesian of the east. Carausius's conduct creating in Maximian suspicions that were but too well grounded, he resolved to have him assassinated. Upon notice of which, Carausius immediately assumed the imperial purple, and as his riches had acquired him a great interest in the army, his authority was readily acknowledged in the island. Maximian advanced as far as Gaul with design to chastise him; but finding him too well established, he thought it better to associate him into the empire, and leave him Britain for his share. There are silver coins still found in England of these two emperors, having on the reverse two hands joined together with these words, "Concordia Augg."

Dioclesian and Maximian, on the same day, resigned the empire, one in the east, the other in the west. Galerius and Constantius succeeding them, the last, as emperor of the west, had Britain in his division: he died at York in the beginning of an expedition against the northern people, distinguished by the names of Deucalcedonians and Vecturians. Constantius, before he expired, had the satisfaction to see his son Constantine, and appoint him his successor. Some think Constantine was born in Britain, of Helena, daughter of Coel, king of Colchester. But this is only conjecture.

The Britons, as long as Constantine ruled, lived in profound tranquillity. The liberty granted throughout all the Roman empire, of professing the Christian religion, was enjoyed by Britain as well as the rest of the provinces. The whole empire was now divided into four large prefectures, namely, Italy, Gaul, the East, and Illyria, in which were contained fourteen great dioceses or provinces. Britain, one of the fourteen, was subject to the prefect of Gaul, and governed by a vicarius, or deputy under him. It was divided into three provinces, namely, Britannia Prima,\* containing all the country south of the Thames—the capital London: Britannia Secunda, containing all the country west of the Severn to the Irish sea, now called Wales—the capital Isca of Caerleon; and all the rest lying northward of the

Thames, and eastward of the Severn, made up the third province, distinguished by the name of Maxima Cæsariensis—the capital York. This last was afterwards subdivided into two parts; the southern part retained the old name of Maxima Cæsariensis, and the other, more northward, was called Flavia Cæsariensis. But whether this subdivision was made by Constantine is uncertain. In these three provinces were twenty-eight large cities, which in time became so many bishops' seats. The lieutenant of the prefect of Gaul had four magistrates under him—two consular, and two with the title of presidents. These magistrates, with several inferior officers, managed all civil and criminal matters.

In the military department there were three general officers; the business of the first was to keep peace in the inland parts of the island, and probably of the western coasts. The second was to defend the north from the irruptions of the Picts and Scots. The third to guard the eastern and southern coasts from the frequent inroads of the Saxon pirates. Each of these generals had a certain number of troops under his command, and the three together could form a body of twenty thousand foot, and about two thousand horse.

About the end of Constantine's reign, the government of the west was conferred on Julian, then created Cesar. Shortly after his accession, the Picts and Scots made incursions into the province of Britain, and Lupicinus was despatched thither with all expedition; but the northern people appeased Julian by their submission.

During the reign of Valentinian I. the island was in a wretched condition; the Picts, Scots, Attacots, Franks, and Saxons, by accident or a common league, invaded the Roman province at once, and made great ravages. Nectaridius, count or guardian of the coasts, was defeated and slain by these new enemies; and soon after, Bucchobaudes had the same fate. Severus and Jovinus were successively sent into Britain to put a stop to their ravages, but to no purpose. But Theodosius the elder routed them in several encounters, and drove them out of the Roman province, recovering all their booty, with a small part of which he rewarded his troops, restoring the rest to the owners. The barbarians being repulsed, Theodosius returned in triumph to London, and perceiving the city to have lost much of its ancient splendour, omitted nothing to restore it. As the enemy had retired beyond the two Friths, he thought it necessary for the safety of Britain to keep all the country they had abandoned. To that end, he built fortresses on the neck of land between the two seas, thus making a fifth province, which he named Valentinia, in honour of Valentinian. And having thus settled matters in Britain, he returned to Rome, leaving the island under the command of the governors of each of the five provinces.

Valentinian I. had for his successors his son Valentinian II., and Gratian. Shortly after, Maximus was sent into Britain, upon the Picts recommencing hostilities. At his arrival, he formed a design to reduce the whole island under the dominion of the Romans. But the union of the two northern nations being a grand obstacle to the execution of his project, he resolved to divide them, if possible, and then attack them one after the other; designing to use the Picts to destroy the Scots, he engaged the Picts to join their forces

\* Called Prima, because first conquered: as Wales was called Secunda, because next subdued. It was always the custom of the Romans to divide their conquests into certain portions or provinces, and give them new names.

with his, upon a promise of giving them all the lands that should be taken from the Scots, who being attacked by these two united powers, were forced to abandon their country and fly into Ireland and the adjacent isles.

After the death of Theodosius, the empire was divided between his two sons. Arcadius was emperor of the east, and Honorius of the west. As Honorius was very young, the famous Stilico, by the emperor his father's order, was regent during his minority. His first care was to send a governor into Britain with a legion, to curb the insolence of the Picts, who after Theodosius's death began to make inroads into the Roman province. He made choice of Victorinus, a person of a fierce and arrogant temper, who not satisfied with confining the Picts to their country, treated them as subjects of the empire. He pretended to stretch his authority so far as to forbid them to crown their own king. This proceeding convinced the Picts of the impolicy of their assisting to drive out the Scots; and in this state of fear and uncertainty, they resolved to recal them. They therefore despatched an honourable embassy to Fergus, a prince of the blood-royal of Scotland, who had retired into Denmark, and invited him and his countrymen to return: and as a further inducement, they promised him the command of their army in the war with the Romans. Having accepted their offers, the Scots re-entered the island under the conduct of Fergus, whom they unanimously chose for their king.

As soon as Fergus II. was seated on the throne, he assembled the forces of both nations, and after taking the fortresses built by Theodosius the elder, between the two Friths, advanced to Severus's wall. The small number of troops left by the Romans in the island not being able to defend a barrier of such extent, the Picts and Scots entered the Roman province with little or no difficulty, and laid the country waste.

After Britain had submitted to the Romans, a great number of foreign families had removed thither, sprung for the most part from the veteran soldiers settled there. These families had so mixed with the natives, that they now made but one people; we shall therefore call this mixed people henceforward by the name of Britons, because the Romans and other foreigners, as well as the natives, had the same interest to defend their common country. The Britons finding themselves continually harassed by their neighbours, and despairing of assistance from Rome, resolved to elect an emperor, whose interest it should be to protect them. Their choice fell upon Marcus, an officer of great repute; but the new sovereign was quickly dethroned, and another called Gratian, chosen in his room, who met the same fate four months after his election.

Constantine, a common soldier, was next raised to the imperial dignity purely for the sake of his name, which was thought to be fortunate. Being a man of courage, and of a genius far above his former condition, he beat back the northern people, and concluded a peace with them. This success inspired him with a design to become master of the whole empire; and he therefore drew together the remains of those who could bear arms, as well Romans as islanders, and forming an army, passed into Gaul.

The Britons thus left to themselves by the departure of the Roman soldiers and the flower of

their youth, were quickly reduced to great extremities. The Picts and Scots continued their ravages without opposition. This wretched state lasted some years, and the Romans being too much occupied with their own affairs, were unable to assist them. The Goths had renewed the war under the conduct of Alaric, and having taken and sacked the city of Rome, were in possession of Gaul. On the other side, the Suevi, Vandals, Cotti, and Alani, had overrun Spain. Honorius, thus beset on all sides, to free himself from the importunities of the Britons, voluntarily resigned the sovereignty of the island, and discharged the inhabitants of their allegiance to the empire. This solemn renunciation was made in the year 410, a little after Alaric's taking of Rome.

The affairs of the Romans happening afterwards to be somewhat restored under Valentinian III., by the victories of the famous *Ætius* over the Visigoths and Burgundians, this general, out of pity to the wretched condition of the Britons, sent them a legion commanded by Gallio of Ravenna, or as some say, by Maximian. This aid arriving unexpectedly, beat back with ease the northern nations; but the emperor having occasion for the legion, it was recalled just as the enemies were preparing to renew their devastations.

Before his departure the Roman commander warned the Britons to expect no further assistance from the emperor, who was wholly employed elsewhere against the northern nations of Europe, whose ravages extended to all parts of the empire; and advised them to inure themselves to arms, and to repair the wall of Severus, which might serve them for a barrier; offering them the assistance of his soldiers and his own direction in the work. The Britons complied with the latter part of this advice; and when they had finished the reparation of the wall, the Romans took their last farewell of Britain. The end of the Roman dominion over Britain is to be fixed at the time of this legion leaving the island, in the year 426 or 427.

## THE BRITONS.

THE Picts and Scots, who lived in strict union after the coronation of Fergus, began their hostilities against the Britons with more confidence than ever, on departure of the Roman forces. The wall of Severus, lately repaired, was soon after abandoned by the Britons. About this time Fergus died, as he was returning to Ireland, leaving his young son Eugenius II. a minor, under the regency of Graham, his grandfather by his mother's side.

The weakness of the Britons was so great, that, despairing to resist their enemies, they abandoned part of their country, and retired more southward. The Picts and Scots taking advantage of this, formed new projects to drive the Britons entirely out of the island. To this end they resolved to invite colonies from Ireland and the adjacent isles, to people the lands forsaken by the Britons, as well as those they hoped to conquer from them hereafter. But Graham prevented, by his authority, the execution of this project, being fearful of the return of the Romans; and preferring a solid peace, with some real, though not great advantages, to a war which might be attended with dangerous consequences. The



peace offered was gladly accepted by the Britons. By the treaty, the wall of Severus was to be the common boundary of the two nations; and for this advantage the Britons were to pay a considerable sum of money. The Scots loudly murmured at this peace, but Graham took care to have it observed during his administration.

As soon as Eugenius II. ascended the throne of Scotland, he resolved to break this treaty; and for that purpose sent ambassadors to the Britons, and haughtily demanded all the lands possessed by the Scots before the late treaty. The chief of the Britons, surprised at this unexpected demand, convened a general assembly to consider an answer. The majority of the assembly, provoked at the insolence of their neighbours, and knowing they only wanted an excuse to renew the war, were determined to reject it; arguing that the Scots would not be satisfied with their present demands—that their aim was only to have an entrance into the country, and that it would be an easier task to prevent them from entering, than to drive them out when once settled. Others knowing the extreme weakness of the nation, were of a different opinion, and were for finding some expedient to satisfy the Scots, and avoid, if possible, a war which they feared must prove fatal to the Britons. They argued that it was better for the Britons to give up freely what they could not keep, than for the sake of that to run the risk of losing all.

They were, however, overruled by the violent party; and Conan, one of the wisest and most powerful of the nation, for dwelling too long upon the advantages of peace, was deemed a traitor, and torn in pieces by them. After that none dared to oppose it; the ambassadors were sent back with an insulting answer. This hasty resolution was followed by a war more destructive to the Britons than any former one, they having lost 14 or 15,000 men in one battle. Reduced to extremity, they were obliged to give up all the country north of the Humber, of which the Picts and Scots, as waging war in common, took possession.\*

The extreme weakness of the Britons will not be thought strange, if all circumstances are considered. The Romans had never suffered them to exercise their arms; it being their custom always to employ foreign troops in their conquests. For this reason the soldiers levied in Britain were sent into other provinces, from whence they never returned. These levies were so numerous, that there were twelve considerable bodies of Britons in the Roman armies dispersed in the several provinces of the empire, and always recruited from Britain. In the next place, Maximus and Constantine led such great armies from thence, as almost drained the island of men fit to bear arms. And, if to this be added the late losses sustained by the Britons after the departure of the Romans, it is no wonder they became so easy a prey to their enemies.

From this time to the coming in of the Saxons, the history of Britain is very confused. All that can be gathered with any certainty is, that the Britons elected several kings, whose actions are unknown; and who were killed or dethroned, according to the humour and interest of the leading men. Several kings reigned at the same time in different provinces, and by

their discord and wars contributed to the weakening one another. And, to complete their misfortunes, Britain was afflicted with a cruel famine, which prevailed in most parts of the world. This terrible scourge rendered the country desolate, and the people starved by thousands. In this extreme distress, multitudes of poor wretches, to save their lives, fled into Armorica, where great part of Maximus's army was already settled. Others threw themselves on the Picts and Scots, who taking advantage of their misfortunes, broke the treaty, and passing the Humber, ravaged the country in a merciless manner.

In this miserable state the Britons sought once more for the Roman assistance; and sent a very moving letter to Ætius, then in Gaul. "We know not," say they, "which way to turn us. The barbarians drive us to the sea, and the sea forces us back to the barbarians; between which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or butchered by the sword." Ætius was then preparing to repulse Attila, who had entered Gaul with an army of eighty thousand men, and therefore replied, that the affairs of the empire would not suffer him to assist them. The miserable Britons, distressed still more by this answer, held a general assembly, and agreed to choose a monarch,\* in the expectation that when united under one head, their divisions would cease, and their enemies be more strongly resisted. But the discord that reigned among the principal members of the state, prevented the good effects of this expedient. Several chiefs, having fortified themselves in various places, acted like sovereigns. All these petty tyrants, jealous of one another far from owning the monarch elect, sought only to destroy him, in order to be chosen in his room.

We know not the names of any of these monarchs, until Vortigern, count or king of the Dunmonij,† elected in the year 445.

The new monarch was by no means qualified to restore the affairs of the Britons. As he attained to the supreme dignity by artifice and cabal, he wholly bent his thoughts to maintain himself on the throne by the same base methods, regardless of the general welfare of his subjects. He was of a cruel and avaricious temper, addicted to many vices; and is said to have debauched his own daughter, by flattering her with hopes of being a queen. It was necessary to think of repulsing the enemies, and Vortigern felt himself incapable of such an undertaking, though he had been chosen for that very purpose. Reflecting on the fate of his predecessors, he was apprehensive he should, like them, be dethroned by his turbulent subjects when found to be incapable of answering the expectations which had raised him to the throne. Living thus in equal dread of the enemies of the state and of his own subjects, he devised an expedient to free himself from the danger of the one and plots of the other. And calling a general assembly, he described in a strong and lively manner the extreme misery of the nation: accused the Romans of being the sole cause of the misfortunes of the Britons, by draining the island of all her youth fit to bear arms, and then leaving her to the insults of her neighbours. He en-

\* By monarch here is to be understood, one superior to the other heads or kings, on whom they were in some measure dependent.

† Inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall.

\* From Severus. Wall to the Humber is eighty miles.



larged upon the great losses sustained since by the Britons, and the manifest danger of being either driven out of their country, or utterly destroyed, by reason of their weakness. Protested that he was ever ready to hazard his life for the service of the nation : but considering the few troops in his power, and the little union between the principal members of the state, he had no hopes that his weak endeavours would be able to rescue his subjects from their present calamities. And finally declared he saw but one way to save his country from destruction ; and that was, to call in to their assistance a nation, who by their victorious arms were settled in Germany, upon the lands of the Romans ; namely, the Saxons : adding, they had indeed done some injury to the Britons by their piracies, but that they were now ready to repair it by freeing them from the continual irruptions of the Picts and Scots. That being separated from Britain by a small arm of the sea only, they could be as speedy with their aid as the pressing occasion required : that they were already formidable to the northern nations ; and that by their arrival the Britons would quickly be in condition to resist and chastise their enemies. He concluded with representing the proposal hardly to admit of debate ; the Britons could not continue to exist without foreign aid, and none but the Saxons were in a condition to give them assistance.

The fears with which all were seized, the hopes of still enjoying their native country and recovering their lost estates, and the desire for revenge, conspired to induce the assembly to give a unanimous reception to the proposal. But when the terms to be offered to the Saxons were debated, there was a considerable dissension. Vortigern, whose secret purpose was to strengthen himself as well against his own subjects as foreign enemies, moved, the allotting them some province, that their own interest might induce them to wage war more heartily and vigorously. But as no lands could be assigned to them but what belonged to some of the assembly, it was no easy matter to agree on this point. At length, after great disputes, it was resolved that the Saxons should have the Isle of Thanet in Kent, as being a proper place to land their forces, and convenient for them whenever they wanted to return into their own country. It was further agreed, that the Saxon soldiers should be allowed pay, which should be settled by agreement on both sides. After this resolution, ambassadors were appointed to negotiate the affair in Germany. Vortigern, pleased with having carried his point without incurring suspicion, imagined himself out of the reach of all danger. But this very expedient proved the ruin of himself and the Britons.

It will be now necessary to give some account of the Saxons. They were so little known before their coming into Britain, and what is said of their original is so uncertain, that it is not surprising this subject is but very slightly touched upon by the generality of the English historians. Some barely say, the Saxons were called in to the assistance of Britain, without any farther addition concerning them. Others say only, the Saxons were a German people, without mentioning the parts they inhabited. Some again add, they were pirates from the Cimbric Chersonesus, that came and settled on the coasts of the German ocean. But as these coasts are of a vast extent, we are not much the wiser for that. The most

probable account to be gathered from the several authors is as follows.

About the time the Romans began to extend their conquests in Germany, the inhabitants of the Cimbric Chersonesus, now called Jutland, leaving their country, advanced towards the south. They possessed themselves at first of the northern parts of Germany, and doubtless spent some years in settling themselves in those quarters. But as the Romans had not yet penetrated so far, and we have no ancient histories of the northern countries, nor even of the western, but what the Romans have left us, there is little known of the first irruptions made by the northern people into Germany. The Cimbri continually pushing their conquests to the southward, and the Romans advancing to the northward, at last approached one another. Then it was that the Romans had opportunity to learn in some measure the state of these hitherto unknown nations.

Their historians, however, speak very confusedly of them, giving sometimes different names to the same people, and sometimes the same name to different nations. The Cimbri that came from the Cimbric Chersonesus were divided into three bands, one taking the name of Suevi, another of Franks, and a third of Saxons. Some suppose the Franks to be a branch of the Suevi. These three nations continually advancing southwards, came at length to the frontiers of the Roman empire ; the Suevi towards Italy ; the Franks to the south-west, towards the coast of Belgic-Gaul ; and the Saxons to the west, towards the German ocean. The Suevi were so terrible to the ancient Germans, that they considered them able to contend even with their gods, as Cesar says in his Commentaries. The Franks conquered the whole province of Gaul, and founded the extensive kingdom of France.

The Saxons possessed themselves of those tracts of land lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. Their territories, bounded on the west by the German ocean, extended eastward to the borders of Thuringen ; consequently they were masters of Saxony, Westphalia, and all that part of the Low-Countries lying north of the Rhine. The nations subdued by these conquerors were in time called Saxons, in like manner as the inhabitants of Gaul were named François or French, after their subjection to the Franks. But whether the Saxons were not so rapid in their conquests as the Suevi, or the course they took made it longer before they approached the Romans, it is certain they were not so soon known. The first Roman historians who mention them, at least by the name of Saxons, are Eutropius and Orosius, who inform us that Carausius (as has already been noticed) was sent to clear the seas of the piratical Franks and Saxons. From that time they became formidable to the Romans, and obliged them to keep standing forces to guard both the German and British coasts, with a general officer styled the prefect, or count of the Saxon coasts. Upon the decline of the Roman empire, after the death of Theodosius, the Saxons taking advantage of its weakness, made themselves masters of the whole country along the coast of the German ocean, and even extended their conquests as far as the isles of Zealand. Hence the Frisians, Batavians, and the neighbouring nations, were hardly known by any other name but that of the Saxons.

The Saxons had for some time been in possession of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and when driven thence by the Goths, settled in Germany, in the parts now called Lower-Saxony. Between that country and the Chersonesus, were a people known by the name of Angles, inhabiting about Sleswick in Holstein. Probably the little country of Anglen in those parts was so named from them, or they from the country. The Angles joining with the Saxons when they came out of the Chersonesus to make conquests in Germany, became in a manner but one nation with them: though, doubtless, from the major part, they were generally called Saxons; yet they had sometimes the compound name of Anglo-Saxons given them. Great numbers of Goths mixed likewise with them to share in their conquests. These are called Wites by Bede, and are commonly known by the name of Jutes, or (which is the same) Goths. It can hardly be doubted that these three nations were united before their coming into Britain, when we consider the good understanding between them while they were employed in establishing themselves in the island.

The true etymology of the name Saxon is as difficult to be discovered as their origin. They that derive them from the Saccæ of Asia, are indeed at no great loss in this point. But the most common opinion is, that the word Saxon comes from Seax, which, in their language, signifies a kind of weapon or sword. They had two sorts, a long one worn by their side or at their back; and another shorter, serving for a bayonet or dagger. They were both in the shape of a cutlass.

In their customs and manners they very much resembled the ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus. They were naturally brave and warlike, both by land and sea. To their enemies they were severe and cruel, especially to their prisoners of war, whom they sacrificed to their gods.

Their dominions were divided into twelve governments or provinces, each of which had a chief or head accountable to the general assembly of the nation. In time of war they chose a general who commanded their armies, and was invested with almost sovereign power: but at the end of the war, his authority, like that of the Roman dictator, ceased. The centre of their empire was at Brunswick.

Their religion was the same with that of the other northern nations, and some part of Germany. The British Saxons embraced Christianity about the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh century. But those that remained in Germany were not converted until the ninth, by the care or rather violence of Charlemagne, by whom they were subdued. Their principal gods, before their conversion, were, the Sun, Moon, Tuisco, Woden, Thor, Friga or Fræa, and Seater. To these were consecrated the seven days of the week, as appears by the present names of those days among the Germans, Flemings, and English. Tuisco is said, by the monkish writers, to be the grandson of Japhet, and to have peopled first the north of Europe. Teutch, as the Germans call themselves, is probably derived from Tuisco. The god Thor, from whence comes the word thunder or dunder, was the same among the Saxons as Jupiter among the Romans, that is to say, the Thunderer. Woden was the god of war, and under his conduct the first Saxons came forth from their country, and made large conquests.

Their chief families considered him as their founder, and gloried in being descended from him. Probably, however, there were two of this name, that are often confounded; one more ancient, worshipped as a god, another not so old, from whom sprung the families of the Saxon leaders. There are still in England some remains of the name of Woden in those of several places, as Wansdike, Wansborough, &c. which are contractions of Wodens-dike and Wodens-borough. Fræa, the wife of Woden, was the Venus of the Saxons. She was worshipped in the shape of an hermaphrodite, as being of both sexes. Ermen-swol, the same as Mercury, was another of their gods, with others common to them with all the northern nations. This is the only account which can now be gained of the Saxons, whom the Britons, by Vortigern's advice, called in to their assistance.

*The state of the British Church, from the conversion of the Britons to the coming of the Saxons.*

After Christianity was established in the world, the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of kingdoms were so interwoven, that it will be necessary occasionally to add a brief account of the progress of the Christian religion in Britain.

Before the birth of our Saviour, the Britons were gross idolaters. If their own historians are to be credited, they had as many and as extravagant idols as the Egyptians themselves. Andate, the goddess of victory, was one of their principal deities. They had also gods, to whom they attributed the same powers the Greeks and Romans did to their Apollo and Diana. But the Druids never committing any of their mysteries to writing, but little is known concerning their worship and ceremonies.

Though it is difficult to know the precise time when Christianity was first introduced, yet it is generally supposed that the gospel was preached in Britain soon after our Saviour's death. The most current opinion for some time was, that Joseph of Arimathea first preached to the Britons: but this assertion is now supposed to be a fabrication of the monks.

Theodoret assures us, the Britons were converted by the apostles. Eusebius, speaking of the dangers the apostles were exposed to in propagating the gospel in the most remote countries, mentions among the rest the British Isles. The most probable time to be assigned for the conversion of the Britons, if it was in the apostles' days, is that between the victory of Claudius and the defeat of Boadicea. For at the time of the general revolt, there were in the island above 80,000 Romans, among whom very probably were some Christians; the gospel having gained footing in many places, particularly at Rome. Upon this supposition, there is no absurdity in asserting with several modern authors, that St. Paul first preached the gospel in Britain. It is certain this apostle, in the eight years between his first imprisonment at Rome and his return to Jerusalem, propagated the Christian religion in several places, especially in the western countries. He informs us of his design of going to Spain; and it is not unlikely but his desire of converting the Britons might carry him into their island. This opinion may be supported by the testimony of Venutius Fortunatus, in his poem upon the Life of St.



Martin, where he speaks of the travels of St. Paul. But these are only conjectures, and of little use but to make it credible that the gospel was planted in Britain soon after the death of Christ.

According to several authors, Lucius, a British king, having some knowledge of the christian religion, and desiring to be more fully instructed, sent two ambassadors, Elwan and Medwin, to Eleutherius, the twelfth bishop of Rome, to request that some missionaries might be sent to Britain. Eleutherius very gladly embraced the opportunity of re-planting Christianity in Britain, where probably it had been rooted out by the violence of persecutions. He immediately caused the two ambassadors to be instructed, and after baptizing and consecrating them bishops, sent them back to their own country. By their means the gospel flourished again in Britain.

From the conversion of Lucius to the Dioclesian persecution, the ecclesiastical history of Britain is entirely unknown. It is probable that during that interval of eight years, the Christian religion made great progress in the island, as a multitude of British martyrs suffered during the dreadful persecution under Dioclesian and Maximian, his colleague. Among these martyrs, St. Alban, converted at Verulam\* by a priest whom he had harboured in his house, is reckoned the first. Constantius Chlorus, though inclined to favour the Christians, could not, whilst governor of Britain, dispense with the edicts of the emperors, having then the title of Cesar only, which gave him no power to oppose their laws. But as soon as he came to the empire, he put a stop to this violent persecution, and gave the Christians some respite. Under Constantine his son, the Christian religion flourished throughout the Roman empire, and more particularly in Britain.

After this the Christians multiplied exceedingly, and the island abounded with churches. Some affirm there were British bishops at the council of Nice in 325. But though this cannot be sufficiently proved, it is not at all unlikely, since eleven years before there were for certain three British bishops at the council of Arles;† as there were also some after at the council of Ariminum in 359, but so poor that their charges were borne by their brethren. Their signing at this last council the confession of faith, wherein the term consubstantial was omitted, gave occasion to some to imagine that Arianism was spread in Britain. But it appears this was the effect of intrigue, and that the faith of the British church was the same both before and after this council, which had not the effect the Arians desired.

The British church was much more justly accused of Pelagianism. Certain it is, several bishops were seduced, not by Pelagius himself, who, though a native of Britain, never returned to propagate his errors, but by Agricola, one of his disciples. The orthodox bishops perceiving the infection spread, sent to desire their brethren in Gaul to assist them in confuting this heresy. The Gaulish prelates, touched with the danger of the British church, met in council, and deputed Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Troy, to go and assist their brethren in Britain. At Verulam, in a conference with the Pelagians, they defended the truth

with such strength and evidence, that they turned many from their errors. But after their departure, the heretics gaining ground again, Germanus was desired once more to come over. Though he was now very old, he undertook a second voyage into Britain, in company with Severus bishop of Troy. Germanus despairing to convince the heretics by arguments, because of their obstinacy, caused the edict of Valentinian III., that condemned all heretics to banishment, to be put in execution against them. Before he left Britain, he erected schools, which produced afterwards many bishops famous for their learning and piety.

From this time to the arrival of the Saxons we know but little of the affairs of the British church. No doubt the frequent wars with the Picts and Scots, by destroying their churches, and by introducing a corruption of manners among the clergy as well as laity, were very prejudicial to the Christians. If we may believe Gildas and Bede, it was not so much the wars as the excessive plenty immediately after the famine that corrupted the manners of the Britons. The clergy outliving even the laity in gluttony, drunkenness, avarice, and luxury, no longer preached to their flocks the precepts of the gospel, which they themselves so little regarded.

## CHAPTER II.

*From the arrival of the Saxons to the retreat of the Britons into Wales. Containing about the space of one hundred and thirty years.*

THE Britons, though frequent sufferers by the incursions of the Saxons, fixed their thoughts solely on that valorous nation, believing that they only could free them from their calamities. Had they had any choice, they might have considered before they called the Saxons to their aid. But they had no other course, and Vortigern strove to divert them from any considerations which might have induced them to alter their resolution. The ambassadors were sent away in haste, and the negociation strongly recommended to their care, on the success of which entirely depended, as they imagined, the safety of their country. The dominion of the Saxons extended to the German ocean, and their conquests had been carried even into Zealand. Upon the arrival of the British ambassadors, Witigisil, leader of the Saxons, for the chief of the British embassy, is reported, by Witekind, a Saxon historian, to have delivered a speech somewhat to the following purport:—

“Illustrious and generous Saxons, the Britons, harassed and oppressed by the continual inroads of the Picts and Scots, their neighbours and enemies, sent us to you to implore your assistance. The fame of your victories has reached our ears. We are sensible your arms are irresistible, and therefore are come to sue for your protection. Britain for many years made a considerable part of the Roman empire; but our protectors having abandoned us, we know no nation more powerful than yourselves, or better able to assist us. Grant but our request, and in return we offer all that a rich and fertile country, such as ours is, can afford. Put what price you please on our protection: we shall submit to what terms you yourselves shall judge reasonable, provided by

\* Called afterwards from him St. Alban's.

† The three bishops mentioned, are Eborus, Bishop of York; Restitus, Bishop of London; Adelfius, Bishop of Colonia Londinensium, probably Colonia Lindum, Lincoln; or, according to some antiquaries, Caerleon



your and we are enabled to drive the enemy out of our country."

The Saxon general returned this short answer: "Be assured the Saxons will stand by you in your pressing necessities." After some negotiation an and was obtained of nine thousand men, on certain terms, the principal of which was, that the Saxons should be put in possession of the Isle of Thanet, and their troops paid and maintained by the Britons.

The Saxons were an enterprising nation, and by several previous descents on the eastern coasts, had proved their desire to gain a footing in the island; and, therefore, their readiness to comply with the desires of the Britons is not surprising. Hengist and Horsa, both sons of Witigisil, were appointed to command the troops destined for the aid of the Britons.

Hengist was about thirty years old. He first bore arms under his father Witigisil; after which, he served in the Roman armies, where the emperors generally kept some Saxon troops in their pay. He is universally described as a man of considerable qualifications as a warrior and conqueror. Of his brother, Horsa, no particular mention is made.

The Saxons, notwithstanding their treaty, did not send over at once so considerable a body of forces as nine thousand men, assigning as a reason, that the great distance from the place of embarkation, caused only a part to be put on board three vessels. Historians have not expressly marked the place of this first embarkation. It was most probably in Zealand, as that country was then in the possession of the Saxons, and was the nearest the Isle of Thanet, where these forces were to land.

Hengist and Horsa arrived with about 1600 followers at Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, in the year 449. Vortigern received his new friends with extraordinary caresses, putting them immediately in possession of the Isle of Thanet, according to agreement. When they had refreshed themselves a little, he led them against the Picts and Scots, who had advanced as far as Stamford in Lincolnshire. In the first battle the islanders, according to custom, began with throwing their darts, which made but little impression on warlike troops who despised that mode of fighting. The Saxons having stood this first charge without the least motion, advanced in good order, and coming to close fight, quickly routed enemies already terrified by their very looks. The future attempts of the Picts and Scots had no better success, and in all their encounters with the Saxons, they were continually worsted. Being discouraged by these frequent defeats, they abandoned their conquests by degrees, and retired into their own country, dreading nothing so much as engaging with the Saxons.

Vortigern, to effect his main point, the winning the Saxons to his particular interest, presented the two brothers with some lands in Lincolnshire, where they gave the enemies the first repulse. But if Vortigern was pursuing his own interests, Hengist, equally politic and much more talented in his conduct, was observing the weakness of the Britons; and he resolved to take the first opportunity of procuring a settlement in Britain. The lands given him by Vortigern furnished him with the means. He desired leave to build a little fort on them; and Vortigern, anxious to please him, readily complied with his request.

The Britons seeing a castle built in the heart of their country, began to murmur against their king, and suspect him of secretly favouring the Saxons. These murmurs gave Hengist a further opportunity, who had now discovered Vortigern's private intentions. He represented to Vortigern that the rebellion of his subjects was more to be feared than the invasion of the Picts and Scots; and advised him to secure himself from the approaching storm, by sending for the rest of the Saxons, who only waited for commands. Vortigern having gladly consented; in the year 450 a second body, consisting of 5000 Saxons, arrived in sixteen large vessels, accompanied by Escus, the son, and Rowena, the daughter (or according to some historians the niece) of Hengist.

Vortigern, grown powerful, rendered himself absolute. He treated his subjects with great rigour, and confirmed their suspicions of him.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other monkish historians, give a number of very minute particulars of the circumstances by which Hengist influenced Vortigern, and made him and the country subservient to the Saxon love of domination. Although these narrations are little to be depended on, yet as they may give some account of the manners of, at least, the period in which they were written, and have generally some foundation, they should not be altogether discarded by the historian who desires to present some definite idea of past and distant times.

According to the above early writers, Hengist invited Vortigern to Thong-Caster, the fort he had built, and welcomed him with a sumptuous banquet: where, in order to ensnare the British king into a closer engagement, he commanded his daughter Rowena, the greatest beauty of her time, to place herself before the king. The contrivance succeeded as Hengist expected. Vortigern fixed his eyes continually on Rowena, who by her father's commands appeared not to be insensible of the honour. Hengist perceiving with joy the sudden effect of Rowena's charms, and unwilling to give the growing passion time to cool, made a sign to his daughter, who immediately went to the sideboard and filled a gold cup with wine, and presented it on her knees to the king, saying in her language, "Liever kyning, wass heil;" that is, "Lord king, your health." Vortigern, agreeably surprised, turned to his interpreter and asked what she said, and how he must answer her after the Saxon manner. Being informed, he looked very amorously on Rowena, and answered in Saxon, "Drinck heil;" that is, "Do you yourself drink the health." Whereupon, Rowena putting the cup to her lips, presented it to the king, who taking it, arose immediately and gave her a salute; and Rowena receiving it in a reverential manner, departed.

From that time Vortigern's thoughts were wholly employed how to secure the possession of Rowena. Though he had a wife, he demanded her in marriage. But Hengist, willing by difficulties to inflame the king's desires, answered, he could not, contrary to the custom of the Saxons, give his daughter to a prince already married, adding, Rowena was not entirely in his disposal; and the princes of his nation, and particularly his father, would not, perhaps, ever consent she should be married to a Christian prince, how honourable soever the alliance might be. But Vortigern, whose passion for Rowena was now highly excited, found expedients to overcome all

these difficulties. He began with divorcing his wife, by whom he had several children; and promised Rowena the free exercise of her religion, and Hengist and Horsa the sovereignty of Kent, with leave to people it with Saxons. On these terms the politic Saxon delivered Rowena to the amorous monarch, and took possession of Kent, magnifying this proof of his respect and gratitude, as if the king were highly obliged to him. Such are the statements of the British writers, who have most probably exaggerated the treachery and selfishness of Vortigern to palliate the weakness and baseness of the Britons.

Whilst the Britons were venting their fruitless complaints against their monarch and the Saxons, Hengist was vigorously pursuing his projects. Though he had many troops under his command, they were not sufficient to enable him to execute his vast schemes. He represented to Vortigern, "That his subjects waited only for a favourable opportunity to depose him; and that they held intelligence with Ambrosius Aurelianus, who was at the court of Aldroen, king of Armorica, and probably had conspired to set that prince upon the throne." There was some ground for Hengist's thus artfully hinting the danger Vortigern was in from Ambrosius. That prince was of Roman extraction, and, according to the general opinion, son of one of the monarchs elected by the Britons after the departure of the Romans. As he was very young when his father died, his youth screened him from the jealousy of those that ascended the throne immediately or shortly after. But it was otherwise when Vortigern came to the crown. A strong party being formed in favour of Ambrosius, the new monarch was so filled with suspicions, that he sought means to destroy the young prince. And Ambrosius was obliged to quit Britain, and retire to Aldroen his relation, where he waited for a favourable opportunity to come and head his party.

Vortigern, despairing ever to regain the affection of his subjects, and considering Ambrosius, though absent, as a very dangerous rival, saw his whole refuge lay in the Saxon prince, whom he deemed his best friend; and accordingly to him it was he applied for advice and assistance. Hengist told him, "All the Saxons in Britain were at his devotion, but their number was too inconsiderable to protect him." Adding, "The Britons, in all likelihood, will not fail to show their discontent whilst the Saxons are in the north, and therefore he saw but one way to secure the king from their plots, which was to send for more Saxons to be commanded by trusty leaders, who would implicitly follow his orders."

Hengist having obtained the king's consent, sent for a fleet of forty ships, conducted by Octa, his brother, who brought with him his son Ebusa, and a great number of Saxon troops. These new comers began with ravaging the Orcaides, then making a descent on the coasts of the Picts, they obliged the inhabitants to retire northwards. As soon as the Picts had thus deserted part of their country, the Saxons seated themselves there so strongly, that it was not possible to dispossess them. At first they settled on the north side of the Tyne towards the east; afterwards they advanced towards the south, and drove the Britons beyond the Humber; but this was done by degrees. This third body of Saxons arrived in 452, three years after the first. With these fresh supplies, Hengist found himself strong enough to be in no great fear

of any attempt from the Britons. He began to show less respect for Vortigern, and under colour of wanting frequent recruits to keep up the number of his forces, sent for continual supplies from Germany, without asking his permission. At length he threw away the mask, and making bitter complaints that the Saxons were not duly paid according to agreement, demanded the arrears, threatening, without prompt and full payment, to do himself justice.

The Britons, surprised at these menaces, and greatly alarmed to see Hengist in a condition to do as he arrogantly threatened, began to rouse themselves, and consider means to free themselves from these foreigners. Vortimer, eldest son of Vortigern, had beheld hitherto with extreme regret, that the Saxons, by his father's fault, daily strengthened themselves, and he had always dreaded the consequences. As soon, therefore, as he saw the Britons in commotion, he improved the opportunity, and represented to the leading men that it was time to apply an effectual remedy to the evils they lay under. He told them, his father's cowardice, or perhaps treachery, had been the occasion of the Saxons becoming so powerful; that it was necessary therefore to prevent Vortigern from heaping any more favours on these foreigners, to the prejudice of the British nation, which was in danger of being overrun, if measures were not taken to put a stop to their growing power. The Britons, convinced by these reasons, awoke at last out of their lethargy, and by Vortimer's instigations, the most powerful of them having entered into a private confederacy, of which Vortigern had not the least notice, suddenly compelled him to make his son partner with him in the government, and to leave the administration of affairs to his care. The plot was so well laid, that in an instant Vortigern found himself without either fortress, troops, or credit, and constrained to do whatever was desired, he not having time to call the Saxons to his aid. Thus Vortimer was invested with the whole royal authority, leaving his father only the empty title of king without any power.

The new monarch found no great difficulty to persuade the Britons, that nothing but force could drive the Saxons out of their country. War therefore being resolved, the Britons made preparations to rid themselves of their guests, whom they looked upon as their mortal enemies. Hengist, on his part, finding he was likely to have a fierce war upon his hands, made haste and concluded a peace with the Picts, who were proud of having for allies men so formidable for their arms. This precaution enabled him to make a powerful diversion in the north by the help of the Picts, assisted by the Saxons lately settled in those parts. And in Kent, Hengist considered himself strong enough to make head against Vortimer, who was preparing to attack him there.

The Britons and Saxons were not long before they came to an engagement. In the first campaign, the two armies met at Eglesford in Kent, the Saxons being commanded by Hengist and Horsa, and the Britons by Vortimer. The first battle, according to the historians, was very bloody. Hengist lost Horsa, his brother, and with his own hand slew Catigern, youngest brother of Vortimer. If we may believe the British historians, Vortimer not only obtained a complete victory over the Saxons, but driving Hengist as far as the Isle of Thanet, compelled him to em-



dark and fly into Germany. But by what followed after this battle, it is evident, if the Saxons were not victorious at least they were not vanquished, since all their historians unanimously affirm that this very year 465, immediately after the battle, Hengist first took upon him the title of king of Kent.

Two years after, another battle was fought near Crecanford in Kent, wherein Vortimer was entirely defeated, with the loss of more than 1000 men and his best officers. Not being able to keep the field, he was compelled to shut himself up in London, till he could draw another army together. In the meanwhile Hengist, to strike the greater terror into the Britons, ravaged the country in a merciless manner. Those who were most exposed to the fury of the Saxons, quitted their houses, and fled to the woods for refuge. Some abandoned their country, and retired into Armorica, where they were civilly received by King Aldroen. During these devastations, the very churches were not spared, but all that were in the neighbourhood of the Saxons were reduced to ashes. These barbarous Pagans, joining to their natural fierceness a religious zeal, thought they honoured their gods, by inhumanly treating the Christians, especially the ecclesiastics, who were most cruelly persecuted.

The Britons being reduced to this extremity, their chiefs assembled themselves to consider of means to prevent their total ruin. Guthelin, archbishop of London, and head of Ambrosius's party, advised them to apply to the King of Armorica for assistance. And since Vortigern and Vortimer were no longer to be depended upon, he advised them to invite over Ambrosius Aurelianus. As they had always bated Vortigern, and, since his last defeat were dissatisfied with Vortimer, the common though unjust fate of vanquished generals, they readily embraced the archbishop's advice, and desired him to go himself and negotiate the affair; which he gladly undertook, and induced Aldroen, who had so generously received all the fugitive Britons, to grant an aid of 10,000 men. He placed Ambrosius at their head, who conducted them safe to Totness. This general was received with great demonstrations of joy, being looked upon as the only support of the sinking Britons. But this joy was not universal: Vortimer's party, still powerful, considered Ambrosius as one come to usurp the crown, under colour of defending it. And Vortimer himself threatened to punish severely those that should join him. Thus the miserable Britons, always a prey to intestine divisions, instead of uniting against the common enemy, prepared to destroy one another.

The first battle was fought near Catwaloph in Carmarthenshire. As it is difficult from the confused account of historians, to know on which side victory inclined in this and several other engagements, it can only be said that the civil wars lasted till the year 465, to the great weakening of the Britons, whilst the Saxons had time to strengthen themselves both in Kent and beyond the Humber. To so wretched a state were the Britons at last reduced, that numbers of them, harassed on the one side by the civil war, and on the other by the Saxons, abandoned their native country, where they could no longer subsist.

A Dutch writer informs us, that some of those unfortunate wretches going on board a galley, and rowing toward the mouth of the Rhine, landed at Catwick near Leyden, where they settled by the

sen-side in an old Roman camp, to which they gave the name of Brittenburge.

Thus Britain for seven or eight years suffered all the calamities of a civil war. At length the wisest of both parties, considering their dissension would be the cause of their common ruin, made up the breach by parting the kingdom between the contending princes. The two British kings had the eastern, and Ambrosius the western part, divided from one another by the Roman highway, called afterwards Watling-street.\* From hence may be dated the beginning of the reign of Ambrosius.

The Saxons upon the union of the two parties, joined their forces also. In the first engagement, Hengist lost Wipped, one of his principal officers, from whom the field of battle was called Wipped's-fleet.† Here the British and Saxon historians, according to custom, give us contradictory accounts. The last say, their countrymen obtained that day a signal victory. Whereas, the others affirm, that Vortimer, who commanded the army, routed the Saxons, and compelled Hengist a second time to fly into Germany. But it appears by what followed, that the advantage was on the side of the Saxons. We will even venture to say, contrary to the opinion of some noted historians, that in all probability Hengist never returned to Germany. Not so much as one author marks either the time or place of his second landing, though they were no less necessary to be observed than those of his first.

In this war it was, that the famous Arthur, at fourteen years of age, made his first appearance in the British armies, under Ambrosius. He succeeded Gorlous, his father, in the kingdom of Danmonium,‡ in 467. He was no sooner on the throne, but he had a war to maintain against Howel, king of Arcalute,§ in the neighbourhood of Scotland. This prince is said, out of envy to the glory Arthur had acquired, to have entered into an alliance against him with the Saxons. But instead of lessening his reputation, he served to increase it considerably. Arthur beating him back to the Isle of Mona, gave him battle, and slew him with his own hand. He gained this victory in 470, being then about eighteen years old. We shall see him hereafter signaling himself by actions more glorious, as well as more beneficial to his country.

The war continuing between the two nations, a battle lost by the Britons in 473, put their affairs in extreme disorder, and gave the Saxon prince an opportunity of enlarging his territories. At length Vortimer, the principal promoter of the war, died in 475, poisoned, as some say, by Rowena, his mother-in-law, through the suggestion of

\* The Romans, for the more convenient going from colony to colony, had their public highways called *Vie Consulares*, *Prætorie*, *Regiæ*, &c. but by the *Inde* and the *Moderns*, *Stratæ*, or *Stroads*. (Hence the many *Streets*, i. e. towns on these streets.) There were four in England, Watling-street, Ikenild-street, Ermin-street, and Fosse-way. Two of these ways extended across the breadth of the kingdom, the other two through the length of it. The tracts of these four ways are, and have been, for many ages, very obscure; and it is not yet sufficiently cleared, where any one of them distinctly went.

† In all probability Ipswich in Suffolk.

‡ Cornwall and Devon. There were several petty kings dependent on the chief monarch.

§ Or Abouind. This kingdom contained part of Cumberland and Lancashire. Dunbritton was afterwards the name of the capital.—CAMDEN.



Hengist. The British historians endeavour to make a hero of Vortimer, by attributing to him many signal victories over the Saxons. But the growth of these last in power and dominion, notwithstanding their pretended defeats, is a clear evidence, that the advantages of Vortimer were neither considerable, nor even real. His death brought some quiet to Britain, if a deceitful calm, that proved the ruin of the Britons, may be so called.

After a twenty years' war, both sides began to show an inclination for peace, which Vortimer had always strenuously opposed, fearing when the war was over with the Saxons, he should be obliged to begin another with Ambrosius, who had the hearts of the people, and could hardly bear to see Vortigern and his son on the throne, though deprived of half their dominions. The peace was concluded, on condition each party should keep what he possessed. Hengist, who had entertained hopes of conquering all Britain, was not a little concerned to find himself so much disappointed. He determined, however, to effect by policy what he could not effect by force.

The British writers, on whose statements, as before mentioned, little reliance is to be placed, accuse Hengist of massacring at a feast 300 of the principal Britons. Vortigern, they say, was only held captive, as Hengist had need of him. He could not obtain his liberty without delivering up to the Saxons a great tract of land bordering upon Kent, with which Hengist enlarged his narrow territories. This was afterwards divided into three provinces, called by the Saxons, Sussex, Essex, and Middlesex, which names they retain to this day. Moreover, not content with this acquisition, Hengist ravaged the neighbouring country in a merciless manner, and became master of London, Lincoln, and Winchester.

The indignation of the Britons at this barbarous action was so great, that they could not look upon a Saxon without horror. And Vortigern, as he had given his subjects, more than once, cause to think him a friend to the Saxons, was reckoned an accomplice in the massacre, since he alone was spared. They therefore all deserted him, and acknowledged Ambrosius for their sovereign.

Ambrosius, as soon as he was sole monarch of the Britons, assumed the imperial purple, after the manner of the Roman emperors, creating at the same time prince Arthur, who had signalized himself in the war by many brave actions, a patrician. Could Britain have been saved, it would doubtless have been so by these two princes, who had many of the qualities of heroes in an eminent degree. But it was destined to undergo an extraordinary revolution, and become a prey to the Saxons. All that Ambrosius and Arthur could do, was to postpone its ruin.

Meanwhile, Hengist was not a little perplexed to see his country despoiled; and he resolved to send for Ælla, a Saxon general, from Germany, promising him part of the territories granted by Vortigern. Ælla received the offer with joy, and shortly after arrived in Britain, with his sons, Baldulphus, Colgrin, and Cissa an infant. He landed his troops at Whitering, in Sussex, but not without opposition. The inhabitants of the country rising to prevent his entrance, he became not master of the shore till after a long battle. At length he drove the Britons as far as the forest of Andredswald, at that time

sixty-five miles in length, and thirty in breadth. The retreat of the Britons gave the Saxons an opportunity to settle by degrees along the coast and towards the Thames. During the nine years they were employed in extending their conquests in those parts, they had continual wars with the Britons, the particulars of which are unknown. We are only told that the Saxons, settled along the southern coast, were called Sud or South Saxons, and their country Sussex. Hengist took care to strengthen himself, in the best manner he could, in the rest of the country given him, and planted colonies of his own countrymen. Those that were seated to the east were called East Saxons, and their country, Essex. The country between Essex and Sussex was termed Middlesex. As for Kent, it retained its ancient name, the only one perhaps the Saxons did not alter.

Hengist having thus settled matters, gave those soldiers, that desired it, leave to return into Germany. At their arrival on the continent, they built the castle of Leyden, which is ascribed to Hengist himself by a Dutch poet, as well as by several others, who were of opinion that he went back into Germany.

The Britons were not then in a condition to think of recovering the provinces usurped by the Saxons. Without any previous truce or treaty of peace, both sides lay quiet for nine years. Hengist, no less than the Britons, had need of some respite, to put the affairs of his kingdom in order. During this interval, Ælla gained ground, the Britons not daring to oppose him, for fear of giving Hengist a pretence to renew the war, which it was their design to avoid.

The Britons having had time to recover their strength, began to solicit Ambrosius to take up arms. Ambrosius told them, he had but one of two ways to take, "either to let the Saxons remain in quiet till Vortigern's death, or to rid themselves of that domestic enemy, and unite their forces against the foreigners." Such was the hatred of the generality of the Britons against Vortigern, that they resolved immediately upon the latter of the two methods, and with one consent, prepared to put their resolution in practice with all possible secrecy and expedition. Vortigern so little expected to be attacked, that he was likely to have fallen into the hands of Ambrosius. He had but just time to throw himself into a castle in Wales, where he was not very secure. Ambrosius willing to complete his work, instantly went and besieged him, being resolved not to let him escape. During the siege, the castle, whether by accident, or the engines of the besiegers, taking fire, was burnt to ashes, and the unfortunate Vortigern perished in the flames. Such was the end of that prince, advanced to a great age, after a troublesome reign of forty years. He had, besides a daughter, three sons by his first wife, Vortimer, Catigern, slain in a battle with the Saxons, and Pascentius, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

Ambrosius being thus rid of a very formidable rival, renewed the war against the Saxons, which had been interrupted by the weakness of both parties, and the divisions of the Britons. The particulars of this war, after its renewal, are very imperfectly known. Historians relate but one remarkable event, namely, the signal victory obtained by Ambrosius, in the year 487, over Ælla and his two eldest sons. This is properly the first victory the Britons could indisputably boast of, whatever their historians say to the contrary.

This defeat obliged the Saxon general to retire to his strong holds, in expectation of fresh supplies from Germany.

Hengist lived not to see the end of this war. He died in 488, aged about sixty-nine, of which he had passed thirty-nine in Britain, and thirty-three on the throne of Kent. He cannot be denied to have been one of the bravest and most prudent generals of his time. Besides Kent, given him by Vortigern, and considerably enlarged by the acquisition of Essex and Middlesex, he was in possession of some lands in Lincolnshire, where he built Thong Castor. The Saxons beyond the Humber acknowledged him for their sovereign. He left two sons, Escus, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Kent, and Andoacer, who staid in Germany.

After the defeat of Ælla, about a year before the death of Hengist, Escus had sent him into the north, to assist Octa and Ebusa against the Britons. But as soon as he had notice of his father's death, he hastened to Kent to take possession of the kingdom. In the mean time Ambrosius, improving his victory, retook London, Winchester, and Lincoln, seized by the Saxons, after the massacre of the British nobles. Escus, wanting the qualities of his father, never endeavoured to recover these places, but preferred his ease before the fatigues of war. In all probability he obtained a truce, since in the three following years there is no mention of any hostilities on either side.

During this calm, Arthur, who had all along assisted Ambrosius, finding his presence was not absolutely necessary in his own country, made a voyage to Jerusalem. Ambrosius, in the meanwhile, by the assistance of Samson, bishop of Dol, whom he had sent for from Armorica, and made archbishop of York, regulated the affairs of the church, that were in extreme disorder by reason of the foregoing wars.

The truce or discontinuance of the war lasted but three years. The Northumbrian Saxons beginning to stir in 491, Arthur, who had returned from his voyage, marched against and defeated them. At the same time Ælla, having received a strong reinforcement from Germany, went and besieged Andred-Cester, situated in the forest of Andred's Wald. The resistance of the besieged, and an army of the enemy posted on an advantageous ground, made him lose a great deal of time. But at length, after a vigorous defence, the town was carried by storm, and entirely destroyed. Immediately after this, Ælla assumed the title of king of Sussex or of the South Saxons, which he durst not do while Hengist was alive. This second Saxon kingdom contained the present counties of Sussex and Surrey. Ælla was also elected monarch or general of the Saxons in the room of Hengist. For it must be observed, although Hengist was only king of Kent, yet was he considered also as head of all the Saxons, according to the custom of that nation in Germany, where, in time of war, they had always their general-in-chief, accountable only to the states. This same custom the Saxons continued in Britain, and always elected a general, whom some writers style monarch, because, as we shall see hereafter, he was head over several kings. In all appearance, Hengist's son thought himself incapable to discharge this high office, since he suffered Ælla to be invested with it.

About two years after, Arthur defeated the Nor-

thumbrian Saxons again, on the banks of the river Dugles, where he had routed them three years before.

The year 495 was very remarkable for the arrival of Cerdic, a Saxon general, not only upon the account of his conquests, but chiefly because from him the kings of England are descended, in the male line, down to Edward the Confessor, and in the female, down to the prince who now sits on the throne. If we trace him higher, we find, by the Saxon annals, that he sprang from Woden, the root of all the principal families of the Saxons. This warlike prince having acquired great reputation in Germany, and finding no further employment there, resolved to seek his fortune in Britain, where he knew many families of his nation had already established themselves. To that purpose he equipped five vessels, and taking his son Cenric, advanced to man's estate, with him, now sailed for Britain.

Ælla, as has been said, brought with him three sons, Baldulph, Colgrin, and Cissa, who was very young; and the two eldest treading in their father's steps, bravely assisted him. They are called by some Cismenius and Plentigus. Octa, commander of the Saxons in the north, having been frequently defeated by Arthur, and perceiving himself too weak to guard all his conquests, had divided them into two parts, of which the southern was called Deira, and the northern Bernicia. He had committed the care of the first to Baldulphus and Colgrin, reserving Bernicia to himself, to defend it against the continual attacks of the northern nations. Colgrin, after the last defeat of the Northumbrians by Arthur, had shut himself up in York, where Arthur immediately went and besieged him. Nevertheless Baldulphus, having been informed of Cerdic's design of coming to Britain, was gone into Norfolk to expect his arrival, and favour his landing. But Cerdic's arrival being delayed by some accident, Baldulphus marched back towards York, with intent to relieve it. He was met upon the way by Cadur, nephew to Arthur, who defeated him, and dispersed his army in such a manner, that he was forced to make his escape alone, disguised like a peasant. In that dress he safely reached the walls of York, and making himself known, was drawn up with a rope. The news he brought of Cerdic's being about to arrive from Germany with powerful supplies, instilling new life into the besieged, they continued to make a vigorous defence. Arthur pushed the siege briskly, in expectation of taking the town before the arrival of the Saxon prince. All this while Cadur was in Norfolk, ready to oppose the landing of the Saxons. But before Arthur had made any considerable progress in the siege, he received the bad news of Cerdic's landing at Yarmouth, and beating the forces sent against him. Upon this he raised the siege, and retired to a place of security, till he could learn the exact number of the Saxons, which report had exceedingly multiplied. Baldulph and Colgrin marching out of York, committed great devastations in Lancashire, whilst the Britons were dismayed and terrified at the arrival of Cerdic. So great was their terror, that Arthur thought fit to keep at a distance from the Saxons for some time, for fear of not being able to inspire his troops with resolution enough to look these formidable enemies in the face. But this was not all that followed upon the arrival of Cerdic.

Paſcentius, son of Vortigern, having long con-



cealed his secret disgust at not having any of his father's dominions assigned him, laid hold of this juncture to obtain what he thought his due. With the assistance of those that, like him, were displeased with the advancement of Ambrosius, he drew some forces together, and being joined by Baldulph and Colgrin, was reinforced by many of his friends in Wales. Ambrosius being grown sick and old, Arthur marched against him, gave him battle, and entirely routed him near the little river Dugles.

The next year, Arthur in the same place gained another victory, and so warmly pursued the British Prince, that he forced him to submit and sue for pardon. Pascentius gained more by his submission than by his arms. For besides his pardon, it procured him the possession of Brecknock and Radnor in Wales, which being erected into a kingdom, his posterity enjoyed it for many years. It is probable his father Vortigern's private demesnes lay in those parts, and that Ambrosius did but give him the lands belonging to his family before Vortigern was king. If he invested him with sovereignty, it was only to make him some compensation for his claim to the crown of Britain.

About this time the Saxons in the north conquered the little kingdom of Galway, so called from Galvan, nephew of Arthur. This country, now part of Scotland, had remained in the hands of the Britons, and withstood the continual attacks, as well of the Saxons as Picts. Galvan having lost his dominions, retired to his uncle Arthur, to whom he was very servicable in his wars.

Shortly after, Porta landed at Portland, so called from him, with fresh supplies of Saxons. This, being at a time when the Saxons began to be superior, obliged Arthur to quit the field and retire to London. Though he had generally the better of the Saxons in all their encounters, yet his troops were considerably diminished; whereas the enemy's forces were continually increasing by fresh recruits from Germany: great numbers, under the conduct of famous leaders, coming over to Britain, in order to procure a settlement, or for the sake of plunder only. Arthur, who had not the same supplies, would have been reduced to extremity, without the assistance of Hoel, king of Armorica, his nephew. This young prince, eager for glory, and glad of an occasion to signalize himself in the service of his uncle, put himself at the head of 15,000 men, and landed at Southampton. With this aid, Arthur immediately attacked the Northumbrians, grown formidable by the valour of Baldulph and Colgrin, their leaders, and meeting them in Deira, obtained a complete victory over them. The two Saxon brothers not being in condition to withstand him after their defeat, had no other course to take, but with the remains of their army to join Cerdic, then besieging Lincoln. But Arthur, fearing the loss of that place, followed them with speed, and surprised Cerdic in so sudden a manner, that not being able to continue the siege, or raise it, without danger, he was constrained to hazard a battle, which proved fatal to the Saxons. Cerdic being defeated, was forced to betake himself to the forest of Celidon, where, having suffered great hardships, he at length found means, though with great difficulty, to retire towards the western coasts. Some historians assure us, that seeing he must inevitably perish if he staid in a place where he could neither have provisions, nor hope for assistance, he bound himself by a treaty with

Arthur to return into Germany with the remains of his troops. They add, that being embarked with intent to perform his promise, he altered his mind at sea, and came and landed at Toston, in the west. However this may be, Cerdic certainly remained in the island, and lay quiet for some time, having lost in the battle above 6000 men.

After Cerdic's defeat, all the Saxons were equally interested in opposing the progress of Arthur, who, like an able general, wisely improved his victories to the utmost. The dread he struck them with, made them resolve to unite all their forces, and endeavour to retrieve their affairs. They were sensible that by dispersing their forces in several parts, they endangered in one place what they had got in another, which was not the way to procure a lasting settlement; wherefore, Escus, king of Kent, Ælla, king of Sussex, Cerdic, Porta, and the Northern Saxons assembled their troops, and conferred the command in chief on Cerdic. The infirmities and old age of Ælla, who had been monarch ever since 492, were probably the cause of his not heading the army at this time. Cerdic having divided his troops into two bodies, gave the command of the least to Baldulph and Colgrin, and headed the other himself, with his son Cenric. While the Saxons were employed in making preparations, the Britons were exerting their utmost to raise an army capable of withstanding such powerful enemies. On this pressing occasion, those that could bear arms enlisted themselves in crowds under their generals. Ambrosius, called here by historians Nazaleod, though very old, put himself at the head of his army, and detaching Arthur to follow Baldulph and Colgrin, who were marching towards the west, resolved to go in quest of Cerdic. Arthur, everywhere victorious, coming to an engagement with the Saxon brothers in Cornwall, obtained a signal victory over them.

Ambrosius advanced towards Cerdic, who had no thought of retiring. The two armies being engaged, Ambrosius broke through the right wing of the Saxons, commanded by Cerdic, and put them to the rout. But whilst eagerly pursuing his victory against a body that made but a faint resistance, Cenric had the same advantage over the right wing of the Britons, which he more wisely improved. Instead of losing time in pursuing the runaways, he fell upon Ambrosius in the flank, and put him in irreparable disorder. By this prudent conduct he gave Cerdic time to rally his troops, and complete the victory by an entire defeat of the Britons.

Ambrosius, in spite of age and infirmities, threw himself among his enemies in order to animate his troops by his example. But all his efforts served only to crown his life with an honourable death. The fall of Ambrosius caused a universal rout among the Britons, who precipitately abandoned the field of battle to their enemies. The success of that day was, by the public acknowledgment of his father, attributed to Cenric. This battle was fought in 508, near a place called by the Saxons, Cerdic's Ford.\*

Arthur was elected monarch in the room of Ambrosius. After his coronation at Caerleon, which he had retaken from the Saxons, he marched against the Northumbrians, and de-

\* Chardford in Hampshire. There were 5000 Britons slain with him.—*Sax. Ann.*



feated them on the banks of the little River Ribroyt, that runs through Lancashire. This is reckoned his tenth victory over the Saxons.

Cerdic having received fresh supplies from the Saxon princes in Britain, as well as from Germany, laid siege to Bath. Baldulph and Colgrin having joined him also, with what troops they could draw together, his army was remarkably strong. Arthur gave him battle. It lasted from noon till night, without any visible advantage to either side. Both armies kept the field, waiting for the day, to renew the fight. The Saxons, during the night, posted themselves on a little hill, called Bannesdown, which was of great importance, though it had been neglected by both sides the day before. As soon as it was light, Arthur, perceiving the advantage the Saxons had gained by seizing that post, was resolved to dislodge them, which he effected after a long and obstinate fight, and at last entirely routed them. The Britons gained, on this occasion, a most complete victory. Baldulph and Colgrin were both slain, and Cerdic, with the remains of his army, retired to an inaccessible post.

An unexpected event prevented Arthur from improving his victory. The Picts, who were in alliance with the Saxons, knowing Arthur to be at a distance, and his nephew Hoel sick at Areclute, resolved to besiege that town, in expectation of taking it before it could be relieved. But Arthur, instead of pursuing his advantage upon Cerdic, flew to the assistance of the king of Armorica, and compelled the Picts to raise the siege, and in revenge ravaged their country from one end to the other, and would have entirely destroyed it, had not the bishops, by their intercession, diverted him from his purpose.

Escus, king of Kent, died in 512, memorable only for leaving his name to all his successors, kings of Kent, who from him were called Escingans. He was succeeded by his son Octa.

Two years after died Ælla, king of Sussex, and monarch of the Saxons, having enlarged his narrow territories at the expense of the Britons, during a reign of twenty-three years. His son Cissa succeeded him in the kingdom of Sussex; but the monarchy of the Saxons was conferred on Cerdic.

Cerdic, in 514, received a supply of adherents from Germany, under the conduct of Stuff and Withgar, his nephews. With this aid, after a variety of contests, he compelled Arthur, in the year 519, to conclude a disadvantageous peace, and to surrender to the Saxons that tract of land which now comprises Hampshire and Somersetshire; of which he formed the kingdom of Wessex, or of the West-Saxons, so called because it lay west of Kent and Sussex. Cerdic was crowned at Winchester, twenty-three years after his arrival in Britain, having by his valour and perseverance procured himself a settlement in the island, as well as his countrymen Hengist and Ælla.

Arthur, during the peace, rebuilt some of the churches which had been destroyed in the preceding wars, and repaired, as much as possible, the damages religion had sustained.

From the time Hengist had peopled Essex and Middlesex with Saxons and Jutes, they had been governed by a deputy under the king of Kent. But in 527 Erchenwin assumed the title of king of Essex, or of the East-Saxons. This kingdom lying eastward of the other three, contained the two

counties of Essex and Middlesex, of which London was the capital. Who Erchenwin was, how long he had been in Britain, and what right he had to this new kingdom, historians have not informed us. It is supposed that he was governor under Octa, king of Kent, and taking advantage of his weakness, engaged the people to acknowledge him for their king.

About this time multitudes of Angles under the conduct of twelve chiefs, all of equal authority, but whose names, except Uffa, are unknown, landed at some port on the eastern coast of Britain, where, without much difficulty, they possessed themselves of some post; those parts being ill guarded by the Britons. In time, as they were continually enlarging their conquests towards the west, they compelled the Britons to abandon the country along the eastern shore. The Angles, thus situated, had an opportunity of sending from time to time for fresh colonies from Germany, with which they founded a fifth kingdom, by the name of the kingdom of East-Anglia, or of the East-Angles. But as their first chiefs assumed not the title of king, the beginning of this kingdom is generally brought down to the year 571.

During the eight years peace between Arthur and Cerdic, Hoel, the king of Armorica, being disturbed by the rebellion of Frollon, Arthur went over to Armorica, and slew Frollon with his own hand in the first battle they fought.

Cerdic, taking advantage of Arthur's absence, and of the Angles, broke the peace, and made some further conquests. He was constantly attended by his son Cenric, who bravely seconded him in all his undertakings, and by his valour and conduct caused him to gain a signal victory in Buckinghamshire, at a place called Cerdic's Lega, now Cherdley.

Arthur, at his return, perceiving himself unable to renew the war with his enemies, whose number was continually increasing, made a new treaty with Cerdic, and returning to Armorica to assist Hoel in repelling the Wisigoths, left Modred his nephew, whom he designed for his successor regent in his absence, at the same time intrusting him with the care of the queen, his third wife.

Cerdic, taking advantage of his absence, subdued the Isle of Wight, destroying nearly all the inhabitants; and Modred having seduced the queen, and publicly married her, determined to seize the crown. To support his usurpation, he ceded to Cerdic part of Dammonium, or Cornwall, the present counties of Berkshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire; which, with Hampshire and Somersetshire, rendered Cerdic's kingdom much larger than the three other Saxon kingdoms. Having thus in some measure secured himself, Modred was crowned at London; those who privately abhorred his treacherous conduct not daring to oppose it, for fear of being oppressed.

Cerdic, having much enlarged his dominions, and most of his subjects being Britons, on whose loyalty he could not rely, induced a great many Saxons and Jutes to settle in his new dominions. Above 800 vessels are said to have arrived freighted with families, who were joyfully received and planted in habitations, whence Cerdic drove such Britons as he suspected, especially upon the frontiers. Britain was thus filled by degrees with new inhabitants, and the natives began to lose the superiority in number they had hitherto had over the foreigners.

Cerdic having lately gained so many new sub-

jects, was crowned a second time at Winchester, the metropolis of his dominions, by the same title of king of Wessex, or of the West-Saxons, that he had before assumed. This kingdom was very advantageously situated, being bounded on the north, by the Thames; on the west, by the Severn; on the south, by the sea; and on the east, by the kingdom of Sussex. The Britons, who were still in possession of the greatest part of Danmonium, were rendered less formidable than ever to Cerdic, by being divided from the rest of their nation by this new kingdom and the Severn.

In the year 534 Cerdic died, sixteen years after his first coronation, and thirty-nine after his arrival in Britain. Cenric, his son, the faithful companion of his labours, succeeded him, both in the kingdom of Wessex, and also in the monarchy or generalship of the Saxons and Angles. Cerdic's successors were surnamed Gewishians, from Gewish, one of their ancestors, famous no doubt in his generation.

In the same year died Octa king of Kent, after a reign of twenty-two years, wherein nothing remarkable occurred but the dismembering of the kingdom of Essex, which he, for some unknown reason, did not think fit to oppose. He was succeeded by his son Hermenrick.

Arthur, after four years' absence, returned from Armorica. Modred was in possession of his throne, and, moreover, in strict alliance with the Saxons. But Arthur, though broken with age, and almost destitute of adherents, resolved to undertake the recovery of his kingdom, and to punish the treacherous Modred. And though his troops were much inferior to those of his enemy, he found means to engage him in a very disadvantageous post, and obtained a signal victory. In this action he lost Galvan and Angusel, two princes of his blood, who had faithfully served him both in prosperity and adversity.

As the particulars of this war are confusedly delivered, and besides contain nothing material, it will suffice to relate the issue. Modred, though constantly worsted, found means to prolong the war seven years, without Arthur's being able to destroy him, much less wrest out of the hands of the Saxons, what had been surrendered to them. During this war there happened two eclipses of the sun, which credulous historians have expressly remarked, fancying they were pre-sages of the utter ruin of the Britons, which was effected soon after.

Arthur, pursuing his enemy from place to place, drove him to the extremity of Danmonium, where he could not avoid fighting: And the last battle was fought near Camelford. It proved fatal to the two leaders, as well as to all the Britons, who having lost their best troops, were never after able to stand against the Saxons. During this bloody battle, the uncle and nephew are said to have rushed upon one another furiously. Modred was slain on the spot, and Arthur, mortally wounded, was carried to Glastonbury, where he died, aged ninety years, seventy-six of which he had spent in the continual exercise of arms: he had reigned only thirty-four years, but before he mounted the throne, had long commanded the British armies under Ambrosius. Some have made an interval of several years between Ambrosius and Arthur, because they were at a loss where to place their Uther Pendragon, whom they consider to be a king different from Arthur. But

the best authors are of opinion, that the name Uther, signifying in British a club, was given to the great Arthur, for the same reason that Charlemagne's grandfather was called martel, or hammer. As to the surname of Pendragon, it owes its origin, as it is supposed, to Arthur's wearing a dragon on the crest of his helmet.

He is said to have instituted the order of the knights of the round table, so famous in romances. Though this institution has given occasion for many fabulous relations, it is not therefore to be deemed altogether chimerical. For where is the improbability that Arthur should institute an order of knighthood in Britain, when we learn from the letters of Cassidorus, that Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, instituted one in Italy in the same century.

Such was the love and esteem of the Britons for this hero, that many would never believe he was dead. It is this perhaps that gave occasion to some writers, desirous of pleasing the Britons, to invent Arthur's travels and numberless victories in foreign countries. These pretended voyages and imaginary conquests have proved an inexhaustible fountain of absurdities; and his history has been so disfigured, as to cause many to doubt, whether there ever was such a king as Arthur. The events of his life and reign are so confounded by these fabulous writers, that they are very difficult to be cleared, and therefore recourse must be had to much conjecture. He was born at Tindagol, in Cornwall, in 452, or 453, and died in 542. He was buried in the monastery at Glastonbury, by Gueniver his second wife. He had two others of the same name, the first died in the country of the Picts, and the third proved false to him. By this last he had a son called Noem, who died an infant. Arthur, when he was about to expire, sent his crown to Constantine his cousin, son of Cador, and grandson of Ambrosius, declaring him his successor; which must be understood only of Danmonium, for the monarchy of Britain was extinct by his death. It is pretended that his body was found whole and entire in Glastonbury monastery in the reign of Henry II., with the visible marks of ten wounds, one whereof only seemed mortal. What is said of his stature is absurdly fabulous, namely, that the distance between his eye-brows was a span, and the rest of his body in proportion. We have the particular names of his arms in the ancient romances. His shield was called Pridwin, his lance Ron, and his sword Caliburn. This last was presented in 1191 to Tancred, king of Sicily, by Richard I. of England.

After Arthur's death the Britons were unable to resist the Saxons. Whatever loss the Saxons sustained, was soon retrieved by supplies from Germany: but the Britons, being destitute of foreign aid, were drained by the incessant wars they had maintained since the departure of the Romans. And such numbers retired to Armorica, that by their junction with the British long before settled there, they became more numerous at last than the natives. And it is asserted, that this province of Gaul, took henceforth the name of Bretagne from the great number of Britons that fled thither.

Ida, an Angle, having embarked on board forty vessels a great number of families of his countrymen, landed at Flamborough in Yorkshire, then in possession of the Northumbrian Saxons who received them as friends. The Northum-



brians, so called from inhabiting north of the Humber, had maintained themselves in that country ever since the time of Hengist, and had all along been in some dependence on the kings of Kent. They had often favoured the enterprises of their countrymen in the southern parts, by frequent diversions, which had several times drawn into the north the arms of Ambrosius and Arthur: but though frequently defeated, they had however kept possession of the northern countries. Ida, when he first arrived in their country, found them ready and willing to obey him; and was acknowledged sovereign of the Northumbrians, as well as of the Angles his followers, under the title of king of Northumbria. Though a monarch of great abilities, yet as he established himself without any obstacle, there is but one particular recorded of him, namely, his building the city of Bebbanburgh, so called from his queen Bebba. This city, after many years, was destroyed: but there still remains the castle of Bamborough. Ida died in 559, having reigned twelve years.

Northumbria was divided into two kingdoms. Adda, son of Ida, was king of Bernicia, or the northern part, and Ælla, of Deira, or the southern part. Ida left twelve sons, half by wives and half by concubines.

The account of the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons is too imperfect to compile a regular history from. The thread of the narrative must therefore be carried on by the aid of the isolated facts which have been preserved.

In 560, Cenric, king of Wessex, and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, died after a reign of twenty-six years: he had employed himself wholly in the care of his dominions. He took up arms but once to repel the Britons, who came and attacked him. Of the four sons he left, Ceaulin, the eldest, succeeded him both in the kingdom of Wessex, and the dignity of monarch of the Saxons.

Ceaulin was an ambitious prince, who, not content with the prerogatives he was vested with as monarch, considered the other Saxon kings as his vassals, pretending to keep them in a rigorous dependence. He made extraordinary preparations to obtain the submission he desired, which alarmed both the Saxon and British princes. The last especially could not but be in extreme consternation, by reason of their deplorable state. After the death of Arthur, they lived in a sort of anarchy. What remained of their country, was separated into little independent states, which weakened one another by the discord and vices that prevailed among their respective princes.

Ceaulin was determined to subdue his countrymen first, who were by degrees compelled to submit to a much greater dependence on their monarch or general, than their laws and customs required.

At length Hermeric, king of Kent, dying in 561, Ethelbert, his son and successor, would not bear the arrogant domination of the West-Saxon, which was the more grievous to him, as being a descendant of Hengist, he thought he had a better right to the dignity of monarch than any other prince. Prepossessed with this notion, he resolved to revive the pretensions of the kings of Kent, neglected by his predecessors, and declared war with Ceaulin, not considering the disproportion between his forces and those of his enemy. Ceaulin, disdaining to be attacked by a young prince of no reputation, marched towards Kent, with a design to forestall him, and meeting him at

Wibbandune (now Wimbledon) routed him. Ethelbert being defeated a second time, was totally disabled, and compelled to sue for peace. His vexation at so unexpected a disappointment was increased by the ridicule cast on him for his presumption. This was the first civil war among the Saxons, which was followed by many more, caused by the restlessness and ambition of their princes. Being out of danger from the Britons, they quarrelled among themselves, with such animosity, that if another Arthur had appeared, the Britons might have recovered all they had lost.

Uffa, the only survivor of the twelve chiefs of the Angles, assumed in 571 the title of king of the East-Angles, and his kingdom was called East-Anglia. As this was forty years after his arrival in Britain, he must have been of a great age when crowned. This was the sixth kingdom founded by the Anglo-Saxons.

Ceaulin was so elated with his success against Ethelbert, that he looked upon the neighbouring Saxon princes as his subjects and vassals. The king of Northumbria and East-Anglia, being separated from him by a large tract of land possessed by the Britons, had not much to fear from his ambition. But the kings of Kent, Essex, and Sussex, were forced to submit to him, as superior to each of them in extent of dominions. After this, Ceaulin turned his arms against the Britons; and Cutha, his brother, frequently defeated them.

Before this war was ended, Uffa, first king of the East-Angles, died in 578, leaving his crown to his son Titilus.

The miserable Britons, pressed on the south by the Saxons of Wessex, Sussex, and Kent; on the east, by those of Essex or East-Anglia; and on the north, by the Northumbrians; were surrounded by their enemies. In this emergency they reversed their former policy, and applied to the Scots to aid them against their common enemy the Saxons. The Scots complied with the request, and joining forces with the Britons, defeated Ceaulin in a great battle, in which Cuthwin, Ceaulin's son, was slain. But proving in a second engagement totally unsuccessful, the Scots retired to their country, and the Britons were compelled to make further submissions to the Saxons.

In the year 584, a fleet, the most considerable of any that had come from Germany, brought great numbers of Angles, conducted by Crida, a leader of the same nation. They most probably landed in East-Anglia, and advanced towards the middle of the island, upon the territories of the Britons, who were unable to oppose their arms. Some vainly projected to defend themselves, whilst others sought only to save their goods, their wives and children, abandoning their lands to the Angles. Crida, taking advantage of their terror, spread himself far and wide, and becoming master of the field, drove his frightened enemies before him. In vain did they fly to their walled towns; the want of provisions for such multitudes soon compelled them to take the only course left them, and retire into Cambria beyond the Severn. They had no other retreat, being pressed on all other sides by the Saxons and Angles. Their flight put Crida in possession of all the country lying between the Humber, the Severn, and Thames, by which he was bounded on the north, west, and south. To the east of him lay the kingdoms of Essex and East-Anglia.

Out of all these conquests, Crida formed a kingdom larger and more considerable than any

of the other six, by the name of the kingdom of the Middle-Angles. This kingdom was afterwards more generally called Mercia. Crida the first king was crowned in 584.

Cambria not being sufficient to contain so many families, multitudes of the miserable Britons fled into Armorica, where great numbers of their countrymen were already settled. Others submitted to the Saxons or Angles, content to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for a wretched subsistence. Those that remained in Cambria, a country defended by nature, kept their ground against all the power of the conquerors, who could not, till long after, extend their conquests beyond the mountains. This little corner of the island where the Britons were confined was afterwards divided into several petty kingdoms, which were one time separated, at another united, according to the ambition or power of their kings. Here we shall leave the Britons for the future, as making a state by themselves, and having no relation to the history of England but such as is commonly found between two neighbouring nations. It is true they made from time to time several attempts to recover what they had lost; but their efforts proved ineffectual, as did the endeavours of the Anglo-Saxons to subdue them in these retreats.

The Saxons gave the Britons the name of Gwallish, or Wallish, that is, Gauls; considering them, as in all appearance they were, of Gaulish extraction. For this reason Cambria was by them termed Wallish-land; from which came the name of Wales, used by the English at this day, and changed by the French into Galles, upon account of their being derived from the Gauls. The Walloons also, and Wallachians, have still kept these names, and in some places in Germany the Italian tongue is called Welsh, because of Gallia Cisalpina, inhabited by the Gauls. As for the name of Cambria given by the native Britons to Wales, it is supposed that before the arrival of the Saxons, the Britons, who called themselves Cumri, or Cumbri, named their country Cambria; and that after their retreat beyond the Severn, the same name which before was common to all Britain, became peculiar to Wales.

About the same time, the Anglo-Saxons unanimously agreed to call their kingdoms in general by the name of England, that is, the country of the Angles. Whether this was done because the Angles were more numerous than the Saxons and Jutes, and possessed the largest and most considerable of the several kingdoms, or for some other reason, is uncertain. Perhaps Engle-land is only a contraction of Engle-Saxe-land, a name derived from the two principal nations that were settled in Great Britain. But the Picts, Scots, and Irish, did not comply with this change of names, and continued to call the new possessors of Britain, Saxenag, or Saxons, and their country Saxeneage. As the Saxons were first known by that name to the neighbouring nations, and they were accustomed to it, they were not willing to receive the alteration introduced by the conquerors.

We are very sensible that the changing of the name of Britain into that of England is generally ascribed to Egbert king of Wessex, about two hundred and fifty years after the time now treated of. But this opinion is founded on the authority of an historian who is far from being infallible. Others, who seem to be more authentic, positively affirm, the name of England was given to that part

of Britain conquered by the Saxons, a little after their arrival in the island; which may very well be understood of the time immediately following the arrival and conquests of Cerdic. But it is not possible to extend this "little after" to the reign of Egbert, which began not till the year 800.

After the death of Ida, and the division of Northumbria before mentioned, Ælla reigned in Deira, and Adda, eldest son of Ida, in Bernicia; who dying in 563, four kings, all sons or brothers of Ida, successively filled the throne of Bernicia till the year 586, when Æthelric, Ida's youngest brother, was placed thereon. But as he was very old, Ædelfrid his son held the reins of the government by his father's authority.

In the year 587, Ercenwin, first king of Essex, died, after a reign of sixty years, and was succeeded by his son Sledda.

Thus we have ran through, in this second chapter, the most remarkable events that happened in Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons to their establishment in the island, during a war of 130 years. We have seen the efforts of the Britons, who, after a resolute defence, were forced at last to give up their country to the very people they had called to their assistance. In the following chapter we shall see what passed in the kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, when considered as making but one body under the same government. The Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, who conquered the best part of Britain, considering themselves as one people, as they had been in Germany, established a form of government, as near as possible to that which they had lived under in their own country. They formed their Wittena-Gemot, or assembly of Wise-men, to settle the common affairs of the various kingdoms, and conferred the command of their armies upon one chosen out of the kings, to whom, for that reason, no doubt, some have given the title of monarch, on pretence of his having the precedence and some superiority over the rest. But that dignity seems rather to have been like that of Stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Low Countries. There was, however, some difference between the Saxon government in Britain and that in Germany. For instance, in Germany, the governor of each province entirely depended on the general assembly, where the supreme power was lodged; whereas in Britain, each king was sovereign in his own dominions. But notwithstanding this, all the kingdoms together were, in some respects, considered as the same state, and every individual governor submitted to the resolutions of the general assembly of the different kingdoms, to which he gave his consent by himself or representative. And therefore this form of government may be very justly compared to that of the former government of the United Provinces, each whereof was sovereign and independent, though they submitted to the determination of the states-general. A free election, and sometimes force, gave the Saxon kingdoms a chief or monarch, whose authority was greater or less, according to his ability or strength. For though the person invested with this office had no right to an unlimited authority, there was scarce one of these monarchs, as will be seen hereafter, but aspired to an absolute power.



*The State of the British Church, from the arrival of the Saxons to the retreat of the Britons into Wales.*

BEFORE the arrival of the Saxons, Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, came twice into Britain, as we have already said, to extirpate the Pelagian heresy, that had taken deep root. He founded several schools, among which those of Dubricius, bishop of Llandaff and Illutus, a learned prelate, were the most famous. Dubricius had two schools, where he himself taught; one at Hensland, and another at Mockrost. Illutus taught at Llan-twit, that is, the church of Illutus. There was also at Bangor in Cambria, a famous monastery where youth were educated. Into the public service of the church Germanus also introduced the Gaulish rites and ceremonies. This is almost all we know concerning the British church, during the time the Saxons were employed in their conquests. A few particulars relating to some ecclesiastics famous for their sanctity is all that can be added to this brief account.

Patrick was one of the most remarkable for the conversion of the Irish, which is generally ascribed to him, though Anatolius and Palladius preached in Ireland before him. In all probability Patrick made the greatest progress, and therefore the Irish did, and still do, reverence him as their apostle and protector. There were three noted men of this name: Patrick the elder, who died in 449, and is mentioned in the chronicle of Glastonbury church; Patrick the great, the converter of the Irish, who died in 493, having governed the church of Ireland sixty years: Patrick the younger, his nephew, who survived his uncle some years.

Dubricius, bishop, or rather, archbishop of Caerleon was illustrious for his piety, learning, and the above-mentioned schools; and lastly, for his synod at Brevi in Cardiganshire, against the Pelagians.

David, son of a British prince, and successor of Dubricius, removed the archiepiscopal seat from Caerleon to Menevia, from him called St. David's. He was noted for his austere life, and his synod at Vittoria, where the canons of Brevi were confirmed. Several miracles are attributed to him, particularly his giving to the Bath-waters the virtues they still retain. He is said to have lived 146 years.

Sampson the elder and Sampson the younger. The first, being bishop of Dol in Armorica, was sent for into Britain by Ambrosius, and made archbishop of York. The second, of royal race, was made an archbishop, without having any particular see assigned him, with power to perform the archiepiscopal functions wherever he came. The Saxon wars compelled him to return home, where he was made archbishop of Dol. He is said, when he left Great Britain, to have carried with him several memoirs, that would have given us a more perfect knowledge of the affairs of the British church, had they been carefully preserved.

Cadoc, abbot of Llan-carvan, spent his whole income, which was very considerable, in maintaining 300 priests. He lived to the year 570.

Patern, of a noble family in Armorica, having studied twenty years in Ireland, came and settled in Cambria, where he usefully employed his time in promoting peace among the several princes. He generally resided at Cardigan, where is still to be seen Llan-Badarn-vawr, that is, the Church of Great St. Patern, which for some time was a bi-

shop's seat. Patern died in his native country, where he was so distinguished for holiness of life, that no less than three festival days were dedicated to his memory.

Petroc, a native of Cornwall, was famous for his piety, and gave name to Petroc-stow, or Padstow, in the same county.

Kentigern, son to a princess of the Picts, was abbot of Glasgow, whence he went into Cambria, and founding a religious society, returned to his monastery. His austerities are highly extolled, and particularly his strict abstinence from flesh.

Asaph, the disciple of Kentigern, wrote his master's life, by whom he was made abbot of the monastery founded in Cambria: he lived to the year 590, and left his name to the city of St. Asaph.

Columba, nobly descended, founded in Ireland a monastery, called Dearmach, that is, the Field of Oaks, because situated in a forest: some time after he came into Britain, to preach the Gospel to the Highland-Picts, of which they were yet ignorant. He had the satisfaction to see those savages converted to the Christian religion, with their king, Bridius, who gave him the little island of Jona, or Hy, called since Colchil, one of the Hebrides, two miles in length, and one in breadth, where he founded another monastery, that afterwards became very famous. These two monasteries for a long time supplied the Scotch churches both in Ireland and Great Britain, with bishops and priests. It is observable, that according to the institution of Columba, the abbot of Jona retained a jurisdiction not only over several monasteries, which branched forth from that, but also over the monks that went thence to be priests or bishops.

Gildas of Badon, or Bath, was scholar of Illutus, and a monk of Bangor monastery. He was born in the year of the battle of Badon, according to Usher, in 520, but according to other calculations, built upon reasons too long to be inserted, in 511. Gildas wrote a treatise, entitled, "De Excidio Britannie," "Of the Destruction of Britain," wherein he boldly censures the British princes of his time, that is, those who after the death of Arthur divided the country into several petty states. From him chiefly it is that we know what passed among the Britons about the time he wrote, in 564. There is another history, or rather romance, under the name of Gildas, who is by some called Albanian, and supposed to be different from him now alluded to. But the learned Stillingfleet asserts, they are both the works of one author, and that there was no other Gildas but he of Badon.

Columbanus, an Irishman, disciple of Congal, abbot of Bangor in Ireland, passed great part of his life in Britain. From thence going into Burgundy, he founded the abbey of Luxeuil, of which he was the first abbot. Twenty years after, Thierry, king of Austrasia, and also of Burgundy, banished him his dominions, for too freely censuring his conduct, and forced him to fly to Agilulph, king of the Lombards. At length he founded near Naples the monastery of Cobio, where he died. To these may be added Taliassin, the famous British poet, whose verses are preserved to this day.

These were the most noted ecclesiastics in the British church, from the arrival of the Saxons to the retreat of the Britons into Cambria. It is obvious we have the names only of those that flourished

rished in Cambria, Ireland, or Scotland. As for the other parts of Britain, we know nothing of what passed with respect to church affairs. We have not so much as the names of the bishops, except Theon and Thadiock, archbishops of London and York, who were forced also in the end to fly into Cambria. It is very likely all the monuments of the British churches were destroyed, wherever the Saxons became masters; and that it was not possible to preserve any but those of the churches of Wales, where the Saxons could never penetrate. It is easy to imagine, that the church was in a very deplorable state whilst the Saxons were exercising their fury. These merciless idolaters trampled upon everything relating to the Christian religion; and "From the east to the West," says Gildas, "nothing was to be seen but churches burnt and destroyed to their very foundations. The inhabitants were extirpated by the sword, and buried under the ruins of their own houses. The altars were daily profaned by the blood of those slain thereon." Bede, who was a Saxon, and therefore cannot be supposed to aggravate the cruelties of his countrymen, expresses himself thus: "By the hands of the Saxons a fire was lighted up in Britain, that served to execute the just vengeance of God upon the wicked Britons, as he had formerly burnt Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. The island was so ravaged by the conquerors, or rather by the hand of God making use of them as instruments, that there seemed to be a continual flame from sea to sea, which burnt up the cities, and covered the surface of the whole isle. Public and private buildings fell in one common ruin. The priests were murdered on the altars; the bishop with his flock perished by fire and sword, without any distinction, no one daring to give their scattered bodies an honourable burial."

To these mournful descriptions may be added, that the Britons, who escaped the fury of their enemies, not finding wherewithal to subsist in the woods and mountains, were forced at length to surrender to the conquerors, deeming themselves happy in being able to purchase their lives with the loss of their liberty. Some fled to foreign countries, and those whom the love of their native land kept at home, and the dread of slavery prevented from submitting to the Saxons, dragged on a wretched life, in miserable want and perpetual fear. It is therefore no wonder that the accounts of the British church are so imperfect, since the Saxons used their utmost endeavours to destroy all the monuments that might have been preserved

### CHAPTER III

*Concerning the most remarkable Events during the various Kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, and their union. Containing the space of two hundred and forty-three years.*

THE country formerly inhabited by the Britons was now possessed by strangers. The names of the towns and provinces were changed, and the whole parcelled into several kingdoms, was shared among four different nations; namely, the Britons, or Welsh, the Scots, the Picts, and the Anglo-

Saxons. Under the Britons were comprised all those foreigners, Romans and others, settled in the island ever since the reign of Claudius, who being incorporated with the natives, became one people with them. The descendants of these foreigners were undoubtedly very numerous, it being the constant policy of the Romans to diminish, as far as lay in their power, the natives of a conquered country, and to send thither large colonies, either of veterans, or of people taken from their other conquests. As Britain had been in their possession 400 years, very probably they had not neglected, with regard to that island, a custom they practised everywhere else. Before they left Britain, their colonies were distinct from the natives; but the war, carried by the Picts and Scots into the Roman province, and that of the Britons and Romans settled in the island, with the Anglo-Saxons, so intermingled them, that we do not find thenceforward in any history the least signs of distinction between the Roman colonists and British natives. The Britons therefore henceforth are to be considered as a people composed of the ancient inhabitants of Britain and the Roman colonies. The Vandals settled about Cambridge, were also reckoned as Britons, and involved in the same ruin with them. After the establishment of the Anglo-Saxons, the Britons had nothing left but Cambria, and the western part of Danmonium, now Cornwall. Cambria (the name formerly of all Britain) was changed by the Saxons into Wales. Danmonium was, in all appearance, a Roman name. The Britons called that country Kernaw, from Kern, that is, in their language, horns, because of the many promontories that shoot out into the sea like horns. Hence doubtless the Saxons gave it the name of Cornwall, that is to say, the country of Kernaw, inhabited by Gauls or Britons. They seemed to study to leave neither to the inhabitants nor countries any sign of the Roman names, since they even styled Welsh a people the Romans had called Britons above 400 years.

The north part of Great Britain was in possession of the Picts and Scots, separated from the English by the Esk and Tweed, and the mountains between these two rivers. The Picts were on the east, and the Scots on the west side. The Grampian mountains served them for a common boundary, from the mouth of the Nid to the lake of Lomond. Abernethy, now a small town in the country of Strathern, was the capital of the Picts, whence the bishop's seat was removed to St. Andrew's. Edinburgh belonged also to the Picts, and what ever the English possessed beyond Severus's wall, was taken from the same nation. The territories of the Scots extended towards the north and west, as far as the sea that bounds the island on these two sides.

The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, who are all to be considered as derived from one stock, and who may be comprehended under the name of English, had conquered all the southern part of the island, from the Channel to the wall of Severus, and a little beyond, towards the East. The part of Britain possessed by these three nations was divided into eight kingdoms, whereof the Saxons and Jutes had four, namely, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; the Angles separately had but two, Mercia and East Anglia; but were mixed with those Saxons who first conquered the country beyond the Humber, in the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, commonly comprised under the name of



Northumbria. The descendants of the Saxons first took possession of the country beyond the Humber, under Octa and Elesa.

This state of Britain has been improperly denominated the "Saxon Heptarchy, or Seven-fold government." But the researches of modern historians, and particularly the investigations of Sharon Turner, have established the fact that on the final settlement of the Saxons in the island, their various governments, when combined, formed an Octarchy, or Eight-fold government. The Sovereignities of Bernicia and Deira, being combined under the common title of Northumbria, seems to have led to a misnomer not very unreasonable, as the meagre history which remains of these two latter informs us, they were not unfrequently blended by the success of one of their petty conquerors.

#### *Of the Octarchy in general.*

The Anglo-Saxons established in England a form of government not unlike that which they had lived under in Germany; they had as the centre of the various governments a general assembly, consisting of the principal members of the kingdoms, or their deputies, called the Wittenagemot, or meeting where the concerns of the various kingdoms only were considered.

Besides the wars, to which the historians and annalists have chiefly confined themselves, there were, no doubt, many more interesting events, that would have embellished their histories; but the writers being all monks, the affairs of religion, and especially the founding of the monasteries, and the privileges of the monks and clergy, were the only things they besides enlarged upon; and with regard to general history, they were satisfied with relating the succession of the kings with some of their principal actions.

When the Saxons arrived in England, they were all pagans and idolaters; and 150 years elapsed before they were instructed in the Christian religion. Their conversion began in 597, with the kingdom of Kent, by Austin, a Benedictine monk, sent by Pope Gregory I., and ended in 653 with the kingdom of Mercia, by the ministry of certain missionaries from Northumbria. During these 56 years spent in propagating the Gospel, revolutions happened in some of the seven kingdoms, whereby Christianity was so extirpated, that it was again to be planted as if it had never been heard of. This was particularly the case in the kingdoms of Essex, Northumbria, and East-Anglia. Thus from the beginning of these conversions to the end, there was in England, and in each kingdom, a mixture of Christians and idolaters.

Austin preached to the Saxons of Kent, Mellitus to the East-Saxons, Paulinus to the Northumbrians, Birinus to the West-Saxons, Wilfrid to the South-Saxons, Felix to the East-Angles, and the northern monks to the Mercians. In the space of about sixty years after the coming of Austin, all England was converted.

#### NORTHUMBERIA.

The tract of country north of the Humber, was known by the general appellation of Northumbria. It was on the south parted from Mercia by the Humber, on the west it had the Irish Sea on the

north the country of the Picts and Scots, and on the east the German Ocean. It contained the present counties of Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, York, and Durham. The principal cities were, York, Dunelm, (since called Durham,) Carlisle, (named by the Romans, Luguballia,) Hexham, or Hagulstadt, Lancaster, and some others of less note. This country was divided into two parts, Deira and Bernicia, each, for some time, a distinct kingdom of itself. Bernicia was partly situated on the north of Severus's wall, and ended in a point at the mouth of the Tweed. Deira contained the southern part of Northumberland, as far as the Humber. The greatest length of the whole, including both parts, was 160 miles, and its greatest breadth 100.

#### IDA.

Ida, the first king, began his reign in 547, and died in 559. After his death, Northumbria was divided into two kingdoms, namely, Bernicia and Deira. Adda, son of Ida, was king of Bernicia, and Ælla of Deira, but the occasion of this division is unknown.

#### In Bernicia.

559. ADDA.  
566. GLAPPA.  
572. FRIDULPH.  
579. THEODORIC.  
586. AETHELRIC.

#### In Deira.

559. ÆLLA,  
died in 588.

Of these kings nothing is known but the time of their death.

Aethelric being very old when he came to the crown, his son Adelfrid governed the kingdom in his name, without the title of king; and having espoused Acca, daughter of Ælla, king of Deira, who died in 588, got possession of that kingdom, though Ælla left a son of three years old, named Edwin.

#### ADELFRID.

Adelfrid, succeeding his father in 590, became very powerful and formidable to his neighbours, particularly to the Welsh, as well as to the Scots and Picts. But of his wars, historians have related only this remarkable particular: Adelfrid preparing to lay siege to Chester, then in the hands of the Welsh, these last were bent to give him battle; and to procure the blessing of God on their arms, twelve hundred and fifty monks from the monastery of Bangor were ordered to pray near the field of battle during the fight. The monks making too much haste to the place appointed, were met by Adelfrid, who being told the reason of their leaving the monastery, put them all to the sword. This massacre was followed by a signal victory over the Welsh; after which Adelfrid entered Wales, and entirely demolished the monastery of Bangor, where were still above 1000 monks. Bede assures us they were divided into seven classes; and that two of the gates of this immense edifice were above a mile asunder. As this was a very ancient and famous monastery, in all probability the monks driven out of Britain by the Saxons had taken refuge there.

Whilst Adelfrid was aggrandizing himself by his conquests, and growing formidable to all his neighbours, Edwin, son of Ælla, king of Deira

wandered from place to place, destitute of the requisite assistance to recover his father's dominions; it was even difficult for him to find where to remain in safety; Adelfrid, his enemy, being so powerful that not one of the English princes dared for some time to hazard his dominions in defence of the distressed orphan; but at length Redowald, king of the East-Angles, pitying his condition, afforded him a retreat at his court. He was then about 30 years old, of a noble mien, and possessed of such qualities as gained him the love and esteem of Redowald and his queen. Adelfrid, fearing the king of East-Anglia was forming some project for the restoration of Edwin to the throne of Deira, sent ambassadors to him, to desire him to deliver up Edwin, or to put him to death; and in case of refusal, threatened to proclaim war against him; Redowald was some time before he could resolve what to do.

Edwin, informed by the queen of the king's irresolution, was in great perplexity. For very many years he had wandered through various kingdoms, without meeting with other sanctuary than that which the king of East-Anglia had generously granted him, but which now was likely to prove fatal to him. He considered if Redowald resolved to protect him, the war that would infallibly attend his refusal to surrender him, might prove the means of raising him to his father's throne: and as he was not sure of avoiding by flight the danger that threatened him, or of finding another retreat, he determined to wait the event, and trust to the generosity of Redowald, who as yet seemed unresolved. Redowald was naturally generous: but the fear of engaging in so dangerous a war, made him at last resolve to sacrifice Edwin to the interest of the state. The latter informed of this by the queen, gave himself over for lost; and the more, because the very moment Redowald resolved to make this sacrifice to the king of Northumbria, he took all possible care to prevent his victim's escape.

In the days of Bede, who has given us a large account of this prince's adventures, scarce any remarkable event in history but was seasoned with some prodigy or apparition. Accordingly, that writer would not neglect to embellish his ecclesiastical history with a miraculous event told him, as he says, by some old men of his time. Besides, being himself a Saxon, and born in Northumbria, a miracle wrought in favour of the first Christian king of that kingdom, could not but redound to the honour of his country. We would willingly pass it over in silence, as we have many others that occur in his history, if later historians had not affected to copy it. Leaving the reader, therefore, to interpret it as he pleases, we continue his story in the words of Bede.

Edwin, after his melancholy news from the queen, went and walked in the palace-garden during the night, to consider of his affairs. Whilst he was deeply buried in thought, he saw a man, in a very strange dress, coming towards him, who asked him, "What kept him thus awake, when all the world was asleep?" The prince answered, "He was surprised to see a stranger so inquisitive about the affairs of one that was unknown to him." "Think not," replied the stranger, "that I am ignorant of what employs your thoughts: I know all that has befallen you to this hour, and am come to bring you consolation in your misfortunes. What now will you give to him that shall assure you of, one day, mounting the throne, and becoming the most

powerful and glorious king that has hitherto reigned in England?" "If ever that happens," answered Edwin, "I will liberally reward all that shall have done me any service, as well as the person that foretells my good fortune." "He who is able and willing to raise you to this height of grandeur, requires nothing of you but to embrace his doctrine and obey his precepts." "I should be a wretch indeed," replied Edwin, "should I refuse to be ruled by so true a friend." Then the stranger, laying his hand on the prince's head, told him, "Remember what I am now doing, and when the like shall happen to you, think then of performing your promise without delay." Upon these words, the stranger disappeared in an extraordinary manner, to convince Edwin there was something supernatural in this adventure.

Edwin's surprise was increased by the coming of a messenger from the queen, to let him know Redowald had altered his mind. She had represented in so lively a manner to her husband the horror of the action he was about to commit, that he resolved to hazard all, and having taken this generous resolution, sent back the ambassadors, declaring he could not think of delivering up Edwin, much less of putting an innocent prince to death, that had fled for refuge to his palace. Being convinced Adelfrid would endeavour by arms to gain his desire, Redowald determined to commence the attack, and to surprise the Northumbrians. An army was immediately collected and divided into three bodies. The command of the first was given to Reyner, his eldest son, with orders to march before and secure a certain pass. Redowald himself followed at the head of the second, leaving Edwin in the rear with the third. Reyner, desirous to signalize himself by some brave action before the arrival of the other two bodies, advanced with more speed than his orders required, hoping to surprise the king of Northumbria; but though Adelfrid had not yet assembled all his forces, finding Reyner too far advanced to be supported, he took advantage of his rashness, and attacked him before it was in the power of Redowald to join him. Reyner sustained the efforts of Adelfrid with great bravery, but having too much exposed himself, he was slain, and his army put to rout.

Redowald, extremely concerned for the loss of his son, thought of nothing but revenge, and joined with Edwin; and the two armies soon coming to an engagement, Adelfrid performed wonders to preserve his reputation; but finding he was overpowered by numbers, chose rather to die than outlive the shame of his defeat. With this resolution he threw himself among the thickest of his enemies, and fell in the midst of their ranks, covered with wounds. The Northumbrians immediately threw down their arms, and betaking themselves to flight, left their enemies masters of the field.

After this great victory, to which Edwin had not a little contributed, Redowald marched into Northumbria without opposition. Adelfrid had left three sons, Anfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, who finding themselves unable to resist the conqueror, fled into Scotland. The Northumbrians, thus abandoned, without general or army, and being in the usual confusion of such occasions, submitted to Redowald. This generous prince would neither punish them for the insolence of their king, nor



make the best for himself of the advantage acquired by his victory. From an uncommon greatness of soul, he not only gave Edwin the kingdom of Deira, to which he had some pretensions, but likewise that of Bernicia, reserving to himself only the glory of so heroic an action; for which, and upon account of his late victory, he obtained the dignity of monarch of the octarchy then vacant.

## EDWIN.

Edwin, who a little before was an object of compassion, found himself on a sudden at the head of a powerful kingdom; and upon the death of Redowald, in 624, he openly aspired to the monarchy; and indeed there was then no Saxon or English prince able to dispute that honour with him, except Cinigisil, and Quicelm, joint kings of the West-Saxons. Quicelm especially opposed Edwin to the utmost of his power, and thereby drew upon himself from that prince, then in league with the king of Mercia, a war that put him in danger of losing his dominions, and obliged him humbly to sue for peace. The war being thus ended, Edwin met with no further opposition, and saw himself at length invested with the universally-desired dignity of monarch; and the very Welsh, to prevent a threatened invasion, consented to pay him tribute.

Edwin carried the prerogatives of the monarchy higher than any of his predecessors; claiming an absolute power over the other kings, and treating them with little or no respect. He showed the most regard for Eballd king of Kent, whose sister Ethelburga, a princess of great worth, he designed to espouse; and imagined, being monarch, he would be gladly accepted; but Ethelburga, who was a zealous Christian, was very disinclined to marry an idolatrous prince; and her brother refused to give his consent, unless his sister had liberty publicly to profess her religion. Love or policy, or perhaps both, induced even the haughty Edwin to concede to this condition, and Ethelburga consented in the hope of procuring the conversion of her future husband, and his subjects; in the same manner as her mother, Bertha of France, had that of the Saxons of Kent. She was accompanied to Northumbria by some Christian ecclesiastics, amongst whom was Paulinus, a bishop, afterwards celebrated for his powers of conversion.

Edwin lived several years in profound peace; and improved these favourable junctures, not only in maintaining his dominion over the other kings, but also in establishing good order in the state, and enacting wholesome laws, which he caused to be strictly observed. Historians remark, that in his reign justice was administered with such impartiality and rigour, that a child might have gone over the whole kingdom of Northumbria with a purse of gold in his hand, without danger of being robbed. He was converted to Christianity by Paulinus; but doubtless the gentle influence of Ethelburga had its effect. After his conversion he used every effort to spread the Christian religion where it was yet unknown, and replant it where it had been abolished. By his instigation, perhaps his absolute order, Erpwald, king of East-Anglia, permitted the Gospel to be preached again in his dominions, and at length became a Christian himself. Edwin, who could but ill brook the least opposition to his will, pretended to have an authority over the rest of the kings, of which he was extremely jealous; and by an emblem carried before him in the form of a globe, as a sym-

bol of the union of the octarchial government in his person, he gave them to understand he would be considered not only as their head, but their sovereign.

Penda, king of Mercia, and Cadwallo, king of Wales, both desired to throw off the English monarch's yoke; for which purpose they entered into a league, and made preparations, which Edwin resolving to prevent if possible, he advanced as far as Heathfield, where a battle was fought with desperate fury on both sides. Edwin, though inferior in number of troops, supplied that defect by his prudence and ability, which would have most probably gained him the victory, had not the loss of Offrid, his eldest son, who was slain at his feet with an arrow, so disordered him, that he rushed alone among the thickest of his enemies; by whom he was immediately run through in many places, and with his life lost the victory. Upon the disappearance of their king, the dismayed Northumbrians fell into disorder, and fled.

Thus fell Edwin, in the 48th year of his age, the sixteenth of his reign, and the ninth of his monarchy. By his first wife, daughter of Cearl, king of Mercia, he had two sons, Offrid and Edfrid. By his second, Ethelburga of Kent, he had two other sons and two daughters, who all died in their infancy, except Anflæda, wife of Oswy, subsequently king of Northumbria. Edwin resided at Derventio, now Auldbury in Yorkshire.

## INTERREGNUM.

The two conquering kings entered Northumberland, and ravaged the country in a terrible manner. Cadwallo, though a Christian, carried his barbarity so far, that Edfrid, son of Edwin, dreading to fall into his hands, surrendered himself to Penda, from whom he expected more favour. He was received at first with some courtesy, but was afterwards, by Penda's command, murdered in his presence. Queen Ethelburga and Paulinus fled to the king of Kent, who gave his sister some lands to found a monastery, where she passed the residue of her days; and Paulinus was made bishop of Rochester.

The Northumbrians were so weakened by their defeat, and the cruelty, or rather fury, of the two victorious kings, that they were a long time recovering themselves; but at length they judged it more honourable to die with their swords in their hands, than perish by the barbarity of the two tyrants. But when they came to elect a leader, the old jealousies between the Bernicians and Deirans revived; and the men of Deira chose Osric, a relation of Edwin; and the Bernicians set Anfrid on the throne; which last, after the defeat and death of his father Adelfrid, had retired into Scotland with Oswald and Oswy, his brothers, where they were all three baptized.

OSRIC  
in Deira.

ANFRID  
in Bernicia.

These two kings were no sooner on the throne, than they abjured the Christian religion, which they had before professed. Osric rashly besieged Cadwallo in York, who sallied out and routed the Deirans. Osric was slain in this encounter. The Welsh king next marched against the king of Bernicia, who was at the head of 12,000 men, and fell upon him unexpectedly, and made a terrible slaughter of the Northumbrians, Anfrid himself being killed in the battle.

## INTERREGNUM.

Cadwallo's rage being inflamed by the efforts of the Northumbrians, seemed incapable of being glutted with less than the entire destruction of the miserable nation. His barbarities at length determined Oswald, brother of Anfrid, to hazard every thing to relieve a people so cruelly oppressed; and with this generous resolution, he assembled a small body of forces, with which he boldly opposed the usurper. Though the king of Mercia had now returned to his kingdom, Cadwallo looking upon Oswald's army with the utmost contempt, marched against him. Oswald intrenched himself in an advantageous post, where he resolutely expected him. He erected a cross before the camp, and falling down on his knees with the whole army, humbly implored a blessing on his arms. Cadwallo advancing, full of confidence, to encourage his men, attempted in person to force the enemy's intrenchments; and whilst he was intent upon satisfying his rage, and was endeavouring to open a passage to join his enemies, he was shot through the body with an arrow, which put an end to his life. His death causing a great disorder among his troops, the Northumbrians rushed out of their intrenchments, and fell upon their enemies so vigorously, that they were entirely routed. The victory was so complete, and the protection of Heaven was supposed by the Northumbrians to be so visibly in their favour, that the field of battle was named Heofen, or Heaven-field, now called Haledon.

## OSWALD.

After this great victory, Oswald took possession of the two kingdoms of Northumbria, to which he was heir; namely, to Bernicia by Adelfrid his father, and to Deira by Acca his mother, sister of Edwin. He was the most able as well as the most pious prince of his age, having been instructed in the Christian religion whilst in Scotland. His strict virtue, great humility, and zeal for the advancement of the Christian religion, gained him, to such a degree, the love and esteem of his subjects, that they revered him as a saint after his death. He had the satisfaction to free his country from the tyranny of Cadwallo, to unite the two kingdoms of Northumbria under his dominion, and moreover, to be elected monarch of the Anglo-Saxons; and it is even pretended that the Welsh, Scots, and Picts, were tributary to him. He took particular care to restore the Christian religion in his dominions, from which the late troubles after Edwin's death had entirely banished it.

Penda, king of Mercia, ever restless and arrogant, would not submit to Oswald as monarch; and to free himself, without making any declaration of war, took up arms to surprise him. Oswald made haste to meet him, before he had assembled all his forces. Penda took advantage of this precipitation, which rendered him superior to his enemy in number of troops, gave him battle, and obtained a signal victory; which would have redounded more to his glory had he not sullied it by his cruelty. The body of Oswald, who was slain in the fight, being found among the dead, the inhuman conqueror cut it in several pieces, and fixing them on stakes, erected them in the field of battle like so many trophies. This battle was fought at Oswestree. Oswald left a son, called Adelwalt, some time after king of Deira.

Penda, after his victory, behaved with his usual barbarity. Having ravaged Northumberland, he laid siege to Bamborough, a strong town built by Ida, where meeting with more resistance than he expected, he resolved to reduce it to ashes; and to that end, having laid under the walls a great quantity of wood, he set fire to it as soon as the wind favoured his design. But hardly was the fire lighted, when the wind changed and blew the flame directly into his camp, by which the besiegers were great sufferers. This stratagem failing, he raised the siege, and quitting Northumbria, carried the war into East-Anglia. Penda's retreat affording the Northumbrians a little respite, the Bernicians placed Oswy, brother of Oswald, upon the throne; and the next year Oswin, son of Osric slain by Cadwallo, was crowned king of Deira.

643. OSWY  
in Bernicia.

644. OSWIN  
in Deira.

Oswy thought himself very unjustly treated in being deprived of part of his brother's dominions; but as he dreaded another invasion from Penda, he had no opportunity of doing himself justice. But when he found Penda was engaged in other wars, he asserted his claim to Deira, and Oswin, after vainly trying several ways to satisfy his enemy, was compelled at last to take up arms. Oswin was mild and peaceable, and being a true Christian, who in his unsophisticated conversion knew not how to accommodate the dictates of the Gospel to worldly practices, and finding there the unreserved command of Christ to avoid the shedding of blood, could not conquer his scruples. He verily believed, the shedding his subjects' blood in his quarrel was the greatest of sins, and therefore, withdrawing privately from his army, he retired to a certain earl's house, whom he supposed to be his best friend, with design to betake himself thence to some monastery. But before he could put his project in execution, his treacherous friend betrayed him to Oswy, who ordered him to be inhumanly murdered, in expectation of seizing his kingdom with greater ease. This barbarous action did not however procure him the advantage he hoped for. The people of Deira exasperated against him, and dreading to fall under his dominion, immediately set Adelwalt, son of Oswald his brother, upon the throne, who was better able to defend himself than his predecessor. Some time after, Oswy touched with remorse, founded a monastery in the very place where Oswin was murdered, flattering himself he should atone for his crime by this easy penance.

OSWY  
still in Bernicia.

652. ADELWALT  
in Deira.

It was hardly possible for Oswy and Adelwalt, though very near relations, to live peaceably. Oswy still preserved his claim to the kingdom of Deira, and Adelwalt could not be ignorant of it. Consequently it was his interest, not only to suspect his uncle's designs, but even to put it out of his power, if possible, from giving him any disturbance. For this reason, he readily listened to the proposal of a league with the kings of Mercia and East Anglia against Oswy. Penda, though seventy-eight years old, was the author of this league. Oswy being informed of it, did all that lay in his power to divert the impending storm, even to the offering money to Penda, to bribe him to desist from his



enterprise. But nothing could appease that prince, the irreconcilable enemy of the Northumbrians, who seeing himself supported by the armies of East-Anglia and Deira, believed he had now a favourable opportunity to gratify his passion. Oswy moreover found he was obliged to stand alone against these three enemies, whose united forces could not but inspire him with some dread; and in this pressing necessity he made a vow to found a dozen monasteries, and make his daughter a nun, if God would give him the victory.

Whilst the two armies were advancing towards one another, Adelwald formed new projects. He considered, to which side soever the victory inclined, it would prove equally dangerous to him, since he had the same reason to fear being deprived of his dominions by Penda as by Oswy: and therefore he resolved to save his own troops, and stand neuter during the battle, that he might be in condition to defend himself against the conqueror. When the two armies came in sight, Penda, who had not divined into Adelwald's design, boldly attacked the king of Bernicia, not doubting of being seconded by the Deirans and East-Anglians; but when the Mercians saw Adelwald draw off his troops, their ardour abated, and thinking they were betrayed, began to give ground. Meanwhile the kings of Mercia and East-Anglia did their utmost to revive the courage of the frightened troops; but being both slain in endeavouring to renew the fight, their army was put to rout. This battle was fought in York-shire, on the banks of the Aere, and the place was afterwards called Winwidfield.

After this victory, Oswy, without loss of time, marched into Mercia, and became master of that kingdom, which he enjoyed only three years; but in that interval, the monarchy, vacant ever since the death of Oswald his brother, was conferred upon him. Penda was the only prince that could justly pretend to it, but without the most dangerous to be intrusted with it.

Oswy held Mercia by right of conquest, whilst the sons of Penda were compelled to seek refuge among their friends; and their misfortunes would doubtless have been of longer continuance, had not the rigorous proceeding of Oswy's officers compelled the Mercians to take up arms; who concerted their measures so well, that when Oswy least expected it, the Northumbrians were on a sudden driven out of Mercia, and Wulpher, son of Penda, placed on the throne.

A few years after, Oswy, in some measure, repaired this loss, by the acquisition of Deira, upon the death of Adelwald, who died without heirs. Thus Northumbria was once more united into one kingdom.

#### Oswy alone.

This re-union, however, did not long continue. Oswy's affection for his natural son Alfred induced him to divide Northumberland again, and make him king of Deira, though contrary to the people's inclination.

Oswy  
in Bernicia.

Alfred  
in Deira

Oswy, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, died in 670. The beginning of his reign was disturbed with wars, but his good fortune prevailed at last, and procured him some quiet. By Anleda, daughter of Eddan, he had two sons and three

daughters. Egfrid, his son, succeeded him both in his kingdom and in the monarchy of the Anglo-Saxons. The Deirans, upon Oswy's death, revolted against Alfred, and put themselves under the dominion of Egfrid, who thereby became king of all Northumbria. Alfred retired into Ireland, where he applied himself chiefly to his studies, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to recover his dominions.

#### Egfrid alone.

Egfrid, though he came to the crown young, soon made himself both esteemed and feared. The Picts invading his territories, were defeated several times, and forced in the end to purchase a peace with part of their country. Wulpher, king of Mercia, thought likewise to make some conquests in Northumbria; but before the end of the war was very glad to preserve his own dominions. Egfrid's success in the beginning of his reign procured him the dignity of monarch, which his father enjoyed before him.

In the year 684, he sent an army into Ireland for the conquest of that island, under the conduct of Bertfrid, whose cruelties to the Irish, especially in not sparing their very churches and monasteries, caused the enterprise to miscarry. The Irish recovering out of their first surprise, defended themselves so well, that Bertfrid was forced to return home with an almost ruined army.

Egfrid not being able to gain anything in Ireland, resolved to enlarge his bounds towards the north, and carried his arms into the country of the Picts, who little expected an invasion. For which reason they betook themselves to their morasses and fens, to avoid the first attack of their enemies; and Egfrid was so unwise as to follow them, and lead his men into unknown defiles, which he could not get clear of. The Picts, who were perfectly acquainted with the country, harassed his nearly starved troops in such a manner, that he lost above half his army; and at last, to open a passage, he was compelled to come to a very unequal engagement, wherein he lost his life, in the fortieth year of his age, and fifteenth of his reign.

Egfrid was twice married; Adelfrida his first wife, daughter of Annas, king of the East-Angles, and widow of Thombert, an English lord, is said to have remained a virgin, though she had two husbands, and at last to have been entirely parted from Egfrid. She founded a monastery at Ely, and was the first abbess herself. She was revered in England by the name of St. Aldry.

The death of Egfrid, and the loss of his army, were extremely prejudicial to the kingdom of Northumbria, which from that time never recovered its former lustre. The Picts improved their victory by the conquest of part of Bernicia, which lay convenient for them; and the Welsh, on the other hand, possessed themselves of the two provinces that formerly composed the kingdom of Arclute, and out of them erected the kingdoms of Lenox and Cumberland; the first of which was taken from them some years after.

Egfrid leaving no issue, the Northumbrians recalled Alfred from Ireland, and crowned him king of both kingdoms, which from thenceforward remained always united.

#### ALFRED.

The Picts and Welsh having had time to secure

their conquests before Alfred was settled in his throne, it was not possible for him, after Egfrid's death, to recover them out of their hands: all he could do was to defend, and that with great difficulty, the rest of his dominions from the frequent attacks of his neighbours. The monarchy of the Anglo-Saxons went to the kings of Wessex.

Alfred ended his days in 705, having reigned twenty years after his restoration. He left his son Osred to succeed him at eight years of age, under the guardianship of a lord named Brithric.

## OSRED.

Edulph, a certain lord of the country, taking advantage of Osred's youth, made an attempt upon the crown; and a powerful party having owned him for king, Osred and his guardian were obliged to retire to Bamborough-castle, where they were immediately besieged by Edulph. The length of the siege giving Brithric and his friends an opportunity of rising in favour of their lawful king, Edulph found himself deserted on a sudden, and forced to raise the siege in confusion and hurry. Whereupon, Brithric sallied out in pursuit of the usurper, and taking him prisoner, ordered him to be beheaded, about two months after his usurpation.

When Osred came of age, and was master of himself, he fell into a vicious course of life; and it is asserted he made no scruple to intrigue with the nuns, and even to use violence, when other means would not prevail. After Alfred, Oswy's natural son came to the crown, as all the illegitimate children of the kings, or their descendants, imagined they had the same right to aspire to the throne. Cenred and Osric, descendants of Ogga, natural son of Ida, seeing Osred was not popular, formed a party against him, which was abetted to the utmost of their power by the regular and secular clergy, whose interest it was to have a new sovereign. This party became at length so strong, as to be able to give Osred battle, wherein he was slain, in the nineteenth year of his age, and eleventh of his reign; Cenred, the principal author of the revolt, was his successor.

## CENRED

Died in the second year of his reign, and Osric, who assisted him in obtaining the crown, mounted the throne after him.

## OSRIC

Reigned eleven years, without doing anything remarkable, and left his crown to his cousin Ceolulph.

## CEOLULPH

Became a monk, in the seventh or eighth year of his reign, and passed the residue of his days in the monastery of Lindisfarn. Edbert ascended the throne after him.

## EDBERT

The coronation of Edbert was immediately followed by an invasion of the Picts in the northern frontiers; and this war obliging him to march all his forces towards the north, the king of Mercia took advantage of their distance, fell upon the southern parts of Northumbria, and carried off a great booty.

Edbert, towards the end of his reign, having made a league with Oengussa, king of the Picts, recovered the city of Areclute, capital of the king-

dom of Lenox, taken by the Welsh in the reign of Alfred. Deovama, general or prince of the Welsh, endeavouring to relieve Areclute, was defeated by the confederate kings. Shortly after, Edbert retired into a monastery, leaving his crown to his son Osulph.

## OSULPH.

Osulph was assassinated in the first year of his reign; and Mollon-Adelwald, though not of the blood-royal, was raised to the throne

## MOLLON-ADELWALD.

Mollon-Adelwald's election proved in the end the destruction of the kingdom. The Northumbrians having been guilty of the error of placing on the throne a king not of the royal family, all the great chiefs, thought themselves entitled to the crown, as well as the princes of the blood; and hence arose numerous factions, that ended at last in the entire loss of the public liberty. Oswy, one of these lords, led the way, but death freed the king from this competitor. Afterwards, Alcred, descended from Ida by Alaric, one of his natural sons, following the example of Oswy, and secretly conspiring against Mollon, found means to ensnare him and put him to death; after which he was crowned in his stead.

## ALCRED.

Mollon's faction, which was very much reduced by his death, having in time recovered, Alcred was compelled to fly to the king of the Picts, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. As soon as he was gone, Ethelred, son of Mollon, was placed on the throne by his father's party.

## ETHELRED.

As Ethelred had been raised to the crown by the interest of his faction, he judged the best way to fix himself in the throne, would be by the death or banishment of the heads of the contrary party; and accordingly, three of the principal opposers of his election were put to death, for pretended or slight crimes. But this method, instead of having the expected effect, served only to hasten the plots of his enemies, as it furnished them with a plausible pretence to take up arms: and in a short time, they were able to bring into the field an army that gave the king some uneasiness; who, however, sending his best troops against them under the command of a general entirely devoted to his service, was in hopes of speedily reducing them to obedience. But his army was overthrown by the rebels; and this defeat, which was soon followed by a second, compelled him to fly for refuge to some of the neighbouring kingdoms. Upon his retiring, Alfwald, son of Osulph, and grandson of Egbert, was placed on the throne by the victorious party.

## ALFWALD I.

Alfwald I. reigned eleven years with great justice and moderation; which did not, however, prevent his being assassinated by one of the contrary faction. He was honoured by his followers as a saint after his death.

## OSRED II.

Osred, son of King Alcred, was chosen in his room, who, very unlike his predecessor, became so contemptible, that he was confined to a monastery the first year of his reign. Ethelred's party was



completely concerned in deposing Osred, and had interest enough to recall and place him again on the throne, after fifteen years' exile.

#### ETHELRED RESTORED.

Ethelred began his new reign with two acts of clemency, that very much exasperated his enemies against him. He put Osred, his predecessor, to death, who, though a monk, made him uneasy; and then dispatched out of the way Alphus and Alfwinn, sons of the good King Alfwald.

During this reign, the Danes made a descent into Northumbria, and burnt Lindisfarn monastery; and allured by the booty taken in this first expedition, they came again the following year, and pillaged Tiunmouth monastery, founded by King Egfrid. Ethelred, by the assistance of his father-in-law, Offa, king of Mercia, prevented them from carrying their ravages any further, and drove them back to their ships, where almost all of them perished in a sudden and violent storm on the English coast.

After Ethelred was recalled, his cruel and revengeful temper very much inflamed the enmity of the opposite faction towards him; but regardless of the murmurs of his enemies, he thought only of glutting his revenge, and establishing himself in his throne, by the death or banishment of those he most feared. At length, attempting to send Ardulph, one of the principal lords of the country, into exile, he gave the contrary party an occasion to rebel; and after the civil war had lasted two years, the malcontents, finding they had taken a tedious and uncertain way to get rid of their king, caused him to be assassinated. However, his faction was still powerful enough to place Osbold, one of their own party, on the throne.

Charlemagne, emperor of Germany, was so incensed with the Northumbrians for their conduct towards Ethelred, that he was going to proclaim war against them, as appears by a letter from Alcuin to Offa, king of Mercia.

#### OSBOLD OR OSRED.

Whilst the people were intent upon the public rejoicings at the election of the new king, the opposite party had their measures so well, that Osbold was deposed, twenty-seven days after his election, and Ardulph chosen in his room.

#### ARDULPH.

The divisions that prevailed in Northumbria, still continued to rend that unfortunate kingdom. Ardulph was supported in the throne by one of the factions that was then the most powerful; but which did not hinder the other party from fomenting the most violent disturbances. Alcred, formerly king of Northumbria, left a son named Alcmund, who was head of this party; and as he was beginning to grow formidable, Ardulph put him to death, judging it necessary to sacrifice him to his safety. His death being looked upon by his friends as a martyrdom, Alcmund was ranked in the number of the saints; and it afforded the king's enemies a pretence to rise in arms, who set Alaric, a lord, at their head. But this general being vanquished, and slain in battle, the malcontents remained quiet for some time, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and, indeed, the face of affairs was quickly changed; for the opposite party became at

length so powerful, that the king was glad to escape out of his enemies' hands, by flying to the court of Charlemagne, where the English were always welcome.

#### ALFWALD II.

After the retreat of Ardulph, Alfwald II., who had chased him away, was placed on the throne, and reigning about two years, by his death left the crown to Andred.

#### ANDRED.

In Andred's reign it was that Northumbria submitted to the dominion of Egbert, king of Wessex.

#### MERCIA.

THE kingdom of Mercia was bounded on the north by the Humber, by which it was separated from Northumbria; on the west by the Severn, beyond which were the Britons or Welsh; on the south by the Thames, by which it was parted from the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex; on the east by the kingdoms of Essex and East-Anglia. Thus Mercia was guarded on three sides by three large rivers that ran into the sea, and served for boundaries to all the other kingdoms. Hence the name, Mercia, from the Saxon word Merc, signifying a bound, and not, as some fancy, from an imaginary river called Mercia. The inhabitants of this kingdom are sometimes termed by historians *Mediterranei Angli*, or the Mid-land English, and sometimes South-Humbrians, as being south of the Humber; but the most common name is that of Mercians. The principal cities of Mercia were Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwick, Leicester, Coventry, Lichfield, Northampton, Worcester, Gloucester, Derby, Chester, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Oxford, Bristol. Of all the kingdoms of the Saxons this was the most considerable. Its greatest length was a hundred and sixty miles, and its greatest breadth about one hundred.

Crida, the first king of Mercia, arrived in England in 584. He was crowned the same or the following year, and died in 594.

#### INTERREGNUM.

After Crida's death, Ethelbert, king of Kent, and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, made himself master of Mercia, and kept it some time, as will be related in the history of the kingdom of Kent. But afterwards he restored it to Wibba, son of Crida, reserving, however, some right of sovereignty, the nature of which, historians have neglected to explain.

#### WIBBA.

This prince reigned nineteen years, and died in 615. He left a son called Penda, who should have succeeded him, but Ethelbert being still alive, and dreading his restless and turbulent spirit, left Mercia about a year without a king. After that he placed Cearlus, cousin-german of Wibba, on the throne.

#### CEARLUS.

After the death of Ethelbert in 616, Cearlus freed Mercia from the dominion of the kings of Kent, and having reigned nine years, died in 624. As he left no children, Penda, son of Wibba, possessed the throne after him.

## PENDA.

This prince was fifty years old when he came to the crown; and Ethelbert had not without reason passed him by after his father's death, he being a most restless and turbulent prince. We have already, in the history of Northumbria, spoken of his wars with Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy.

In 653, Penda caused Peda his eldest son to be crowned king of Leicester, and then sent him into Northumbria to espouse the daughter of King Oswy, where he was converted to Christianity; and brought back with him some missionaries, who preached the Gospel in Mercia with success. Penda continued a pagan, and was slain in battle in the 18th year of his age, as related in the history of Northumbria, leaving five sons, Peda, Wulfer, Ethelred, Merowald, and Mercelm, and two daughters, Ciniburga and Ciniswintha.

## INTERREGNUM.

After the defeat and death of Penda, Oswy became master of Mercia, and kept it three years. However, he left Peda his son-in-law the little kingdom of Leicester. But Peda being soon after poisoned by his wife, Oswy seized that also, and held it with the rest of Mercia, till he was driven thence by Wulfer, as we have seen in the history of Northumbria.

## WULFER

Wulfer was almost as much a stranger to peace as his father Penda. He waged war at several times, with all the neighbouring princes, with various success, one while conqueror, another while vanquished; but as the particulars of these wars are not very material, and are but imperfectly related by historians, it is needless to enlarge upon them. We shall only observe, that he took Adelwalch, king of Sussex, prisoner, and brought him to Mercia, after having conquered his kingdom. Some time after, Adelwalch becoming a Christian during his imprisonment, Wulfer gave him the Isle of Wight, which he had likewise subdued. It is conjectured that Wulfer had also conquered the kingdom of Essex, since it is well known he disposed of the bishopric of London in favour of one Wina.

Wulfer was still an idolater when he came to the crown; but shortly after was converted, and his children were brought up in the Christian religion; and Vereburga, one of his daughters, was honoured as a saint. He died in 675, thinking to leave his crown to his son Cenrid; but his brother Ethelred found means to supplant his nephew and obtain the kingdom.

## ETHELRED.

Ethelred, as soon as he was seated on the throne, erected Herefordshire into a kingdom, and gave it to Merowald his brother, who dying without heirs, left it to his younger brother Mercelm. But he dying also without children, this little kingdom was reunited to Mercia.

In 679, Ethelred invaded Kent, and made great devastations. After which he turned his arms against Northumbria, and compelled Egfrid to restore certain Mercian towns, taken during the reign of Wulfer. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, greatly contributed to the peace concluded between these two kings.

In 697, Ostrith, wife of Ethelred, was assassinated, and the little care taken to discover the murderers, gives room to suspect that the king himself was not innocent. However that be, Ethelred growing weary of the world, resigned his crown to Cenred his nephew, son of Wulfer, and turned monk, in Bardney monastery, of which shortly after he was made abbot.

## CENRED.

Nothing remarkable was performed by this prince, during his four years' reign, but the exchanging his crown for the monkish habit, after the example of Offa, king of Essex, who was come to his court to demand Ciniswintha, his aunt, daughter of Penda, in marriage. By the persuasions of this princess, both kings were prevailed upon to become monks, and to go to Rome, and receive the tonsure at the pope's hands. Ceolred, son of Ethelred, succeeded his cousin Cenrid.

## CEOLRED.

Ceolred had a terrible war to sustain against Ina, king of the West-Saxons; and historians, according to custom, without relating the motives or particulars of it, only say, the two kings fought a bloody battle at Wodenburg in Wiltshire, with such equal success, that neither could boast of the victory.

Ceolred was far from being of his predecessor's mind to prefer the monk's habit to a crown; and not only disregarded the monks and the rest of the clergy, but, if the historians are to be credited, violated their privileges without any scruple. This behaviour, so contrary to that of all the other English princes, raised great clamours against him; and the ecclesiastics in particular took all occasions to paint him in the blackest colours. Their animosity followed him even into the other world; and after his death, which happened in 716, they gave out that he resigned his last breath, blaspheming and talking with the devil. Such kind of reports against those that were not in the interest of the monks, were not spread without design, and the histories of those days abound with the same kind of fabrications. Ethelbald, grandson of Eoppa, brother of Penda, mounted the throne after Ceolred.

## ETHELBALD.

This prince was one of the most illustrious kings that had hitherto worn the crown of Mercia, to which he added the dignity of monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, resigned by Ina, king of Wessex, when he became a monk. This dignity seems to have consisted originally only in presiding at the general assemblies, and commanding the armies of the various kingdoms, and some other prerogatives which conferred no right of sovereignty over the other kings. At least, the electors looked upon it in this light; but the monarchs generally considered it in a very different manner; and they were no sooner invested with it, than their first care was to grasp at an unlimited power, to which they thought themselves entitled by the examples of the preceding monarchs. Ethelbald, improving some favourable occurrences, carried the prerogatives of the monarchy to the highest degree, and thereby grew very troublesome and formidable to the other kings. For which reason the kings of Wessex and Northumbria agreed to attack him from two different quarters at once; and as Mercia was situated be-



tween these two kingdoms, Ethelbald was obliged to send half his army towards the north, whilst with the other half he himself marched against the West-Saxons commanded by Ethelun. No particulars of this war are known, except that Ethelbald was vanquished and his army put to rout.

Four years after, this prince was slain in a mutiny of the army raised by a chief named Beornred, who was proclaimed king by the soldiers.

#### BEORNRED, THE USURPER.

Beornred's election by the army, who had no right to assume such an authority, was very displeasing to the Mercian chieftains, especially as the king elect was no ways related to the royal family. And therefore, before Beornred had time to establish himself in his usurpation, they placed on the throne Offa nephew of the late king; who drawing an army together, gave the usurper battle, and obtained a complete victory; where some say, Beornred was slain; and others, that he maintained his ground for a while in some part of Mercia.

#### OFFA.

Offa was one of the most famous of the Saxon kings, on account of his victories over the Welsh and the neighbouring Saxon princes, and for several other actions which must be briefly related.

He was monarch of the Saxons, and following the example of his predecessors, was engaged in continual wars with such princes as disputed his ambitious pretensions; and whilst he was thus employed, the Welsh, always upon the watch to improve the advantages afforded them by the frequent dissensions of the English, thought they had now a fair opportunity to attack him. This unexpected war, wherein the Welsh at first were successful, compelled him to conclude a peace with the English, in order to turn his arms against these unexpected invaders, whom he quickly reduced to such a condition that they were forced to abandon not only their late conquests in Mercia, but also part of their own country beyond the Severn, which Offa seized and peopled with English colonies; and to prevent them from ever retaking it, he threw up a rampart, defended by a large ditch, by means of which he parted his conquests from the rest of Wales. This rampart, in length twenty-four miles, reaching from the mouth of the Dee, to the place where the Wye runs into the Severn, was called Clawd Offa, or Offa's Dike.\*

In 786, Offa made his son Egfrid partner with him in the government, and gave his daughter Edburgh in marriage to Buthric, king of Wessex.

The greatest stain on Offa's reputation was his treachery to Ethelbert, king of the East-Angles. This young prince designing to marry, came to the court of Offa, and demanded his daughter Adelfrida in marriage. He was received at first with great marks of affection and esteem; but Offa, by the

pressing and repeated instigations of Quendrida his wife, who represented to him that he ought by all means to embrace so fair an opportunity of becoming master of East-Anglia, was persuaded to break the sacred laws of honour and hospitality, by murdering Ethelbert. He followed up this crime by attacking East-Anglia, and succeeded in uniting it to Mercia.

He was soon smitten with remorse, and to appease his conscience, he performed, in 794, a journey to Rome, to obtain a pardon from the pope, and secure himself from the punishment due to his crime; and the pope granted his request, on condition he would be liberal to the churches and monasteries; for that was the only way then of atoning for sins. It had been better had restitution been enjoined as a necessary condition.

Among the liberalities of Offa to the churches of Rome, we must not omit one of great consequence for England. Ina, king of the West-Saxons, had founded at Rome a college for the education of English youth; for the maintenance of which the founder ordered a penny to be collected yearly of every family in his dominions; which kind of charity was termed *Romescot*, that is, tribute of Rome, or sent to Rome. Offa extended this tax throughout Mercia and East-Anglia, the lands belonging to the monastery of St. Albans only excepted; and because this money was paid at Rome on a holiday, called St. Peter's *ad vincula*, this tax was named *Peter-pence*, instead of *Romescot*. By this means the directors of the college were abundantly supplied with means to defray the expense they were at from the great concourse of the English, who came to study at Rome; and in process of time, the popes pretending it was a tribute paid by the English to St. Peter and his successors, converted it to their own use, till it was entirely abolished by Henry VIII.

Before Offa left Rome, he obtained of the pope the canonization of St. Alban, the first British martyr, whose relics were pretended to be found at Verulam; and at his return, he built there a fine church and a stately monastery, to which he granted great privileges and a large revenue; and thenceforth Verulam was called St. Albans. Offa was also very munificent to the church of Hereford, where the body of the king of East-Anglia lay buried, that prayers might be incessantly made for the murdered and the murderer.

His dike: the union of East-Anglia to Mercia: the erecting of Lichfield into an archbishopric: the extension of Peter-pence: and the compiling a body of laws published under the title of *Mercens Leaga*; i. e. Laws of the Mercians, which served for a pattern to his successors, and the greatest part of which were inserted in the great Alfred's laws, published about the end of the next century, render Offa's reign memorable.

He had contracted a close friendship with Charlemagne; and some of their letters are still extant in the life of Offa at the end of Matthew Paris's History.

Offa died in 796, after a reign of thirty-nine years; and Egfrid, who had already been crowned as his partner, succeeded him both in the kingdom of Mercia, and dignity of monarch.

#### EGFRID.

Egfrid, who survived his father but four or five months, employed that time in enriching the monks, and particularly those of St. Alban's

\* This dike may be seen on Brachy-hill, and near Rhyd ar Ffynon, in Herefordshire; and is continued from Rhyd ar Ffynon over a part of Shropshire into Nottinghamshire, and crosses the long mountain of Ebor Dike, to Ebor Dike, across the Severn and Eden Drains. It is a fine monument of the power of the Saxon monarchs, and is a fine monument of the power of the Saxon monarchs, and is a fine monument of the power of the Saxon monarchs.

Cenulph, descended from Wilba by another branch, succeeded him in both his dignities.

## CENULPH.

Cenulph was no sooner on the throne, than he declared war against Edbert-Pren, king of Kent, which proved fatal to the king of Kent, who, being taken prisoner, was carried to Mercia, where Cenulph ordered his eyes to be put out, after he had placed another king on his throne.

Cenulph died in 819, after a reign of twenty-four years; leaving a son very young, named Cenelm, and two daughters, Quendrida and Burganilda.

## CENELM.

Quendrida, eldest sister of Cenelm, hoping to mount the throne, if her brother was out of the way, caused him to be assassinated by one Ascobert, who threw his body into a well, where it was found as it is pretended by a miracle; but Quendrida did not derive any benefit from her crime, for the Mercians placed on the throne Ceolulph, uncle of the late king.

## CEOLULPH.

This prince, after a year's reign, was deposed by Bernulph, one of the principal lords of the country.

BERNULPH, 821.

LUDICAN, 823.

WITGLAPH, 825.

Very little is recorded of these kings, but what is known will be related in the history of Wessex.

## EAST-ANGLIA.

THE kingdom of the East-Angles was bounded on the north by the Humber; on the east by the German Ocean; on the south by the kingdom of Essex; and on the west by Mercia. Its greatest length was eighty, and its greatest breadth fifty-five miles. It contained the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, with part of Cambridgeshire. The chief towns were, Norwich, Thetford, Ely, and Cambridge. It has been already related how this kingdom was founded by the Angles, who landed on the eastern coasts of Britain, under twelve chiefs, the survivor of whom, Uffa, assumed the title of king of the East-Angles.

## UFFA

Died in 578, leaving his son Titilus to succeed him.

## TITILUS.

All that is known of this king is, that he died in 589, and had for his successor his son Redowald.

## REDOWALD.

The few particulars which can be gathered of this king, have been given in the history of Northumbria; the protection of Edwin, and the magnanimity he displayed with regard to placing him on the throne of that country, are proofs of this king's possessing a noble mind. He died in 624, leaving his crown to his son Erpwald.

## ERPWALD.

Erpwald seems to have been very weak; as he was in continual subjection to Edwin, king of Northumbria; who was in reality the sovereign of East-Anglia, though he left Erpwald the title of king.

Erpwald was assassinated in 633, after he had reigned about nine years.

## INTERREGNUM.

After his death, East-Anglia had no king for three years, the reason of which is unknown. In 636 the East-Angles placed on the throne Sigebert, half-brother of their last king.

## SIGEBERT.

This prince, who was banished by Erpwald, his brother on the mother's side, on suspicion of aspiring to the crown, had retired into France, where he became a Christian. As soon as he was king of East-Anglia, he endeavoured to convert his subjects to Christianity, which had been planted among them in the reign of Redowald, but was now almost extinguished. After he had effected this by the assistance of Felix, a Burgundian priest, he retired into a monastery, resigning his crown to Egrie, his cousin.

## EGRIC.

Egrie soon after his coronation being attacked by Penda, king of Mercia, the East-Angles, having no great confidence in their new king, petitioned Sigebert to quit his monastery, and put himself at the head of their army; but it was not till he had been repeatedly entreated that he consented; and notwithstanding the extraordinary expectations formed of his assistance, the East-Anglians were defeated, and both their leaders slain. He is said to have headed the army with Egrie, carrying nothing but a switch in his hand.

## ANNAS.

Annas, son of Ennius, nephew of Redowald, succeeded to the throne; and by his aid, Cenowalch, king of Wessex, who fled to him for refuge, was restored to his kingdom, of which he had been deprived by Penda in 645.

This action drew upon him the hatred of Penda, king of Mercia, who resolved to carry fire and sword into East-Anglia. Annas died whilst he was preparing for his defence, leaving the management of this dangerous war to Ethelric, his brother and successor.

## ETHELRIC.

Ethelric, dreading the power of Penda, bribed him with a sum of money to desist from his war with the East-Anglians; and to induce him to invade Northumbria, offered to accompany him with all his forces. It has been already related how they were both slain in an engagement with Oswy. Ad-i-wald, brother of Ethelric, mounted the throne after him.

## ADELWALD.

Nothing more of this prince is known, than that he died in 664, leaving his crown to Aldulph, his nephew, son of Ethelric.

## ALDULPH.

Of this prince all we can learn is, that he was alive in 680, and assisted at the council of Hatfield. His successor was Alfwald.

## ALFWALD.

Alfwald died in 749, and was succeeded by Beorna and Ethelbert, who divided the kingdom.

## BEORNA AND ETHELBERT.

Ethelbert dying before the year 758, Beorna reigned alone. But we know nothing of him, but that he was succeeded by Ethelred.



## ETHELRED.

Ethelred, dying about the year 790, left the crown to Ethelbert.

## ETHELBERT.

This is the prince that Offa, king of Mercia, put to death in order to seize his kingdom in 792. From that time East-Anglia and Mercia formed but one kingdom.

## ESSEX.

THE kingdom of Essex or the East-Saxons was bounded on the north by East-Anglia; on the east by the German Ocean; on the south by the Thames; and on the west by Mercia. Its greatest length was seventy-five miles, and its breadth thirty-eight. It contained the counties of Essex and Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. The principal cities were London and Colchester; the first of which became afterwards the metropolis of all England; it had formerly been very considerable in the time of the Romans, who made it a colony; but in all probability it was much reduced after the arrival of the Saxons.

This country having been extorted from Vortigern by Hengist, was erected into a kingdom by Erchenwin, the first king. Historians have neglected to inform us of the founding of this kingdom, by which the successors of Hengist were deprived of almost as large a tract of land as the kingdom of Kent.

## ERCHENWIN.

Erchenwin began his reign in 527, and died in 587, after he had reigned sixty years. He was succeeded by his son Sledda.

## SLEDDA.

It is not known in what year this prince died, but only that his son Sabert, or Saba, reigned in 599.

## SABERT.

Sabert was the first Christian king of Essex, being converted by the preaching of Mellitus and solicitation of Ethelbert, king of Kent, his uncle by his mother's side. He was noted for his piety and zeal for Christianity; and dying in 616, was succeeded by his three sons.

## SAXRED, SEWARD, AND SIGEBERT.

These three princes reigned together; and forsook with one consent the Christian religion, which they had professed during their father's life. After they had reigned seven years, they rashly came to an unequal engagement with Ginigisil and Quicelm, kings of Wessex, and were all three cut off, with their whole army. Their successor was Sigebert the Little.

## SIGEBERT THE LITTLE.

Scarcely anything is known concerning this prince, not even the time of his death; all that can be ascertained is, that he was on the throne in the year 653, and was succeeded by Sigebert the Good, grandson of a brother of pious King Sabert.

## SIGEBERT THE GOOD.

Sigebert restored the Christian religion in his dominions, from whence it had been expelled ever since the time of Sabert. He was assisted therein by a Northumbrian priest, consecrated bishop

of the East-Saxons. This prince was assassinated in 655, by two counts, his relations, who, having been excommunicated by Cedd, complained that the king, instead of avenging their quarrel, had cast himself at the feet of the bishop, begging pardon for conversing with them after their excommunication. His successor was Swithelm, his brother.

## SWITHELM.

There is nothing particular concerning this prince, except that Sebba and Siger succeeded him.

## SEBBA AND SIGER.

Sebba was son of Seward, and Siger of Sigebert the Little, son of the same Seward. Siger returned to idolatry; but Sebba strictly adhered to the Christian religion. They were vassals to the king of Mercia, as was before observed in the reign of Wulfer. Siger dying in 683, Sebba remained sole king of Essex.

## SEBBA ALONE.

Sebba reigned about eleven years longer, and then, being very old, became a monk in 694. He left his crown to Sighard and Senofrid, his sons.

## SIGHARD AND SENOFRID.

These two brothers reigned, and very probably died, together about the year 705. Offa, son of Siger, mounted the throne after them.

## OFFA.

He desired to marry Ciniswitha, daughter of Penda, king of Mercia, and went to the court of Cenred to demand her in marriage; but she, being very religious and not young, persuaded her lover to become a monk: and he consequently went to Rome with his cousin, the king of Mercia, and received the Tonsure at the pope's hands. He is said by some to have been succeeded by Seolred, or Selred, son of Sigebert the Good.

## SEOLRED.

Seolred reigned thirty-eight years, and was killed at last, but by whom, or in what manner, is unknown. Swithred, his son, is supposed to have succeeded him.

## SWITHRED.

This is the last king of Essex whose name occurs in the Saxon annals. He began his reign in 746, and if he was alive, which is very unlikely, at the time of the union of the Saxon kingdoms, must have reigned seventy-eight years.

## KENT.

THE kingdom of Kent was the first that was founded by the Saxons. It was very advantageously situated, having the sea on the south and east; the Thames on the north; and the little kingdom of Sussex on the west. As long as this last subsisted, it served as a bulwark to the kings of Kent, against the ambition of the kings of Wessex; but after Sussex was subdued by the West-Saxons, the kingdom of Kent was in continual danger of falling under the dominion of these powerful neighbours. The truth is, the jealousy between the kings of Wessex and Mercia, and the equality of their forces, were the only things that long prevented this little

kingdom from becoming a prey to one of them. It was not above sixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth. The chief towns were, Dorobern, or Canterbury, the capital, Dover, Rochester, and some others not so large indeed, but considerable however for their situation and harbours, as Sandwich, Deal, Folkstone, Reculver, &c.

#### HENGIST, FIRST KING.

Hengist arrived in Great Britain in 449. He assumed the title of king of Kent in 455, and died in 488. He was succeeded by his son Escus.

#### ESCUS.

As the Saxons, after the death of Hengist, conferred the command of their armies on Ælla, king of Sussex, Escus very likely was not in so great esteem as his father: Nothing remarkable remains concerning his reign, which lasted to the year 512. His successor was Octa, his son.

#### OCTA.

This prince suffered, or at least could not prevent the dismembering of Essex and Middlesex from the kingdom of Kent, to form the kingdom of the East-Saxons. This is the only particular we meet with during his reign of twenty-two years. After Octa, Hermenric ascended the throne of Kent.

#### HERMENRIC.

There is nothing particular concerning this prince, who reigned however thirty years. Before his death he associated Ethelbert, his son and successor.

#### ETHELBERT.

Ethelbert was one of the most celebrated of the Saxon kings. He was the first Christian king of Kent. At his coming to the crown, Ceaulin, king of Wessex, was monarch; but he resolved to dispute it with him, and was twice defeated. After this defeat he remained quiet till the year 593, when he took up arms again, in conjunction with all the other kings, who were displeased with Ceaulin's seizing the kingdom of Sussex; and Ethelbert being declared general, the former was defeated.

After Ceaulin's death, Ethelbert was elected monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, and exercised an almost absolute power over all the kingdoms lying south of the Humber, the Northumbrians alone retaining their independence.

He had the advantage of being allied to France by means of his marriage with Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris; which connexion checked the kings his neighbours, who dreaded his introducing the French into England.

Upon the death of Crida, king of Mercia, Ethelbert seized that kingdom, though the deceased king had left a son of fit age to succeed him; and in so doing he trod exactly in the steps of Ceaulin, though he had himself excited the other kings against that monarch, on account of his ambition. Ethelbert pretended he had a right as monarch, or as descendant of Hengist, to succeed to all the vacant thrones; at which the other kings were naturally alarmed; and he dreading they would join in a league against him, as they did against Ceaulin, thought it prudent to make concessions; and therefore restored the kingdom of Mercia to Wibba, son of Crida, reserving however an authority over him.

This prince had two wives, the first was Bertha of France, by whom he had Edbald his successor,

and Ethelberga, married to Edwin, king of Northumbria. The name of his second wife is unknown. He died in 616, after he had reigned fifty-two years.

#### EDBALD.

Edbald was very unlike his father; he forsook the Christian religion, and turned heathen; and is said to have married the queen, his mother-in-law. His vices rendering him slothful and inactive, the other kings cast off the control Ethelbert had acquired; and the monkish historians say that Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, brought him to a sense of his errors, and that he spent the remainder of his days in Christian piety. He left two sons, Ermenfred and Ercombert, which last succeeded him, and a daughter named Enswith, foundress of the abbey of Folkstone.

#### ERCOMBERT.

Ercombert, though the youngest of Edbald's sons, contrived to ascend the throne, in prejudice of his elder brother. He ordered the heathen temples to be razed to the ground, and the idols to be broken in pieces; and Ermenfred, his brother, being seized with a distemper that brought him to his grave, he promised to leave the crown, which of right belonged to him, to his children; but he broke his word. He died in the year 664, leaving two sons, Egbert and Lothair, and two daughters; Ermenilda the eldest was wife of Wulpher, king of Mercia: the other was a nun.

#### EGBERT.

Egbert was no sooner on the throne, than he put two sons of his uncle Ermenfrid to death, for fear they should disturb him in the possession of the crown; and presented their sister Domnena with some lands in the isle of Thanet, where she founded a monastery. He died in 673, leaving two sons, Edric and Widred, who were not his immediate successors, the crown being seized by their uncle Lothair.

#### LOTHAIR.

After Lothair had reigned ten years unmolested, in order to secure the succession of his family, he made his son Richard partner with him in the government. Upon which his nephew Edric, son of his brother Egbert, withdrew from his court, and applied to Edelwalch, king of Sussex, for aid, who put him at the head of an army; with which entering Kent, he vanquished Lothair, who died of the wounds he received in the battle. After this victory, Edric was crowned without opposition; and Richard, son of Lothair, fled into Germany, where Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, an Englishman, gave him his sister in marriage, and caused him to be elected king of Suabia, if we may believe some historians. It is not known how he came to die at Lucca in Tuscany, where his tomb is still to be seen; on which he is styled king of England, though he was but for a time king of Kent.

#### EDRIC.

This prince reigned but two years, and as he had no children, left the crown to his brother Widred, who made Swabert his partner, whose extraction is unknown.

#### WIDRED AND SWABERT

After Edric's death, great commotions arose in the kingdom of Kent, occasioned by the ambition of some nobles who combined together, and



refused to acknowledge Widred for king. In all probability Swabert was one of the principal of the rebels, since he was associated into the government: but it is not known whether he was any way related to the royal family.

In the reign of these two kings, Cedwallo, king of the West-Saxons, imagining the intestine divisions of Kent would render the kingdom an easy conquest, sent an army thither under the command of his brother Mollon, who overran great part of the country; but at length, the two kings joining forces, vanquished him in battle; and Mollon being closely pursued, took shelter with twelve others in a house which they valiantly defended: but the Kentish soldiers setting fire to it, they all miserably perished in the flames. Cedwallo soon revenged the death of his brother, whom he sincerely loved; and entered Kent with a formidable army, and destroyed the whole country with fire and sword. After this invasion, Kent was so much reduced, that it never regained its importance. Swabert died in 695, and Widred remained sole king of Kent.

#### WIDRED alone.

He reigned twelve years alone, and died in 725, leaving three sons, Ethelbert, Edbert, and Aldric: the two eldest jointly succeeded him.

#### ETHELBERT AND EDBERT.

These two brothers reigned together till the year 748, when Edbert died.

#### ETHELBERT alone.

This prince, after a reign of thirty-six years, left his crown to his brother Aldric. He had associated his son Ardulph, who died before him.

#### ALDRIC.

Aldric was frequently attacked by his neighbours; and Offa, king of Mercia, gained a decisive victory over him, but the other kings would not suffer Offa to become master of the kingdom.

Aldric had associated his son Alcmund, but that prince dying before him, he left no heirs, and with him ended the race of Hengist. After his death, Edbert, surnamed Pren, was placed on the throne.

#### EDBERT-PREN.

The kingdom of Kent being extremely weakened, Cenulph, king of Mercia, ravaged it from one end to the other; and at last having defeated and taken Edbert prisoner, carried him into Mercia, where he ordered his eyes to be put out; after which he placed on the throne Cudred, who paid him tribute.

#### CUDRED.

This tributary king reigned eight years as vassal of the king of Mercia, who permitted, after his death in 805, his son Baldred to succeed him.

#### BALDRED.

In the reign of Baldred the octarchy was dissolved. The dissolution began with the conquest of Kent by Egbert, king of Wessex; as will be seen hereafter.

#### SUSSEX.

The kingdom of Sussex was one of the most important in the heptarchy. It contained only

the two counties of Sussex and Surrey, the greatest part of which consisted of the large forest of Andredswald, so called by the Saxons from Anderida, the name it had in the time of the Romans. As this forest stood untouched when Ælla conquered Sussex, we may suppose it was cleared by degrees. This kingdom was not above fifty miles long and forty broad. It was bounded on the north by the Thames, on the south by the sea, on the east by the kingdom of Kent, and on the west by Wessex. The capital city was Chichester, built by Cissa the second king of this kingdom, who also built Cissbury, whose ruins are still to be seen.

#### ÆLLA, FIRST KING.

Ælla arrived in Britain in 476, and was crowned king of Sussex in 491. He was a chief of so much reputation among the Saxons, that they judged him worthy to succeed Hengist in the command of their armies; yet notwithstanding he was frequently defeated by the Britons under Arthur, but not sufficiently to prevent his settling in the country where he first landed, and founding there the kingdom of Sussex or of the South-Saxons. He died in 514, leaving the crown to his only surviving son Cissa.

#### CISSA.

Cissa was memorable only for his long reign of seventy-six years, and his great age. For supposing him but a year or two old when his father brought him over in 476, he must have been at least one hundred and fifteen, or one hundred and sixteen years of age when he died in 590. But it is not very likely Ælla should bring with him a child of a year old.

Cissa leaving no issue, Ceaulin, king of Wessex and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, seized the kingdom of Sussex; which occasioned the league against him. But notwithstanding his being vanquished, Ceolric, his nephew and successor, remained in possession of Sussex.

From that time the South-Saxons made several attempts to shake off the control of the kings of Wessex; and herein properly consists the history of Sussex, till the kingdom was entirely subdued.

In 607 they revolted against Ceolric, king of Wessex, but were reduced to obedience. In 684, however, they made another struggle with better success; when Cenowalch, king of Wessex, continuing still in East-Anglia, and Penda, king of Mercia, being master of Wessex, they took the opportunity to place on their throne a king named Adelwalch.

#### ADELWALCH.

The kingdom of Wessex having suffered much by Penda's invasion, who seized and kept it three years, Cenowalch was little able, after his restoration, to dethrone the new king of Sussex. But Adelwalch, however, was not left in peace. Wulpher, king of Mercia, having attacked Cenowalch and defeated him in several encounters, penetrated as far as Sussex, where vanquishing Adelwalch in battle, he took him prisoner, and after that, became master of his kingdom, and the Isle of Wight. Adelwalch having embraced the Christian religion in Mercia, where he was prisoner, Wulpher set him at liberty, and made him a present of the Isle of Wight; and it is very probable, that after the death of Wulpher, he recovered the kingdom of Sussex, since we find in the Saxon annals that he was on the throne in 686.

The same year Cedwalla, a West-Saxon fugitive prince, entered Sussex with an army, and Adelwalch endeavouring to drive him thence, was slain in battle.

After his death, Cedwalla would have made himself master of Sussex, but was opposed by Authun and Berthun, who had returned with an army from an expedition in the kingdom of Kent. At the same time, Cedwalla, hearing of the death of the king of Wessex, who had expelled him his dominions, returned thither, and was placed on the throne; and Authun and Berthun, in the mean time, were crowned kings of Sussex. They are said by some to be sons of Adelwalch, and by others his generals only.

#### AUTHUN AND BERTHUN

These two kings did not live long undisturbed. Cedwalla, now become king of Wessex, made war upon them, and gained a battle, wherein Berthun was slain.

#### AUTHUN alone.

Authun very probably preserved the crown of Sussex, by an entire dependence on the king of Wessex, who, after the death of Authun, would not suffer the vacant throne to be filled.

The South-Saxons made several attempts to recover their liberty; and took up arms in 722, but unsuccessfully; as Ina, king of Wessex, reduced them to obedience.

Three years after, taking advantage of some dissensions in Wessex, they placed on the throne a king named Albert; but Ina having defeated and slain the new king, united their kingdom to his own.

This did not, however, prevent them, in 754, in the reign of Sigebert, king of Wessex, from revolting once more, and choosing one Osmond for their king; but Cenulph, successor of Sigebert, found means to reduce them again to a state of dependence; and from that time the South-Saxons appear never to have attempted to recover their liberty, their country being considered ever after as a province of Wessex.

#### WESSEX.

WESSEX, inhabited by Saxons and Jutes, was situated south of the Thames, in breadth about seventy miles, from the Thames to the British Channel; and in length one hundred and fifty, from the frontiers of Sussex to the river Tamar, which parted it from Cornwall. The principal cities were Winchester, the capital, Southampton, Portsmouth, Salisbury, Dorchester, Sherborn, and Exeter, where a great many Britons were mixed with the Saxons. The Isle of Wight, inhabited by Jutes, was also dependent on this kingdom.

As each kingdom of the Saxons derived its name from the inhabitants and situation, the kingdom of Wessex, or of the West-Saxons, was so called, because it lay west of Sussex, Kent, and Essex. Besides the extent, the situation of this kingdom made it very considerable. It was guarded on the north by the Thames, and on the south by the sea; on the east it was bounded by the little kingdom of Sussex, not at all formidable to its neighbours; and on the west by the Britons of Cornwall, divided so from the rest of their countrymen the Welsh, by the mouth of the Severn, that it was almost impossible for them to assist one another.

#### CERDIC.

This prince, of whom much mention has been already made, arrived in Britain in the year 495, and was crowned the first time king of the West-Saxons in 519, after Arthur had surrendered to him the two counties of Hampshire and Somersetshire, the whole then of this kingdom. He was crowned a second time at Winchester in 532 or 533, by the same title, upon the delivery of Berkshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire, by Modred. He died in 534, leaving his crown to his son Cenric.

#### CENRIC.

Cenric, who during his father's life was renowned for his valour and ability, after he was king, pursued a peaceable life. He defeated the Britons, who ventured to attack him in 552, and dying in 560, was succeeded by Ceaulin, his eldest son.

#### CEAULIN.

Ceaulin being elected monarch after his father's death, carried the prerogatives of that dignity to a very great height. Having brought the neighbouring princes into subjection, he made them apprehensive, by seizing the kingdom of Sussex after Cissa's death, that he intended to reduce all England into one kingdom. The better to secure Sussex, he went and kept his court at Chichester, leaving the government of Wessex to Ceolric, his nephew, whom he designed for his successor; but his ambition caused all the other kings, Ceolric himself not excepted, to enter into a league against him; and he was vanquished by the king of Kent, who commanded the confederate army, and fled to some unknown retreat, where he ended his days. His wars with the Britons and Aidan, king of Scotland, have been already related.

#### CEOLRIC.

Nothing particular occurs concerning this prince after his accession to the throne upon the death of his uncle Ceaulin. He died in 598, and was succeeded by his brother Ceoluph.

#### CEOLUPH.

All we know of this prince is, that in 607 he reduced to obedience the South-Saxons, who had revolted; and died in 611, having for his successor Cinigisil, his nephew, son of Ceolric.

#### CINIGISIL.

A year after his coronation, Cinigisil associated Quicelm, his brother, or rather divided with him the kingdom of Wessex.

#### CINIGISIL AND QUICELM.

These two brothers obtained, in 614, a signal victory over the Britons.

Quicelm became a Christian a little before his death, which happened in 635.

#### CINIGISIL alone

This prince, who had embraced the Christian religion some time before his brother, reigned alone till his death. He left his crown to his son Cenowalch.

#### CENOWALCH

The reign of Cenowalch was much disturbed with his wars with the kings of Mercia; and Penda, whose sister he had married and divorced, attacked



him when he least expected it, and compelled him to abandon his kingdom, and fly for refuge to Annas, king of the East-Angles, where he remained the three years Penda kept possession of Wessex. Cenowalch was converted to Christianity in East-Anglia, and at length restored to his kingdom by the assistance of Annas.

In 652 he obtained a victory over the Britons, which was followed by another in 658: and some years after, he was engaged in a war with Wulpher, successor of Penda: but which was the aggressor, or what was the success of the war, is uncertain. Wulpher according to some accounts, was defeated and taken prisoner; but others affirm he had entirely the advantage, which seems most probable, as it is certain Wulpher conquered Sussex and the Isle of Wight, which he could not have done if Cenowalch had been in condition to oppose him. Cenowalch died in 672, and left his crown to his queen Sexburga.

#### SEXBURGA,

A princess of great courage and ability, according to some authors, reigned but one year, and then died; but according to others, she was deposed by the West-Saxons, who thought it a dishonour to obey a woman.

After the death or expulsion of Sexburga, the kingdom was divided among several of the great men, of whom Cenfus, a prince of the royal blood, descended from Cerdic, was the chief. Nothing more particular is known concerning this dismembering of the kingdom, which, however, was united again into one body, after these petty tyrants were either dead or expelled.

#### CENFUS, ESWIN, AND CENTWIN.

In 674, Cenfus associated his son Eswin, and probably was compelled to let Centwin, brother to the late King Cenowalch, reign also over some part of the kingdom.

The next year Wulpher attacked the kings of Wessex, whose army was commanded by Eswin; and a bloody battle was fought, in which Wulpher had the advantage; though the loss on both sides was very great.

Cenfus died two years after, and Eswin, his son, did not long survive him; and thus Centwin remained sole king of Wessex.

#### CENTWIN alone.

The old chroniclers inform us, that in 682 Centwin obtained a victory over the Welsh, upon which Cedwalla, their king, was compelled to go and sue for assistance from the king of Armorica: and they add, that the Welsh prince afterwards took a journey to Rome, where he died.

About the end of Centwin's reign, Cedwalla, a prince of the blood-royal of Wessex, had so gained the people's affection, that the king being jealous of him, ordered him to depart the kingdom; and as Cedwalla could not dispute the king's command, he retired into Sussex, and being very popular, a great many young people chose to accompany him, and soon his numbers increased, insomuch that he entered Sussex with a sort of army: Adelwalch, then king of Sussex, angry at Cedwalla's presuming to enter his dominions in a hostile manner, and without his permission, attempted to drive him thence, but was slain in the fight. After this victory, Cedwalla would have seized the kingdom, but was prevented

by Authun and Berthun; and about the same time, Centwin happening to die, he returned to Wessex, and was placed on the throne.

#### CEDWALLA.

Cedwalla was not only king of Wessex, but likewise monarch of the Anglo-Saxons. His first war was with Authun and Berthun, kings of Sussex; which having ended to his advantage, he turned his arms against Kent, from whence he carried off a great booty. He then attacked the Isle of Wight, which belonged to the king of Sussex ever since Wulpher's grant to Adelwalch; and Arwald, brother to Authun, being then governor of the isle, undertook its defence: but as Cedwalla's forces were much superior to his, he was compelled to abandon the isle to the mercy of the conqueror. The inhabitants being yet idolaters, Cedwalla, through a false zeal for religion, resolved to root them out, and people the island with Christians; which barbarous resolution he would have executed, had not Wilfrid, formerly bishop of York, and then bishop of Selsey, in Sussex, represented to him that it would be much better to endeavour to convert them. Upon the bishop's remonstrances, Cedwalla relented, but on condition the inhabitants would be instantly baptized; and the poor wretches, who had no time to deliberate, embraced the Christian religion at the first preaching of Birwin, a priest, nephew of Wilfrid, who was entrusted with their conversion, if the bare declaration of people threatened with death, in case of refusal, may be called by that name.

Some time after, Cedwalla sent his brother Mollon with an army into Kent; whose death there, and the terrible manner Cedwalla revenged it, have already been related in the history of that kingdom.

At length, Cedwalla, in 688, resolved to take a journey to Rome, to receive baptism at the hands of the pope; for although he was a Christian and a great zealot, he had never been baptized. As he travelled through France and Lombardy, he was everywhere very honourably received; and Cunibert, king of the Lombards, was particularly remarkable for the noble entertainment he gave him. When he came to Rome, he was baptized by Pope Sergius II., who gave him the name of Peter. He had always expressed a wish to die soon after his baptism, and his desire was gratified, for he died a few weeks after, at Rome; and was buried at St. Peter's church, where a stately tomb was erected to his memory, with an epitaph showing his name, quality, age, and time of his death. He left, by Cendrith, his queen, two sons, who did not succeed him, by reason of their tender age. Ina, his cousin, mounted the throne after him.

#### INA.

Of all the kings that reigned in England during the octarchy, Ina was one of the most famous and illustrious: he must have been of great repute, since the same year he was crowned he was declared monarch of the Anglo-Saxons in a general assembly, where Sebba, king of Essex, his friend, served him effectually.

Ina's wars with the Britons in Cornwall, the kings of Kent, the South-Saxons, and king of Mercia, rendered his valour, merit, and abilities, more and more conspicuous. But as historians have only told us the success, without mentioning the motives and circumstances of these wars

it is impossible to give a particular account of them. They only inform us that he carried his arms into Kent, from whence nothing could drive him but the bribing him with a large sum of money; that in 710, he conquered part of Cornwall: that in 715, Ina and Coelred fought a bloody battle at Wodensburgh in Wiltshire, with equal loss on both sides; and that, lastly, he reduced to obedience the South-Saxons, who had revolted, and placed one Albert on their throne.

These are the military exploits that gained Ina his reputation for war: but the panegyrics bestowed on him by historians, were not owing to these so much as to four other particulars, which to them seemed of greater importance, and which they have chiefly dwelt on. First, he rebuilt Glastonbury monastery, and augmented the revenues and privileges in such a manner, that it became one of the most considerable in all England. In the second place, he published a body of laws, entitled, West-Saxon Leaga, that is, Laws of the West-Saxons, which served for foundation to that published in the next century, by Alfred the Great, his successor. Thirdly, Ina signalized his piety by quitting his crown and turning monk, which was then looked upon as an undoubted mark of religion: which resolution was taken by the persuasions of his queen, Ethelburga, who had prepared him for it by frequently representing to him the examples of so many kings, his predecessors, that had done so before, and were honoured as saints. But what contributed most to Ina's fame, was that before he shut himself up in a monastery, he went to Rome, where after conferring with Pope Gregory II., he built a large college, for the instruction and reception of the English ecclesiastics that should come to study at Rome, and for the entertainment and lodging of the kings and princes of the same nation, that should visit the tombs of the Apostles. Adjoining to the college, he built also a stately church, and appointed a certain number of priests to officiate: and besides the charge of the buildings, of the ornaments of the church, and of the necessities of the college, there was an absolute necessity of settling a standing fund for their maintenance, according to the intent of the founder; which Ina had provided for by laying a tax of a penny on every family in the kingdom of Wessex and Sussex, which was to be sent yearly to Rome, under the name of Rome-scot. Some time after Offa, king of Mercia, imposed the same tax on the kingdom of Mercia and East-Anglia, and termed it Peter-pence, as we have already related. Some say, Ina returned into England to have this tax settled by the general assembly, or parliament of Wessex, and to get the charter signed by all the nobility of the kingdom; after which he returned to Rome, where he took upon him the monkish habit. Ethelburga, who advised him to it only because she had determined to become a nun herself, put on the veil in the monastery of Barking.

Malsbury is mistaken in saying Ina was sixty-two years on the throne of Wessex, since it is certain he had reigned but thirty-seven, or at most but thirty-nine years when he resigned his crown to his cousin Adelard.

## ADELARD.

Though Adelard was placed on the throne with the consent of the assembly-general, Oswald, one of the royal family, disputed the possession of it with him; and their quarrel was decided by a bat-

tle, wherein the king was victorious over his rival, whose death, which happened shortly after, restored peace and tranquillity to the kingdom. Adelard died in 740, and was succeeded by Cudred, his brother or cousin.

## CUDRED.

We have only the following particulars of the reign of Cudred: for we must not expect to find any connexion between the facts related by the historians, or annalists.

In 743, this prince obtained a signal victory over the Britons in Cornwall; and two years after, Ethelun, a West-Saxon nobleman, dissatisfied with the king, raised a sedition among the soldiers, in which Cenric, son of Cudred, was slain. This action was followed by a civil war, which lasted some time; until Ethelun, the chief of the rebels, gave his sovereign battle, wherein the king, though not without great danger of being vanquished, gained the victory. During the fight, Ethelun gave such proofs of an undaunted courage, and extraordinary ability, that the king chose rather to receive him into favour, than destroy a subject that might be serviceable to him. This was the same Ethelun who, in 752, vanquished Ethelbald, king of Mercia, in a battle mentioned in the history of that kingdom.

Cudred again turned his victorious troops against the Britons of Cornwall, and conquered part of their country, which he united to Wessex. He died shortly after, and left his crown to his nephew Sigebert.

## SIGEBERT

Sigebert was very unlike his predecessor; by his vices and cruelties he drew on himself the hatred and contempt of his subjects. A certain chief having expostulated with him concerning his conduct, he ordered him to be put to death in his presence; and his subjects being indignant at such conduct, deposed him, and placed on the throne Cenulph, son of Adelard. Sigebert finding he could have no redress, was compelled to submit to the sentence of the states, fled himself to a forest, where he was killed by a swineherd.

## CENULPH.

Cenulph became very famous for his frequent victories over the Britons; but after he had reigned thirty years, he grew jealous of Cunehard, brother of Sigebert, and perhaps not without reason. Cunehard having notice of the king's suspicions, and knowing he intended to dispatch him out of the way, resolved to prevent him; and to this end, discovering him one day, as he went alone to visit a certain lady whom he admired, he followed him, with some of his friends, into the house and attacked him. Cenulph defended himself furiously, and even wounded his enemy, but at last, overpowered with numbers, sank down with his wounds. The king's officers and domestics running in at the noise, and finding him dead, fell upon Cunehard and slew him, not regarding the large offers he made them to spare his life, and place him on the throne. Brithric, son of Cenulph, succeeded his father.

## BRITHRIC.

Brithric, three years after he was on the throne, married Edburga, daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, and about the same time banished Egbert the kingdom. Egbert, a prince of the royal family,



by his noble qualities had gained the affection of the West-Saxons to such a degree, that the king could not help being jealous of his popularity, which was a sufficient excuse to banish him. Egbert retired at first to the court of Offa, king of Mercia; but did not meet there with the reception he expected, Offa being unwilling to disoblige his son-in-law Brithric, by harbouring a prince that was hateful to him. Whereupon Egbert resolved to retire into France, where he was very courteously received by Charlemagne, who showed him, on several occasions, marks of his esteem. During Egbert's twelve years' abode at this prince's court, he gained great information, and rendered himself capable of executing the grand design of uniting the various kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons into one monarchy.

During the reign of Brithric, the Danes made their first descent in the kingdom of Wessex; and began to be formidable, not only at sea, but on the coasts of several European kingdoms. As in process of time, they had a great effect on English affairs, it is not without reason that historians have been very exact in marking the time of their first descent.

Brithric, in 799, was poisoned by Edburga, his wife; and the West-Saxons were so incensed at this action, that before they proceeded to the election of a new king, they made a law prohibiting the wives of their future kings from taking the title of queen, and sitting on the throne with their husbands; and lest the affection of the kings to their wives might occasion the breaking of this law, it was further enacted, "that hereafter, if any king of Wessex should dispense with the observance of it, he should, *ipso facto*, be deprived of his royal rights, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance."

An honourable embassy was sent by the West-Saxons to offer the crown to Egbert, who was then at Rome with Charlemagne.

Queen Edburga having left Wessex upon poisoning her husband, fled also to Charlemagne, who, in consideration of the friendship between him and her father Offa, gave her a rich abbey, where she might have spent the remainder of her days in peace; but she was detected in an intrigue with a young Englishman, and the emperor was compelled to send her away; and she wandered about from place to place for some time, and at last ended her days in great want at Pavia.

#### EGBERT.

Egbert, besides the courage natural to all the Saxon princes, had great knowledge in politics, acquired during his abode at the court of Charlemagne. He was no sooner on the throne of Wessex, than he perceived himself superior to the other kings, and he resolved to indulge his ambitious desires. Being prudent and politic, he determined to proceed by degrees in the execution of his projects; and accordingly, spent the first seven years of his reign in settling the affairs of his kingdom, and in making himself popular with his own subjects, in which he completely succeeded.

The kingdom of Wessex being bounded on the south by the sea, and on the north by the Thames, Egbert must of course begin the extending his borders either eastwards or westwards. To the east lay the kingdom of Kent, which would have

been very convenient for him; but as this kingdom was then in subjection to Cenulph, king of Mercia, a prince of distinguished worth, and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, he avoided it, and carried his arms first towards the west, against the Britons of Cornwall; where his success was so great in a war undertaken in 809, that in one campaign he reduced all Cornwall to his obedience.

The Welsh intending to assist their brethren in Cornwall, gave Egbert a pretence to attack them the next year. He defeated them several times, and at last subdued Venedocia, one of the three kingdoms Wales was then divided into. The struggles of the Welsh afterwards to shake off their yoke, served only to make it the heavier; for Egbert, on re-entering their country, destroyed all with fire and sword.

At length, the death of Cenulph, in the year 819, gave Egbert an opportunity to execute his grand design of uniting the various kingdoms. He was immediately invested with the dignity of monarch, to which none had a better claim than himself: his kingdom was in a flourishing condition, whilst the rest, weakened by intestine divisions, daily lost somewhat of their power: they were already reduced to five, of which he possessed one of the most considerable; and in the other four, the race of their ancient kings being extinct, nothing ensued but dissensions. Egbert therefore resolved to reduce them to one kingdom; a project which almost all the preceding monarchs had aimed at. Everything conspired to favour Egbert: Northumbria had been long rent by two factions, who were only watching opportunities to supplant one another. Mercia was in no better condition: Bernulph, who had deposed Ceolwulph, was supported by a party which, though strong enough to raise him to, could not sustain him on, the throne: the wars of the kings of Kent with the West-Saxons and Mercians had reduced them so much, that they could not avoid being tributary to the king of Mercia, and consequently were not in a condition to withstand Egbert: and as for the kingdom of Essex, besides the probability of its being in subjection to Mercia, it had long made but a very inconsiderable figure, and if it was still governed by Swithred, which is uncertain, that prince must have been extremely old.

Egbert's preparations raised suspicions in the king of Mercia, who conceived it to be the best policy to attack Egbert before his preparations were completed, and he accordingly advanced with his army as far as Ellandunum, near Salisbury, where, contrary to his expectation, he met his enemy, whom he thought to have surprised. The two armies coming to an engagement, the Mercians were routed with so great a loss, that it was not possible for Bernulph ever to retrieve it.

This victory procured Egbert two great advantages. It very much weakened the king of Mercia, and it opened the way to the conquest of Kent, for which Bernulph himself had given a pretence, by attacking him first. By beginning the execution of his designs with the kingdom of Kent, he was the less apprehensive of alarming the Northumbrians, who were too remote (such was the state of the country) to concern themselves with what was transacting beyond the Thames.

Egbert sent his son Ethelwolph with a powerful army into Kent. Baldred, unprepared against an invasion, having urged in vain the king of Mercia to assist him, hazarded a battle alone; and being

vanquished, retired into Mercia, leaving his kingdom to Egbert, who became master of it without any difficulty. Thus the kingdom of Kent was united to those of Wessex and Sussex, and Egbert was in possession of the whole country lying south of the Thames.

Egbert rendered himself also master of the kingdom of Essex; which is all the account of the conquest of that kingdom that has been transmitted to us; so imperfect is the history of these transactions.

The chief means Egbert employed in conquering the Mercians were the East-Anglians, who since their subjugation had been harshly treated. He fomented their inclination to regain their independence, and they revolting, defeated Bernalph in a battle in which he lost his life. The Mercians maintained the contest for some time, and finally chose Witglaph as their king; on which occasion Egbert openly declared himself the ally and protector of the East-Anglians, and, according to the usual mode of political friendship, made both kingdoms tributary to him.

Northumbria, which now alone remained free from the dominion of Egbert, was but little able to preserve its liberty; Andred, who then reigned, was a king in name only: it was rent by parties, and frequently invaded by the Scots; and consequently, when Egbert approached with an army that had already conquered four kingdoms, Andred and the Northumbrians, unable to make the least opposition, submitted, and accepted of the terms granted the Mercians and East-Anglians.

Thus ended the octarchy of the Anglo-Saxons, by the reduction of the various kingdoms in the year 827. Indeed, Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumbria, preserved a shadow of liberty; but very probably Egbert would not have suffered other kings to be chosen, after the death of those who were then on the throne, if the Danes, who shortly after began their invasions, had given him time to complete his projects.

The government of the various Saxon kingdoms, reckoning from the founding of the kingdom of Mercia, the last of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, continued two hundred and forty-three years. But if the time spent by the Saxons in their conquests be added, from the arrival of Hengist to that of Crida, they will be found to have lasted three hundred and seventy-eight years.

The causes of the dissolution of the octarchy are very apparent; the great inequality in extent and power amongst the kingdoms; the default of male heirs, in all except Wessex; the continual jealousies and ambition of each petty monarch; and the warlike and barbarous state of society, all combined to weaken each individual kingdom, and render each of them a prey to any politic and able man who knew how to concentrate his own and divide their power. Such was Egbert, and he taking advantage of all these circumstances, erected England into a monarchy.

*The State of the Church of England, from the Conversion of the English to the Dissolution of the Heptarchy.*

IN order to have a clear and distinct knowledge of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, England must be considered as divided into distinct kingdoms. These kingdoms being converted at different times, it will be necessary to treat of each by itself.

THE CHURCH OF KENT.

Ethelbert, by his alliance with Bertha of France, was induced to favour Christianity, and in this favourable juncture it was that Pope Gregory I. sent missionaries into England to instruct the English in the knowledge of the Gospel.

According to Bede, about eighteen or twenty years before their arrival, some young children were sent from Deira to Rome to be sold, which trade was then commonly carried on by the English, who made no scruple of selling their offspring. These young slaves, remarkable for their comeliness, being exposed to sale in the public market, drew the attention of Gregory, archdeacon of Rome, who inquired particularly after the place of their birth, and the religion there professed. As soon as he knew they were English,\* and born of idolatrous parents, he resolved to go and preach the Gospel to that nation; and having obtained the pope's licence, prepared for his journey. But the Romans, who had a great veneration for him, petitioned the pope not to deprive them of so useful a pastor; and the pope forbid his departure, and thus Gregory's design remained unexecuted until about eighteen years after, when he became bishop of Rome. His office prevented his coming to England in person, but he selected forty Benedictine monks, with Austin at their head, in quality of abbot. Most probably Bertha had acquainted the pope how well affected Ethelbert was to Christianity, as they were ordered to land in Kent. Austin and his companions having passed through France, where they were supplied with interpreters, arrived at the Isle of Thanet in the year of our Lord 597. As soon as they were landed, he sent the king word that he was come into his dominions with a company of good men, to bring him a message of the greatest importance, and instruct him in what would procure him everlasting happiness. Ethelbert ordered them to stay where they were, designing to go himself and hear from their own mouths the occasion of their journey; and some few days after, he went to the Isle of Thanet, in company with the queen, who, in all probability, was not ignorant of the reason of Austin's coming. As soon as the king arrived, he seated himself in the open air, being apprehensive, as Bede says, of charms or spells, which in the open field, he thought, could have no power over him. Then ordering the strangers to be called before him, he asked them what they had to propose; and Austin made a long harangue, preaching the Gospel in a forcible and

\* Bede has either invented, or else heard that Pope Gregory made divers Latin allusions upon the answers to his questions concerning those boys. Particularly being told they were Angli, he replied, "Bene, nam angelicam habent faciem." "Ah, indeed, they have angels' countenances!" Hence some have imagined (particularly Verstegan), that the name of Angli comes from Angelus, an angel. Whereas, it is plain their being called Angli gave occasion to Gregory's pun.



calous manner. Ethelbert, informed by the interpreters what Austin had said, returned him this answer: "Your proposals are noble, and your promises inviting. But I cannot resolve upon quitting the religion of my ancestors, for one that appears to me supported only by the testimony of persons that are entire strangers to me. However, since, as I perceive, you have undertaken so long a journey on purpose to impart to us what you deem most important and valuable, you shall not be sent away without some satisfaction. I will take care you are treated hospitably in my dominions, and supplied with all things necessary and convenient. And if any of my subjects, convinced by what you shall say to them, desire to embrace your religion, I shall not oppose it."

This first step being gained, the queen obtained leave for the missionaries to settle at Canterbury, the capital of Kent; and in a short time several of the principal Saxons embraced the Christian faith. The swift progress of the Gospel at Canterbury, raised the king's curiosity to be more particularly instructed in the nature of the religion the strangers preached; and at last, by the persuasions of the queen, and frequent conferences with Austin, he received baptism, about a year after the arrival of the missionaries. The conversion of the king being followed by that of multitudes of his subjects, the queen's chapel, which stood without the city, soon became too small to hold them; and therefore they were obliged to turn one of the heathen temples into a church, which was dedicated to St. Pancrace. Shortly after, several other temples were served in the same manner by Ethelbert's order, and the foundations of Canterbury cathedral were laid; which was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and was afterwards called St. Thomas. Austin began also a monastery, which he did not see finished; and Peter, one of his companions, was the first abbot. It was called the monastery of St. Augustin, from its founder. Ethelbert at length leaving Canterbury to the Italian monks went and kept his court at Reculver.

Thus began the conversion of the Saxons in England, a blessing their brethren in Germany enjoyed not till 200 years after, in the reign of Charlemagne. Ethelbert promoted to his utmost the conversion of his subjects, but without using the least violence or compulsion, having learnt of his instructors, as Bede expressly observes, that God requires none to serve him but those who do it with a willing mind. It were to be wished all Christian princes would follow his example! The Saxons were so eager to embrace the Gospel, that, if historians may be credited, Austin, in one day, baptized 10,000 in the river Swale, which runs into the Thames.

The letters of Austin, and the accounts of those he had sent, inspired Gregory with so high an idea of this mission, that looking upon the conversion of the English as accomplished, though it was but just begun, he sent the pall to Austin,\*

\* The pall is a white piece of woollen cloth, made round at the ends, and drawn over the shoulders. Upon this are two circular pieces, one inside and one out, one of which falls down before, and the other on the back, with each of them a red tassel, once a year, of the same colour being likewise sent to Rome, and also about the shoulders. The pall is sent from Rome by the pope, and sent away to the residence of the bishop, where, on the day he leaves for the see of Rome, they cannot call a council, bless the church

as a mark of distinction and honour. He ordered him also to erect bishops' sees in several places, particularly at York, where was to be a metropolitan with twelve suffragans, and that after the death of one of the two archbishops, the survivor should consecrate another in his place, and have the precedence of him. The reason of this preference with regard to York, was, because it had formerly, under the Romans, been an archbishopric as well as London and Caerleon. As for this last, it being then in the hands of the Britons, and already an archbishop's see, though not under the pope's jurisdiction, there was no occasion to mention it. Gregory's intent, therefore, in making London an archbishopric, was to restore things to their former state. He, however, afterwards altered his measures at the instance of Austin, who was desirous of procuring that honour for Canterbury, the metropolis of Kent, where he had begun to exercise his ministerial functions. The pope's view then, it appears, was only to put things upon an ancient footing, when, in his answer to Austin, he told him he meant that the two archbishops of London and York should be independent of one another, but that Austin, during life, should have jurisdiction, as well over them as all the rest of the bishops of Great Britain.

But all the pains Gregory took, produced but little effect at the time, and the Christian religion was still far enough from extending to Northumbria. However, the great hopes he had conceived from the letters and messengers of Austin, induced him to give directions concerning the English churches, as if they had been really formed; and besides these general orders, he exhorted Austin, in the same letter, not to be elated at his having received from heaven the gift of miracles, which makes it probable word had been sent him that several miracles had been wrought by Austin. He also charged him not to pull down such idol temples as were fit to be converted into churches, but to consecrate them by sprinkling holy-water, and placing relics under the altars; and as the Saxons had been accustomed to offer sacrifices to their gods on their festival days, he advised that (upon the anniversary of the saints, whose relics were lodged there, or upon the return of the day of the church's consecration) they should kill some cattle, and provide an entertainment, to which they were to invite the poor. At the same time he wrote to Ethelbert and Bertha, exhorting them to persevere in the true religion, and promote the great work undertaken by Austin. Peter and Laurence, accompanied with Mellitus, Paulinus, Ruffinianus, and some other new missionaries, brought back these letters, together with sacred vessels, and ornaments for the altars, vestments for the priests, relics, books, and other things necessary for celebrating divine service. Austin received also the resolution of the questions he had sent to the pope, some of which, with their answers, were to the following effect:—

I. How are bishops to behave with respect to their clergy? Into how many portions are the offerings at the altar to be divided? And how ought a bishop to act in the church?

consecrate churches, or a bishop, ordain a priest, &c. At the delivery of it they are to swear fealty to the pope. The ancient pall, from the Latin pallium, was an entire and magnificent habit, designed to put the bishop in mind that his life should answer up to the dignity of his appearance

For satisfaction in the first point, the pope refers him to St. Paul's epistle to Timothy. To the second, he answers, that it was the custom of the church to divide the offerings into four parts, one for the bishop; another for the clergy; a third for the poor; and a fourth for the repairs of the churches. As to the last article, which would have been very obscure had not the pope explained it in his answer, he replies, that Austin being a monk, ought not to live apart from the rest of the clergy, but according to the practice of the Primitive Christians, should have all things in common.\* He adds, if there were any clerks not admitted into holy orders, who desired they might marry, and receive the stipends at their own houses, according to the words of Scripture, distribution was made to each of them according to every one's wants. As for other Christians, he says, there was no need to prescribe any rules in relation to their almsgiving, since our Saviour himself says, give alms of such things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you.

II. Since there is but one faith, how comes it that there are different customs in churches, one manner of saying mass in the Roman, and another in the Gallican church?

The pope advises him to select from each church, what he thought most convenient for the church of England.

III. What punishment ought to be inflicted on him that has stolen any thing from the church?

Gregory replies, the motives of the theft must be considered, whether it was done out of necessity or covetousness, and the punishment to be proportioned accordingly, with charity and temper. As for restitution, God forbid the church should receive more than she lost.

IV. Whether two brothers may marry two sisters, that are no way related to them.

Gregory answers, this may be done very lawfully.

V. To what degree of consanguinity are marriages forbid?

The pope answers, To the second degree inclusively, and no further. He would not however have those separated who have married within the prohibited degrees before their conversion, because they did it out of ignorance. But he would have all the new converts charged not to presume to do any such thing, and in case they did, to be debarred the communion.

VI. Whether a single bishop may ordain another, without the assistance of other bishops, when the length of the journey makes it inconvenient for them to meet?

Gregory replies, That since Austin was now the only bishop in England, he might consecrate others without any assistance. But in order to avoid the like inconvenience for the future, he would have him place bishops so, as that they might not be at too great a distance from one another.

VII. How ought I to manage with the bishops of Gaul?

The pope tells him, that he allows him no manner of jurisdiction over them, because he had no design to deprive the archbishop of Arles of the authority he was in possession of.

There are several more queries which would

seem to be rather within the province of the physician than the divine to solve.

Austin's care was not confined to the conversion of the Saxons only. He undertook also, what seemed to him no less worthy of his zeal, the bringing the British bishops to a conformity with the Roman church, and the making them acknowledge the pope's jurisdiction. As this is a remarkable circumstance of Austin's life, it will be necessary to enlarge upon it a little. This design of his was not easy to be executed. The Britons thought they could justify their adhering to the same rites and customs they had practised ever since the conversion of Britain. Besides, they could not conceive, upon what grounds they were obliged to conform to a church so remote, or what advantage the owning the pope's authority would be to them. These difficulties did not discourage Austin. He had, besides his zeal for the see of Rome, another, and perhaps no less powerful motive, to induce him to this undertaking, which was his claim to the primacy of all Britain, by virtue of the pope's grant. He applied therefore all his endeavours to accomplish this enterprise, which cost him more trouble than the conversion of the Saxons, without having the satisfaction of reaping the fruits of his labour.

From the earliest days, the Britons had constantly adhered to the customs and rules prescribed to them by their first teachers. But the church of Rome had made several innovations in the divine service, to which they pretended all other churches ought to conform. The opposition the bishops of Rome everywhere met with, was not sufficient to make them abandon their pretensions. Although this difference was of no great consequence, it caused, towards the end of the second century, a most violent controversy between Pope Victor I., and the churches of Asia.

The Britons considered the bishops of Rome only as bishops of a particular diocese, or at most but as patriarchs, on whom the British church had not the least dependence; and so far were they from owning the papal authority, that they did not so much as know he pretended to have any over them. But Austin resolved to bring them to acknowledge the pope as head of the church in general.

But neither promises nor threats could prevail with the British prelates to admit of the least change in their ancient customs; and Bede tells us that Austin caused a Saxon blind man to be brought into an assembly, and when the Britons had tried in vain to cure him, he restored him to sight by his prayers. But, whether the miracle admitted of some dispute, because the blind man was a Saxon; or Bede, who lived long after the fact, was wrongly informed; the Britons stood out against this evidence; and all Austin could obtain, was, that they would meet again and determine the matter in a more numerous synod. At this second council were present seven British bishops, accompanied with Dinoh, abbot of Bangor, who brought several of his monks along with him; who before they came to the synod, advised with a hermit of great repute among them, what course they should pursue. The good old man told them, he saw no reason to admit of any alterations in their divine service upon the bare request of a man to them entirely unknown; but however, as the essence of religion consisted in union and charity, it would not be amiss to comply in some measure with Austin

\* Here in some books is the second question inserted, which runs thus: "I desire to know whether clergymen may marry; and if they marry, whether they must return to a secular life.



provided he was a holy man, and one sent from God. Upon which the bishops desired to be informed, how they should know whether he was such a person or not. To which he replied, they should know it by his humility, the most unquestionable mark of a true Christian: and they would see whether he was endued with this virtue, by his respectful rising up to salute them at their coming into the council-room; for if he paid them not that civility, it was a sure token of his pride. Pursuant to this advice, they took care to come last to the place of appointment; and upon Austin's not rising from his seat to salute them, they conceived an invincible prejudice against him.

As Austin in the synod was earnestly pressing the Britons to submit to the pope, and carrying the papal prerogatives to a great height, Dinloth, abbot of Bangor, made him this answer: "You propose to us obedience to the church of Rome; are you ignorant that we already owe a deference to the church of God, to the bishop of Rome, and to all Christians, of love and charity, which obliges us to endeavour by all possible means to assist and do them all the good we can. Other obedience than this to him you call the pope, we know not of, and this we are always ready to pay. But for a superior, what need have we to go so far as Rome, when we are governed, under God, by the bishop of Caerleon, who hath authority to take care of our churches and spiritual affairs?" It is said, Austin despairing to overcome their obstinacy, after a long dispute, cried out, full of indignation, "Since you refuse peace from your brethren, you shall have war from your enemies; and since you will not join with us in preaching the word of eternal life to your neighbours, you shall receive death at their hands." Hence it appears, that Austin had not only pressed the Britons to a conformity with the church of Rome, and obedience to the papal authority, but also had reproached them for their negligence and want of zeal, in not promoting the conversion of the Saxons. Perhaps he designed to intimate to them, that the conversion of all England was prevented only by the want of the union he proposed to them. However this be, these words of Austin were looked upon as a prediction of the massacre of the monks of Bangor, mentioned in the history of Northumberland.

Austin not having the success he expected in this affair, confined himself within the true bounds of his mission, and caused the Gospel to be preached to the East-Saxons by Mellitus. He was commonly called the Apostle of the English, and lived eight years in England; arriving in 597, and dying in 605, according to the generally-received opinion. Some fix the date of his death sooner, and others, though without grounds, bring it down to 613. He was buried at Canterbury, near the cathedral, which was not then finished, with an inscription on his tomb, of which the following is a translation:—"Here lies Augustin, the first archbishop of Doborn, who having been sent hither by Gregory, pontiff of Rome, and supported by the co-operation of God with miracles, converted King Ethelbert and his nation to the faith; and having accomplished the days of his ministry, departed this life the 7th of the calends of June, in the reign of the said king."

Austin was succeeded by Laurentius, who was equally solicitous to reduce the Britons to the obedience of the pope, and to a conformity with the Roman church in the celebration of Easter. He

wrote very pressing letters to them, in which he upbraided them for their obstinacy, bitterly complaining, that a Scotch bishop, Dagham, by name, passing through Canterbury, had refused to eat with him, on account of their difference of opinion concerning Easter-day; but his letters proved of no effect.

Gregory I. pretended not to a jurisdiction over the British churches, as universal bishop; a title he was so far from assuming, that he had declaimed against it with great vehemence. However, he believed he might, as patriarch of the west, claim the obedience of the British as well as the English bishops, to his spiritual jurisdiction. But Boniface IV., who, not long after Gregory I., was promoted to the see of Rome, being supported by the Emperor Phocas, took upon him the title of universal bishop; and this was a fresh motive for the missionaries in England to renew their endeavours to bring the Britons to own his authority; but they could not prevail with them. Mellitus was therefore sent to Rome for instructions from the pope upon this head; but the death of Ethelbert, which happened in the meantime, caused them to lay aside all thoughts of this matter, and reduced the Christians to a deplorable condition. Edbald, son and successor of Ethelbert, having turned Pagan again, the missionaries lost the powerful protection they had till then so prosperously enjoyed; and to complete their misfortunes, Sebert, king of Essex, who had been converted by Mellitus, dying also a little after, his three sons, who jointly succeeded him, apostatized from Christianity, and forbade Mellitus, who was come back from Rome, to remain in their dominions; who consequently fled to Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, as did also Justus, bishop of Rochester, the inhabitants of that place having in all appearance abandoned the faith. These three prelates having consulted together, resolved upon going into France, and leaving the apostate Saxons to themselves; which proves either that the people of Kent and Essex went all back to paganism, or that there were not so many converts as Gregory was made to believe. Mellitus and Justus went, according to their resolution; but Laurentius staid behind, though with intent to follow them in a short time; but when he was ready to depart, it is affirmed, that lying one night in his church, St. Peter appeared to him, and scourged him severely, as a punishment for offering to abandon his mission; and the day after he went to Edbald, and having shown him the marks of the scourge, he converted him, and persuaded him to disengage himself from his unlawful marriage; he having taken his father's widow to wife. It is certain Edbald was converted, as all historians are unanimous in asserting that fact. Edbald having thus returned to the faith, recalled Justus and Mellitus, and restored them to their respective dioceses of Rochester and London: but the East-Saxons at London refusing to admit Mellitus, he returned to Kent, where he soon after succeeded Laurentius in the archbishopric of Canterbury; and he is said by his prayers to have put a stop to a great fire, that in all probability would have reduced the city to ashes, and to have wrought several other miracles.

Mellitus was succeeded by Justus, bishop of Rochester, to whom the pope sent the pall; and after him came Honorius, whose successor was Deusdedit. After his death, there was a vacancy for four years; when Egbert and Oswy, kings of Kent and Northumbria, having held a conference toge-

ther about the affairs of the church, resolved to send Wighard, a Kentish priest, to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury at Rome. Wighard dying there, Vitalian the pope cast his eyes upon Adrian and Andrew, two monks, who both refused the archbishopric, as too great a burden for them; but Theodorus, a Greek, native of Tarsus in Cilicia, to whom it was also offered, not having the same scruples, was consecrated at Rome, and departed for England. The pope ordered Adrian to go with him, lest, says a historian, Theodorus, being a Greek, might introduce customs in Britain contrary to those of the church of Rome.

As the English were yet very ignorant, Theodorus, endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to instruct them, by erecting a school or seminary, at Crecklade, where he and Adrian, besides divinity, taught arithmetic, music, astronomy, Greek, and Latin; and Bede assures us, he knew several of their scholars that could express themselves as readily in Greek and Latin as in their own language. Theodorus was not satisfied with promoting the love of learning among the English, by exhortations and instructions only, but also by the books he brought, and sent for, into England; some of which are still extant in manuscript, as David's Psalms, St. Chrysostom's Homilies, and Homer, all written in a beautiful hand. He himself composed a large work called *Pœnitentiale*, which remained long entire at Cambridge, but is not to be found there now. In 1677, extracts of it, with some other of his treatises, were published at Paris, with notes by Jacobus Petitus.

Theodorus died in 690; but the see was not filled till two years after, by Berthwald, abbot of Reculver, who, having been archbishop thirty-eight years, gave place by his death to Tatwine, a person of great learning and probity. He exercised his archiepiscopal functions nearly two years before he received the pall; which is a clear evidence it was not yet thought an absolutely necessary qualification for an archbishop. Tatwine dying in 735, Nothelm, a priest of the diocese of London, succeeded him, and went and received the pall at Rome, where he was consecrated by Gregory III.; and dying in 741, the year following, Cuthbert, bishop of Hereford, was chosen in his room. To him succeeded Bregwin, of a noble family in Germany: a prelate exemplary for his religious and holy life, during the two years he held the see; and Jambert, or Lambert, abbot of St. Austin's, was his successor. He had the mortification to see the churches of Mercia and East-Anglia wrested from his jurisdiction, by the erecting Lichfield into an archbishop's see, in the reign of Offa; and notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could neither prevent it, nor recover his rights. Athelard, his successor, was more fortunate, for he obtained what his predecessor had sued for in vain; and the churches of Mercia and East-Anglia were again subject to the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury. Wulfrid, who succeeded him in 804, was living at the time the heptarchy was reduced to a monarchy.

Before we leave the church of Kent, it will be proper to observe, that Gregory's scheme, who had ordered Canterbury and York should be both archbishops' sees, and independent of one another, remained unexecuted, upon several accounts. In the first place, the Northumbrians did not receive the Gospel so soon as that pope expected. Again, they all deserted the faith, after the retreat of Paulinus, who had received the pall. Lastly, the dissensions

Northumbria was continually disturbed with, prevented the first bishops of York from taking advantage of the pope's regulation, which besides they did not much regard. This was the reason Theodorus became possessed of all the authority, as well over the northern as southern churches, and that his successors making him their precedent, laid claim to the primacy of all England, exclusive of the archbishop of York; which proved, in process of time, the ground of great disputes between the two archbishops.

#### THE CHURCH OF NORTHUMBRIA.

Having already given an account of Edwin's marriage with Ethelburga of Kent, it need only be added, that Paulinus, who accompanied her as bishop of the Northumbrians, spent a whole year at Edwin's court, without making any great progress among people not yet disposed to receive his instructions; but at length several accidents concurred to encourage his zeal and promote his designs, of which a particular relation is requisite.

Quicelm, one of the kings of Wessex, bore the yoke of Edwin with such impatience that he resolved to free himself from it, by means of an assassin, whom he sent to him on some pretence, privately armed with a poisoned dagger. The ruffian being introduced into the presence-chamber, took his opportunity, and made so furious a pass at the king, that he was wounded through the body of Lilla his favourite, who interposed himself, and received the blow. Paulinus being informed of this accident, hastily ran into the room, and finding Edwin in a great rage with the king of Wessex, told him, God, to whom such wretches were an abomination, would not fail to punish so horrid a villany; and it is said that Edwin, whom the queen had hitherto solicited in vain, promised at the same time to renounce idolatry, if the God of the Christians would revenge him of his enemy. At the same instant, news was brought him, that the queen, after a hard labour, was brought to bed of a princess, for which he returned thanks to his gods; and Paulinus, for his part, having been in great fears for the queen, fell upon his knees, and thanked God for her deliverance. The prelate's zeal was so pleasing to the king, that immediately conceiving a favourable opinion of the Christian religion, he consented Paulinus should baptize the new-born infant; and the young princess who was named Ansfeda, was the first that received baptism in Northumbria.

Edwin, however, not forgetting the perfidiousness of the king of Wessex, marched with an army into his dominions, and, after defeating him several times, compelled him to sue for peace, and make him ample satisfaction. But though he returned with victory according to his wish, he deferred the performance of his promises. When the queen and Paulinus pressed him, his continual reply was, that the forsaking his religion and embracing a new one was a matter requiring the deepest examination; and indeed he heartily set about it, and frequently conferred with Coifi, the pagan high-priest, upon the reasons alleged by Paulinus in favour of Christianity. Coifi, perceiving the king was very near becoming a Christian, resolved to ensure his future favour by conforming to his will. Perhaps it would not be impossible in the like case, to find some of this character among the Christian clergy.



Meantime, the queen and Paulinus continued to solicit the king to perform his promise; and to give the greater weight to what they said to him, they engaged the pope to write him a letter; but it was of no avail; Edwin still demurred, and could not decide. At last the circumstances of the vision he had formerly seen in the garden of Redowald, being, as it is pretended, revealed to Paulinus, the work was accomplished in an extraordinary way. Bede relates, that one day as the king was surrounded with a crowd of courtiers, Paulinus came in suddenly, and laying his hand on Edwin's head, asked him whether he understood the meaning of that token? At these words, Edwin recollecting what had passed between him and the stranger in Redowald's garden, threw himself at Paulinus's feet, who, with an air of authority, said to him thus: "My lord, you have escaped the hands of your enemies, and are become a great king. All that was foretold you is come to pass; it is your duty now to make good your promise." Upon hearing this, Edwin is said to have replied, that he was fully satisfied, and ready to receive the Christian faith; and from that moment he strove not only to be better informed himself, but also to prevail with his subjects to follow his example, and embrace the Gospel.

The greatest opposition was expected to come from Coifi, because it was his interest to keep the people attached to the worship of idols; but the king was agreeably surprised to find, that instead of opposing, he was ready to comply with his desire. One day as the king was discoursing with him upon this subject, the high-priest, like a ready courtier, said to him: "I have for a good while been seriously reflecting on our religion, and on the nature of our gods, and must own I am not at all satisfied in these points, neither can I forbear calling in question their goodness, justice, or power. Never perhaps did any person serve them with greater zeal, respect, and assiduity, than myself. You, sir, are a witness with what devotion and care I have all along performed the functions of my office; and yet I never got anything by it: neither is there a man in your court but what is better preferred than I am. Now, can I help concluding, that since our gods take so little care of their most sincere worshippers, they must be either unjust, or weak, or rather no gods at all?"

Edwin, extremely well pleased with the answer of the high-priest, determined to examine the sentiments of another priest, next in dignity to Coifi; who, encouraged by the example of his superior, is said, according to Bede, to have answered the king as follows: "Sir, the more we reflect on the nature of our soul, the less we know of it; it is with our soul, as with the little bird that came in the other day at one of the windows of the room where you sat at dinner, and flew out immediately at the other. Whilst it was in the room, we knew something about it; but as soon as it was gone, we could not say whence it came, or whether it was flown. Thus, whilst our soul animates our body, we may know some of its properties, but when once separated, we know not whither it goes, or from whence it came. Since then Paulinus pretends to give us clearer notions of these matters, it is my opinion that we give him the hearing, and laying aside all passion and prejudice, follow that which shall appear most conformable to right reason."

This advice, which agreed so well with the king's

intentions, being approved of, it was resolved Paulinus should explain himself upon the subject of religion, in the presence of the pontiff and other priests, which he accordingly did; and as soon as Coifi had heard the bishop, he declared aloud, he could not see any reason to doubt of the truth of the Christian religion. Edwin being thus sure of the concurrence of the high-priest and some of his principal courtiers, called a wittenagemot or parliament, to debate, whether the Christian religion should be received or not; and the majority having determined already for the affirmative, it passed without any opposition. Coifi was one of the most forward to attack the pagan worship; and being desirous to show some marks of the sincerity of his conversion, put himself at the head of his priests, and marching towards the heathen temple, darted his javelin against the idol: after which it was broke in pieces by the king's order, and the temple burnt to the ground; and the same day Edwin was baptized, with his niece Hilda, who was afterwards abbess of Whitby.

The Northumbrians following the example of their king in his conversion, the bishop on a sudden found himself fully employed, by the prodigious crowds that daily came to be taught and baptized: and if it is true, as some Saxon writers affirm, that he baptized in one day 10,000, his instructions must have been very concise. A church of timber was hastily run up at York for the new converts, who were very numerous; and shortly after, Edwin laid the foundation of a church of freestone round the former, which stood till the other of stone was erected; but he had not, however, the satisfaction of finishing it, which was done by Oswald his successor. Paulinus is said to have preached also at Lincoln, where he converted Blecca the Saxon governor.

Thus was Northumbria converted to the faith of Christ; but some time after, Edwin being slain in battle, such desolation ensued, that Paulinus being compelled to leave the kingdom, the Northumbrians fell back again to idolatry: and Anfrid and Osric, kings of Deira and Bernicia, followed the example of their subjects, though they had been instructed in the Christian religion in Scotland, where they had lived in exile. The apostatizing of these two princes, and the barbarity of Cadwallo after their death, almost entirely rooted out Christianity in Northumbria; as during these calamities, neither priest nor monk had the courage to attempt the restoring the Northumbrians to the faith. James the deacon, whom Paulinus left at York, was not able alone to put a stop to the general revolt; and matters remained in this sad state, till Oswald ascended the throne, who, as soon as he had restored peace and tranquillity, laboured with all his power to make religion flourish again. To that end, he desired the king of Scotland to send some persons of learning to instruct his subjects; and accordingly Corman, a monk of Jena, who has been elsewhere spoken of, was sent with some others: but he being a man of a rugged temper, and disliked by the English, returned to his monastery, and making his report of his mission in a full chapter, Aidan, one of the brotherhood, found by what he said, that he had not used that conciliation towards the English which their circumstances required, and therefore (according to Bede) said, "It is my opinion, brother, that you have dealt a little too roughly with those you designed to convert; not remembering that the Christian

religion ought to be infused in the mind, not by violent, but by mild and gentle methods." Upon these words, the monks unanimously declared Aidan was the fittest person to be sent to the Northumbrians; and he undertook the affair, and being consecrated bishop, set out for Northumbria. Bede gives Aidan the character of a pious and religious person, but adds, his zeal was without knowledge, because he kept Easter after the manner of the eastern Christians, and not according to the custom of the church of Rome. However, as much a schismatic as he was in Bede's opinion, nothing can be added to his commendation of him for holiness of life. He not only, says he, instructed Christians in their duty, but also gave them an example of a good life, and fervent charity, which charmed the very heathens, and allured them to the faith; and his success was so great among the Northumbrians, that they returned in crowds to the profession of Christ. Oswald, who was extremely desirous of the conversion of his subjects, did all he could to promote the work, even to the becoming Aidan's interpreter, in explaining his discourses to the people. It may perhaps seem strange, that Oswald should not recall Paulinus, who was then bishop of Rochester, or make use of the ministry of James, who was left by Paulinus in Northumbria. But it must be remembered, that Oswald, having been instructed in the Christian religion in Scotland, had an aversion for the Roman missionaries, on account of the difference between the Romanists and Scots about Easter, and the ecclesiastical tonsure. Aidan dying after he had governed the church of Northumbria seventeen years, Finan, another monk of Jona, was sent to supply his place. He fixed the episcopal see in the little island of Lindisfarne,\* contrary to Gregory's regulation, who ordered that the principal see for the northern parts should be settled at York.

Towards the end of the second century, a controversy had arisen in the church, concerning the day on which the Easter festival was to be celebrated. The churches of Asia were of opinion, it was to be kept on the fourteenth day of the moon, according to the custom of the Jews, on what day of the week soever it should chance to fall. The western churches, on the contrary, put it off till the Sunday after the fourteenth day, because our Saviour's resurrection was on that day. Several councils were held about this matter, as well in the east as in the west; but neither party would recede from their opinion, each pleading apostolical tradition in their behalf, the eastern bishops from St. John, and the western from St. Peter and St. Paul. Supposing the truth of both these traditions, the inference was plain, that either of them might indifferently be followed, and that it was no material point, since the apostles had not settled it among themselves. And in fact, this diversity of custom prevented not the two parties from holding communion with each other, till Victor I., bishop of Rome, made a rupture, by excommunicating the Quartodecimans, or those that keep Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon. This proceeding of

Victor gave such great offence, that Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, though of the same opinion with Victor, severely reprimanded him for breach of charity, on account of a thing of so little moment. He alleged the example of Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, Xistus, predecessors of Victor, who, notwithstanding this difference, brake not communion with the churches of Asia; adding, he would have acted much better in imitating Anicetus, who gave the Eucharist with his own hand to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, though of a different opinion from him in this very point.

To avoid a diversity, the council of Arles, in 314, had ordered that Easter should everywhere be kept on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon, which happened next after the vernal equinox, or 21st of March. This canon was confirmed by the council of Nice, in 325, and the emperor sent orders throughout all the Roman empire to have it put in practice.

In the same synod was debated also the controversy about the ecclesiastical tonsure. The Romanists maintained, that the head ought to be shaved round just in the place where our Saviour wore the crown of thorns, of which it was the emblem. But the Scotch priests shaved the forepart of the head from ear to ear. Bede does not tell us how this matter was decided; but most probably it was determined in favour of the Romanists.

The dispute about Easter having been decided to the disadvantage of the Scots, Colman and all his adherents retired into Scotland, not being able to prevail with themselves to submit to a decision that appeared to them so unjust. Thus is it in matters of religion, things that seem at first perfectly indifferent, become at last of the greatest consequence by the pride and uncharitableness of the clergy. Cedd, bishop of the East-Saxons, who had been interpreter to both parties in the synod, was the only one of the Scotch party that thought it his duty not to leave his flock for a thing of so little moment, though he was of a contrary opinion to the Romanists. Tuda succeeded to Colman's see, and Eatta was made abbot of Lindisfarne in the room of him that went off with Colman.

Thus was the storm raised by this controversy appeased at last, to the great satisfaction of the pope and his party, who were very sensible that their success in this affair would greatly contribute to the establishing the papal authority over the northern churches, as it ultimately did. The church of Northumbria had been governed for thirty years by Aidan, Finan, and Colman, whom their adversaries could charge with nothing but their firm adherence to the customs of their ancestors in relation to Easter; but after Colman's retiring into Scotland, the government of the church of Northumbria was always put into the hands either of Saxons or foreigners bred up in the principles of the church of Rome, the Scots being entirely excluded.

Tuda dying soon after, Alfred, king of Deira, was desirous of having Wilfrid, his preceptor, made bishop of York, the see whereof was then at Lindisfarne; and for that purpose he ordered him to go into France to be consecrated by Agilbert, bishop of Paris. But Wilfrid making a long stay in France, Chad, then abbot of Lestingham, was made bishop of the Northumbrians. Chad being gone into Kent to be consecrated by Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, and finding he was lately dead, applied to Wina, bishop of Winchester, for

\* Or Holy-Island, on the coast of Northumbria. Rapin has here fallen into an error: it was not Finan that fixed the episcopal see there, but his predecessor, Aidan. What Finan did, was to erect there a cathedral church; which was built after the Scottish fashion, not of stone, but of timber, and thatched. Edbert, one of Finan's successors, covered the walls and roof with lead.



consecration, and then returned into Northumbria. Bede tells us, he was a very religious person, without pride or ambition, and one that accepted of the episcopal dignity purely in obedience to the king's order.

In the meanwhile, Wilfrid being returned into England, remained some time at Canterbury, to take care of that diocese till the arrival of Theodorus, whom the pope had made archbishop. After a few months' stay at Canterbury, he went to Northumbria; where finding Chad was made bishop of Lindisfarne, and not daring to complain of the inconstancy of the king of Deira, he retired to his monastery at Rippon. Some time after, Theodorus, in his visitation of all the churches in England coming to York, severely reprimanded Chad for being consecrated by the bishop of Winchester. Chad humbly submitted to his censure, and without endeavouring to justify himself, did all the archbishop required of him. Theodorus, charmed with his modest behaviour, consecrated him anew; but ordered him to return to his monastery, and make room for Wilfrid, whom the two kings of Northumbria had designed for the bishopric of York or Lindisfarne. Though Bede does not say for what reason Chad was sent back to his monastery after his second consecration, yet it is plain Theodorus was gained by the two kings, who were for Wilfrid; and, indeed, there seems to be no reason for the deposing of Chad, since all the defects of his former ordination, supposing there were any, were removed by the latter.

Wilfrid, who was arrogant and domineering, was for some time supported by the two kings of Northumbria; but at length, Oswy being dead, Alfred, his son, deposed, and Egfrid, who had no opinion of this prelate, in possession of the throne, Wilfrid, after many violent contests, withdrew to the monastery of Glastonbury, where Berthwald, the abbot, gave him a safe retreat, until Ethelred, king of Mercia, and uncle to Berthwald, desired him to dismiss him, on account of the king of Northumbria. In this perplexity, Wilfrid fled for refuge to Adelwalch, king of Sussex, who was converted during his imprisonment in Mercia, but his subjects were still idolaters; and this chief having granted him his protection, he succeeded in converting them; and remained some years in Sussex, and was made bishop of Selsey.

Theodorus, who at this time was the sole archbishop in England, embraced the opportunity to extend his jurisdiction over the north. For that purpose probably it was that he deposed Wilfrid, from whose temper and character he expected opposition; that he divided York into three bishoprics, on pretence it would be more convenient for the people; and lastly, that he deposed Thumberth, who had openly censured his usurpations.

The same council that deposed Thumberth, chose in his room Cuthbert, a monk of Lindisfarne, who was the only person that opposed his own election, out of an excess of modesty and humility.

Theodorus being very old, and finding he had not long to live, was touched with remorse for what he had done to Wilfrid, and wanted to be reconciled to him; and to this end he interceded for him so earnestly with Alfred, successor to Egfrid, that he was recalled. The bishopric of Lindisfarne being then vacant by the voluntary resignation of Cuthbert, Bosa was translated thither, and Wilfrid restored to York.

Cuthbert having returned to his monastery at

Lindisfarne, died soon after; and in process of time, his body being removed to Durham, became so famous for miracles, that among all the English saints he had the greatest veneration paid him.

The dignity of archbishop of York, and metropolitan of the north, ceased with Paulinus. After that prelate left Northumbria, and the Northumbrians deserted the faith, the monks, sent for from Scotland by Oswald to instruct the people, were contented with the bare title of bishop, without applying to the pope for the pall, whose jurisdiction they did not acknowledge. Afterwards, Wilfrid, successor to Colman, having been deposed, the bishopric of the Northumbrians was divided into four, namely, York, Whithern, Lindisfarne, and Hagulstad; which division was an additional obstacle to any bishop of York obtaining the pall, his see being so considerably lessened by it. And as it happened, Bosa, John, and Wilfrid the younger, who were successively bishops of York, were pious and good men, who thought of nothing less than aspiring to mere worldly titles. But Egbert, who was bishop of York, whilst his brother sat on the throne of Northumbria, having more ambition than his predecessors, improved the respect they had for him at Rome on account of his birth, and procured the pall with the archiepiscopal dignity: by which means he acquired a jurisdiction over the three other northern bishops, who became his suffragans. From that time the archbishops of York began to be upon a level with those of Canterbury, and to insist on Gregory's regulation, whereby it was ordered there should be an entire equality and independency between the two archbishops. On the other hand, the archbishops of Canterbury pleaded the jurisdiction exercised by Theodorus over the north, and all the rest of England; and hence arose a contest between the two metropolitans, which was not decided until many ages after. Alcuin gives Egbert, whom he calls his master, the character of an able and learned prelate, and takes notice of his building a library at York, and furnishing it with a noble collection of books. Eanbald, who succeeded Egbert, was living at the time of the dissolution of the octarchy.

#### THE CHURCH OF WESSEX.

It does not appear that Austin sent any of his companions to preach the Gospel in the kingdom of Wessex; and it was not till forty years after his arrival in Britain, that the West-Saxons were converted by the ministry of Birinus. This priest, zealous for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, being informed there were still in England nations to whom the Gospel was unpreached, desired Pope Honorius to send him thither. He accidentally arrived in the kingdom of Wessex; and finding the inhabitants idolaters, resolved to stay among them and endeavour their conversion; and after some time he had the satisfaction to baptize Cingisil, the king, and Quicelm, his brother.\* Soon after, Birinus found his audience very numerous, multitudes following the example of their kings; and he continued for fourteen years to edify this people by his discourses and example, and after having made considerable progress in their conversion, died

\* Higden relates from some ancient chronicles, that King Cingisil gave all the lands seven miles round Winchester for the erecting an episcopal see in that city, and for the maintenance of the persons that were to officiate in the cathedral.

at Dorchester, where he had built a church, and fixed his episcopal see.

After Birinus's death, Wessex was involved in many difficulties. Cenowalch, who succeeded his father Cinigisil, being as yet a pagan, was no favourer of the Christians; and what was even worse, Penda, king of Mercia, became master of the kingdom and kept it three years, Cenowalch being forced to fly into East-Anglia. It may be easily judged Christianity, during these three years, made no great progress; for besides Penda's being an idolater, it is unlikely religion should flourish in the midst of wars and commotions. Cenowalch had the good fortune to be converted during his retreat in East-Anglia, and afterwards to be restored to his dominions. The peaceable times that ensued afforded him means to promote religion again in Wessex, where, after Birinus's death, none had been very forward to go and strengthen the new Christians. Whilst the king was looking out for some fit person to preach to his subjects Agilbert, a Frenchman, who was just come from his studies in Ireland, passed through Winchester on his way home; and Cenowalch having seen him, invited him to stay with him, and instruct the people. Agilbert complied with his request; and being consecrated bishop, went and resided at Dorchester; but as he was not master of the language, he made but little progress; and Cenowalch perceiving he could not learn the English, and that it was impossible his subjects should edify by the instructions of one who spoke to them in a foreign dialect, began to grow weary of him; and at last he divided his kingdom into two dioceses, and leaving Agilbert at Dorchester, made one Wina, a Saxon, that had been bred and consecrated in France, bishop of Winchester, and built a fine cathedral there. Agilbert was exceedingly indignant that the king should make this partition without consulting him, and much more, that he should give the preference to the new bishop by placing him in his capital; but his complaints upon this occasion not being much regarded, he took his leave and retired into France, where he was made bishop of Paris. He afterwards returned into England, to assist at the council of Whitby. Cenowalch some time after disagreed with Wina, and dismissed him also; and Wessex remaining thus without a bishop, and ecclesiastics fit for such an employment not being very common in England, Cenowalch would have recalled Agilbert, but he did not think proper to quit Paris for Winchester. However, he made an offer to Cenowalch of his nephew Eleutherius, a priest, whom he recommended, as well qualified for the episcopal function; and he being accepted of, and consecrated by Theodorus, became sole bishop of the West-Saxons.

After the death of Cenowalch, Wessex was distracted with civil wars for ten years. Eleutherius dying during the dissensions, was succeeded by Heda, after whose death, the number of Christians being very much increased in Wessex, it was found necessary to divide the kingdom again into two dioceses, the sees whereof were fixed at Winchester and Sherborn. Daniel was made bishop of the first, and Aldhelm of the last, who was nephew to King Ina, and the first Englishman that wrote in Latin, a language he was better skilled in than any of his countrymen before him. When he was promoted to his bishopric, he was abbot of the monastery of Malmesbury, so named from Maidulph, a Scotchman, the first abbot, and Aldhelm, his

successor.\* Forthere, who, according to Bede, was well versed in the Holy Scriptures, was bishop of Sherborn after Aldhelm, and to Daniel succeeded Almund in the bishopric of Winchester. From that time to the dissolution of the heptarchy, there is nothing in the ecclesiastical history of Wessex worth notice.

#### THE CHURCH OF MERCIA.

It was above fifty years after the conversion of Kent, that the Mercians embraced the Christian faith. Penda, who sat on the throne of Mercia above thirty years, was of too turbulent a spirit to embrace a religion so contrary to his temper and character; but however, he was ultimately induced, though not to profess, yet at least to tolerate the Christian religion in his dominions. Penda, his eldest son, whom he had made king of Leicester, being gone to Northumbria to demand Alfedra, King Oswy's daughter, in marriage, could obtain her upon no other terms but his turning Christian.† Whether the young prince was apprehensive of the same obstruction to his marriage in all the other kingdoms, which were already converted, or had a favourable opinion of Christianity, he received baptism before he left Northumbria. At his return, he brought with him four priests, Cedda, Adda, Beti, and Diuma, to preach the Gospel to the Mercians, which the king his father opposed not.‡ Diuma, who was a Scotchman, and the only bishop of the four, governed the Mercian church prosperously for some years; and Cellach succeeded him.

After the death of Penda, Mercia was subject three years to Oswy, king of Northumbria; but he being a Christian, religion received no detriment from that revolution. But Wulpher, who succeeded to the throne, being yet an idolater, was carried by a false zeal to persecute his Christian subjects, even to the putting to death two of his own sons, who refused to renounce their faith, if they may be credited who relate this fact, which does not seem to be well supported. Happily for the Christians he was converted soon after.

During the persecution, Cellach retired into Scotland, so that Mercia being without a bishop when Wulpher embraced the Gospel, he sent for an English priest, named Trumhere, who had been educated in Scotland, and caused him to be consecrated bishop of Mercia. To him succeeded Jaruman, who had the honour of replanting the Christian religion in the kingdom of Essex, as will be related hereafter; and upon Jaruman's death Wulpher desired Theodorus to send him a bishop; who gladly complied with his request, as giving him a good opportunity of promoting Chad, whom he had deprived of the see of York, in the manner before related in the history of the church of Northumbria. Chad on his arrival in Mercia fixed his see

\* Maidulph-Aldhelmshury, by contraction Malmesbury, i.e. the tomb of Maidulph and Aldhelm.

† Bede says, that upon his having preached to him the doctrines of a heavenly kingdom, of a resurrection, and future immortality, he declared he would embrace the Christian religion, even though he were not to have the young princess in marriage.

‡ He seems to have acted upon another principle, if what Bede relates to be true, that he hated and despised those, who, after they had embraced Christianity, lived in a manner unbefitting their profession; saying, they were despicable wretches, who would not obey their God in whom they believed.



at Lichfield,\* where he died, after he had governed the church prudently and happily for many years. Reference should be made to Bede's Ecclesiastical History, by those who are desirous of seeing a list of St. Chad's miracles, and the hymns the angels sung in the air over his house when he was dying.

As the Christians increased in Mercia, Ethelred, successor to Wulpher, finding one bishop was not sufficient for so large a flock, divided his kingdom into four dioceses, the sees whereof were established at Lichfield, Worcester, Hereford, and Chester. Saxulph continued at Lichfield. Fadric was sent to Worcester, but dying before he was consecrated, Boselus was put in his place. Cuthwin was bishop of Leicester, and Putta of Hereford. After Cuthwin's death Leicester was united to Lichfield; but some time after they were separated again upon Wilfrid's account, who was dispossessed of the see of York, and held not this long. Hedda succeeded Saxulph in the bishopric of Lichfield.†

Offa, jealous of the authority exercised by the archbishop of Canterbury over the churches of Mercia, and having besides a particular quarrel with Lambert, who then filled the archiepiscopal see, resolved to withdraw the churches of Mercia from his jurisdiction. To this end, he privately solicited Pope Adrian I. to make the bishop of Lichfield an archbishop, and the bishops of Mercia and East-Anglia his suffragans. The pope willingly consented to his request, as glad of the opportunity, by obliging this prince, to extend over the church of England his jurisdiction, which was not yet thoroughly submitted to, or at least not to that degree he desired. With this view he sent Gregory, bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, bishop of Todi, with the character of legates to transact this affair. To prevent Lambert from taking measures to avoid the blow that was aiming at him, the sending of these legates was pretended to be on account of calling synods in England for confirming the churches in the faith. Upon the arrival of the legates, Theophylact stayed some time with Offa to concert measures how to accomplish their designs, whilst Gregory went on to Northumbria, where he convened a synod, of which mention will be made in another place. At his return to Mercia, the two legates summoned a national council of the seven kingdoms at Calcuith, where King Offa was present; and after ratifying the canons of the Northumbrian synod, the erecting of Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see was proposed. Lambert opposed it to the utmost of his power, but in vain; the matter having been settled beforehand, the authority of Offa and the legates bore down all opposition. Higbert, then bishop of Lichfield, was declared an archbishop, and the bishops of Mercia and East-Anglia were made his suffragans; but he was prevented by death from receiving the pall, and Adulph his successor had that honour from the pope, who ratified what the council had done. Some are of opinion Offa purchased this favour with the tax of the Peter-pence levied on Mercia and East-Anglia: but this is only a groundless conjecture. Lichfield did not enjoy the title of an archbishopric

above fourteen years; for after the death of Offa and Egfrid his son, Cenulph was so far prevailed upon by the urgent instances of the archbishops of Canterbury and York who represented to him, that according to the regulation of Gregory I. there ought to be but two archbishops in England, that he wrote to the pope with his own hand, to desire him to revive the former custom as to this matter. Adelard, archbishop of Canterbury, took upon him the management of the affair at Rome, where (after a nine years' solicitation) he obtained of Pope Leo III. that Mercia and East-Anglia should again be under the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury.

#### THE CHURCH OF ESSEX.

Mellitus, one of the missionaries sent over to Austin, was the first that preached the Gospel to the East-Saxons, particularly at London. As far as can be judged, he made no great progress among the people. Probably what success he met with was entirely owing to the authority of Sebert, king of Essex, and Ethelbert, king of Kent; since upon their deaths all the East-Saxon Christians fell back to paganism, and expelled Mellitus,‡ without ever admitting him any more. The conversion of the East-Saxons is not properly to be dated from this time, but rather from the reign of Sigebert the Good; who living in strict friendship with Oswy, king of Northumbria, and paying him frequent visits, was instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel at his court, where he was baptized. He brought home with him Cedd, a Northumbrian priest, who, being consecrated bishop, heartily set about instructing the East-Saxons, among whom in a short time he made a very great progress.¶ He was the only Scotchman who after the council of Whitby was unwilling to leave his flock, though the controversy about Easter was decided contrary to his opinion. As Cedd went often to Northumbria, where he had spent great part of his life, Adelwald, king of Deira, made him a present of certain lands lying near Lestingham, where he founded a monastery; and thither he used to retire and practise the greatest austerities. Here also it was that he died of the plague after he had governed the church of Essex several years. Bede, who gives Cedd great encomiums, and mentions his austere way of living, takes occasion from thence to say, that fasting was religiously practised by all who pretended to a regular life, and adds, that some fasted every Wednesday and Friday until three o'clock in the afternoon. The Saxon Homilies also most earnestly recommend fasting; but withal take care to warn Christians against over-acting their part in this respect, as some did, and indeed treat very rationally upon this matter.

After the death of Sigebert the Good, and Swithelm his brother, it happened that in the

\* This King Ethelbert founded the cathedral church of St. Paul's about the year 610; though others say it was done by King Sebert.

† This was a very large diocese, comprehending the country of the Mercians, Middle Angles, and what was afterwards called Lincoln. For so far King Wulpher's dominions extended.

‡ Ethelred, king of Mercia, discharged all the monasteries and churches of his kingdom from all public taxes, impositions, &c. except pontage, and the tax for building of forts.

† In the year 614, Mellitus, with the assistance of King Ethelbert, founded a church and monastery near London, in a place called Thorney; which he dedicated to St. Peter: as it lay west of London, it came afterwards to be called Westminster.

¶ He built several churches, and one may infer from Bede's words, that he erected some kinds of monasteries, or rather schools.

reign of Sebba and Siger, the plague raged terribly in the kingdom of Essex, particularly at London. Siger being persuaded that the plague was sent upon the East-Saxons as a punishment from the gods for abandoning the religion of their ancestors, returned to idolatry, and drew after him those of his subjects who had not been thoroughly converted. But Sebba steadfastly adhered to the Christian religion; and Wulpher, king of Mercia, on whom these two princes were then in dependence, having been informed of what passed in Essex, sent thither Jaruman, his bishop, to endeavour to restore the East-Saxons to the way of truth. Jaruman's pains were crowned so successfully, that the people at length returned to the faith; and shortly after, Wulpher gave the first instance of simony in England, by selling the bishopric of London to Wina, who had been driven from Winchester; and who governed the church of Essex until his death in 675. His successor, Erkenwald, was famous for his great affection to the city of London, as well as for the holiness of his life, on account of which he was enrolled in the catalogue of the saints. After his death a great contest arose between the canons of St. Paul's, at London, and the monks of Barking, who should bury him. The first carried their point, and interred him in their cathedral, where it is affirmed he wrought several miracles.\* It will be needless to carry down the succession of the bishops of London to the dissolution of the octarchy, since nothing remarkable happened concerning them.

#### THE CHURCH OF EAST-ANGLIA.

The first conversion of the East-Angles is said to have been in the reign of Redowald; but by whom is not known. There is reason to believe, that during this prince's life the Christian religion made no great progress in East-Anglia; but all that can be probably conjectured is, that Redowald, out of respect for Ethelbert, king of Kent (at whose court some say he was baptized), gave leave to some of Austin's companions to preach in his dominions, and persecuted not those who had a mind to embrace the Gospel. What is said of his suffering the true God and the pagan deities to be worshipped in the same temple, seems to infer that he was not himself a Christian, and that the number of converts in East-Anglia was very inconsiderable. Thus much at least is certain, Christianity flourished not in that kingdom, in his or his son Erpwald's reign; and therefore we cannot be greatly mistaken in placing the conversion of the East-Angles in the reign of Sigebert, successor to Erpwald.

Sigebert, who had spent great part of his time in France, where he had been baptized, was thoroughly instructed in the Christian religion; and when he returned to England to take possession of the crown, he brought along with him a Burgundian priest, named Felix, who was consecrated bishop of Canterbury. On his arrival in East-Anglia, the East-Angles came in crowds to be baptized; and Sigebert believing nothing would more benefit his subjects than permanent and continual instructions to confirm them in the faith, erected

schools, after the manner of those he had seen in France. Some will have it that the university of Cambridge owes its original to these schools; but this opinion seems not to be well grounded.

Whilst Sigebert was thus employed in works of piety, he received further assistance from one Furseus, an Irish monk, who preached to the East-Angles with good success. Bede gives him an extraordinary commendation; attributes several miracles to him, and assures us he was, like St. Paul, wrapt up into heaven. This same Furseus built a monastery at Cnobersburgh,\* which was largely endowed at several times by the kings of East-Anglia. The disturbances that arose after Sigebert's resigning the crown, obliged Furseus to retire into France, where he founded the monastery of Lagny, in the jurisdiction of Meaux.

Felix was bishop of the East-Angles seventeen years. His see was fixed at Dummoc, a little town by the sea-side, now called Dunwich; where he converted and baptized Cenowalch, king of Wessex, who had fled for refuge into East-Anglia. Felix was succeeded by Thomas, a deacon of his church; after him came Berchtgistus, surnamed Boniface, whom Bisus succeeded. Bisus being grown old and infirm, Becca and Badwin were made his assistants, and East-Anglia was divided into two dioceses. Becca resided at Dummoc, and Badwin at Elmham, a poor village, now in Norfolk. These two bishoprics continued in being, until the Danes becoming masters of East-Anglia, they both lay vacant for above one hundred years; after which the diocese of Dummoc was united to that of Elmham, whence the episcopal see was removed to Thetford, and afterwards to Norwich,† where it remains to this day.

#### THE CHURCH OF SUSSEX.

It is no wonder the kingdom of Sussex continued so long after the rest in an idolatrous state, since it was in subjection to Wessex, where the Gospel was not preached till forty years after the arrival of Austin. If we may credit the author of the life of Wilfrid, bishop of York, the conversion of the South-Saxons, about the year 686, was owing to the disgrace of that prelate, who fled for refuge into their country. Adelwalch, king of Sussex, who received him into his protection, had already attempted the conversion of his subjects, by founding a monastery in his little kingdom;‡ but his endeavours answered not his expectation; and perhaps Wilfrid himself would have found it a difficult matter to have made any impression upon them, had not a favourable juncture unexpectedly paved the way for him. Not long after his arrival, the country being miserably distressed for want of provisions, he taught the inhabitants the art of fishing in the sea, their skill before going no further than the catching of eels; and this improvement greatly relieving them, wrought so upon their minds, that they listened with the same attention to his instructions about their spiritual, as they had before to those about their worldly wants. But to complete the matter, seasonable showers, after a three years' drought, restoring to the earth its former fruitful-

\* In consequence of the miracles said to be wrought at his tomb, the corpse was enclosed in a very rich shrine, and a great many offerings of value made at it. In the year 1386, Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London, made a constitution for the revival of St. Erkenwald's holy-day, which had been neglected. The solemnity was kept upon the last day of April.

\* Now Burgh-castle, in Suffolk.

† Norwich, i. e. the North-castle; Wic signifying, among other things, a castle.

‡ At Bossenham, where Bede says one Dicul, a Scotchman, with five or six monks, lived, but could not prevail with the South-Saxons to turn Christians.



ness, they were thoroughly convinced that Wilfrid was an extraordinary person, and highly favoured by Heaven. At least, this is what the writer of his life would make us believe. Wilfrid perceiving the Christians daily increase, established his episcopal see at Selsey,\* a small peninsula given him by Adewalch, where he founded a monastery also, which he furnished with the monks he had brought with him from Northumbria. Here he usually resided during the time of his banishment; but at length being recalled into his own country, Selsey remained a long while without a bishop, because the South-Saxons, after their becoming subject to the king of Wessex, were put under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the West-Saxons. Some time after, Wessex being divided into two dioceses, Sussex was annexed to the see of Winchester; where it continued till a synod held in Wessex, in the time of Daniel, decreed Sussex should be a distinct diocese again, and the see fixed at Selsey as formerly. Edbert was the first bishop. His successors resided at the same place, down to the year 1070, when the see was removed to Chichester,† where it continues to this day.

As for the Isle of Wight, after it was converted by the furious zeal of Cedwalla, it remained all along under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester.

After this account of the most remarkable particulars relating to the conversion of the seven kingdoms, it will be necessary to take a general view of the councils held in England during those early times of the church.

#### COUNCILS.

Two synods had been convened at Austin's request, in order to endeavour to bring the Britons to the obedience of the pope. Though these were not properly English, but rather British councils, they cannot be passed over without making this single observation. Bede in his Ecclesiastical History tells us, that Austin required of the British bishops these four things: that they would celebrate the Paschal feast the same day with the Romanists; that they would conform to the ceremonies practised by the church of Rome in administering baptism; that they would assist the Roman missionaries in converting the Saxons; and that they would submit to the papal authority. Had Austin equally insisted on these four articles, Bede would naturally have related the sentiments of the British concerning the three first, and yet we find he speaks only of the last. Hence we may conclude that this was the main point, and that which Austin chiefly dwelt upon. For the same reason, also, the abbot of Bangor answered only to this point, being very sensible that was the principal thing in dispute.

There is no occasion to add anything to what has already been said of the council of Whithy, or Streaneshalh, and the other synods that were held upon Wilfrid's account.

In 673, Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, convened a national synod at Hertford, at which were present all the English bishops, with a great number of other ecclesiastics. The archbishop, who was president, put the question to the bishops,

whether they were willing the church of England should be governed by the canons of the ancient councils. To which they all having agreed, he produced a list of the canons, and fixing upon ten of them, ordered them to be read before the council, and asked their consent to each of them.

I. That the festival of Easter might be uniformly kept in all the English churches, on the first Sun day after the full moon in March.

II. That no bishop should encroach upon the jurisdiction of another.

III. That bishops should not meddle with the temporal concerns of the monasteries.

IV. That no monk should have the liberty to quit his monastery without leave from the abbot.

V. That it should not be lawful for any of the clergy to abandon their diocese without the bishop's leave, and that they should not be received into another diocese, without a recommendation under the bishop's own hand.

VI. That bishops and clergy, who are out of their diocese, ought not to execute any part of their function, but should be contented with a hospitable reception.

VII. That a synod should be convened twice a year. This canon was altered to once a year.

VIII. That the bishops should take their places at councils according to their seniority.

IX. That new sees should be erected, as the number of Christians increased. This was thrown out.

X. That no marriage should be annulled but on account of adultery. That if a man put away his wife, he ought not to marry another, but either be reconciled, or live single.

Nine of these canons being agreed to, the council denounced excommunication and degradation upon all that should infringe them, and then broke up.

Baronius pretends this council was convened by the pope's order, and that Theodorus presided as legate of the holy see; but when we examine the grounds of his assertion, we find he states it only upon Theodorus's saying in his harangue, at the opening of the council, that he was consecrated by the pope, as if that were equivalent to his being made legate. Bede, Malmsbury, and Florence of Worcester, who speak of this council, say not a word to support the cardinal's notion.

Theodorus summoned another council, or synod, at Hatfield,\* in 680, at the request of the pope, who wanted to know the sentiments of the church of England with reference to the heresy of the Monothelites,† which then made a great noise in the world. The pope had all the satisfaction he desired, the English being entirely free from that error. This synod received the five first general councils,‡ together with the synod held just before at Rome, against the Monothelites.

The next council was convened at Becanceld in 694,§ by Withred, king of Kent, who presided himself, the council being composed of the clergy and nobility. The constitutions were all drawn

\* Sells. The ruins of this city are still to be seen at low-water. It continued, when it was given to Wilfrid, eighty-seven families.

† Eborac, Eborac, i. e. the city of Ebor, the son of Ella, first king of Sussex.

\* Now Bishop's Hatfield, in Hertfordshire.

† They held that Christ had but one will.

‡ The council of Nice in 325, of Constantinople in 381, of Ephesus in 431, of Chalcedon in 451, and of Constantinople in 553.

§ Supposed to be Beckenham, in Kent.

up in the form of a charter, wherein the king granted several privileges to the church, particularly an exemption from the payment of taxes and other services and incumbrances incident to a lay-fee. He declares, moreover, that the church has power to govern her own body, the prerogative royal not reaching to religious matters. This article has given occasion to some to call in question the genuineness of this council. They object, for instance, that the five abbesses, who subscribed this charter, not only signed before all the priests, but also before Botred, a bishop, contrary to all precedent. On the other hand, others are as zealous in the defence of it, as substantiating the independence of the church. As it would carry us too far from our present design to examine the reasons *pro* and *con*; it is sufficient to acquaint the reader there was such a dispute.

The next year the synod at Berghamsted was held in the reign of the same king; which was composed, like the foregoing one, of clergy and laity. Its canons related chiefly to the sin of adultery, and the privileges of the clergy. With regard to adultery, it was enacted, that the offender should be put under penance; and if he refused to submit to that discipline, he should be excommunicated; but if he was a stranger, he was to forfeit one hundred shillings.

With respect to the clergy, it was decreed, that the church should be free, and enjoy all her privileges.

That the breach of the church's peace should be punished with a fine of fifty shillings.\*

That the bare affirmation of the king or a bishop should be equivalent to their oath.

That if a bishop, abbot, or deacon, is charged with any crime, and being brought to the altar he declares solemnly he speaks the truth, this declaration shall be the same as his oath.

That if any clergyman should be prosecuted, the cognisance of the cause belongs to the church.

Thus, by degrees, the clergy obtained their privileges, which they have but too often abused.†

The two councils that are pretended to have been held at London and Alne, in 714, being looked upon by the best authorities as forged, it would be lost time to say anything of them.

In 747 was held at Cloveshoo, or Cliff,‡ in the kingdom of Kent, a national synod, at which Ethelbald, king of Mercia, was present, with twelve bishops and a great number of thanes. Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, who was president, read Pope Zachary's letter, wherein the pope admonished the English to reform their lives, and threatened those with excommunication that continued in their wickedness. They drew up a body of twenty-eight canons, most of them relating to ecclesiastical disci-

pline, the government of monasteries, the duties of bishops and other clergymen, the public service, singing psalms, keeping the Sabbath, and other holidays. The three following are selected as the most worthy of note.

The 10th orders the priests to be thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity, and to teach the people the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer in English. Agreeably to this was Bede's advice to Egbert, archbishop of York; that it was absolutely necessary Christians should know what they said when they prayed to God; and that they should be instructed in their own native tongue, and therefore that he himself had translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer into English for the benefit of those that did not understand Latin.

The 26th warns Christians from vainly imagining that by giving alms they can compound for their sins, or dispense with the discipline of the church.

The 27th was made upon the account of a rich layman, who having been excommunicated, requested to be admitted again into the church, upon his having procured several persons to fast in his stead; alleging that the penance they had undergone in his name, was more than he could have done himself in three hundred years. The canon declares with great indignation against this intolerable presumption, since at that rate the rich might much more easily get to heaven than the poor, contrary to the express declaration of our Saviour.

In this canon we have the form of a prayer for the dead, which runs thus: "O Lord, we beseech thee, grant that the soul of such a person may be secured in a state of repose, and admitted, with the rest of thy saints, into the regions of light and bliss."

The council of Calcuith, or Calchite, held in 785, or according to others, in 787, on account of erecting Lichfield into an archbishopric, ratified the canons of a synod that had been convened just before in Northumbria. Gregory and Theophylact, who presided as the pope's legates, acknowledged in their letter to the pope, that they were the first that had been sent into England with that character. The following are some of the canons of the synod of Northumbria, ratified by the council of Calcuith.

1. That all in holy orders strictly adhere to the council of Nice.

2. That baptism is only to be administered at Easter and Whitsuntide, unless in case of necessity. That it is the duty of godfathers to teach their god-children the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, both which all Christians are obliged to have by heart.

8. The ancient privileges of the church are carefully to be preserved.

This was a never-failing canon in all the councils.

9. The priests are not to eat in private, unless indisposed. By this, one would think the clergy were not dispersed in parishes, but lived in the capital of the diocese in common.

The 10th forbids the clergy to perform the divine service without stockings, and to use a chalice or patine of horn.

The 11th exhorts princes to govern their kingdoms by the directions of the bishops, to whom the power of binding and loosing is delivered.

\* The same as the king's.

† The 10th, 25th, and 28th articles, having something particular in them, it will not be amiss to lay them before the reader. The 10th runs thus: If on Saturday evening, after sunset; or Sunday evening after the same time, a servant or slave (servus) shall do any servile work, let his master be fined eighty shillings. 25th. If a layman kill a thief, let him lie without any wergild, that is without any satisfaction being made to the thief's relations. 28th. If a stranger wanders about, and does neither halloo nor sound a horn, he is to be accounted as a thief, and to be either slain or banished.

‡ Cliff at Hoo is a town on a rock near Rochester. But the presence of the king of Mercia at this, and some other councils, held at Cloveshoo, makes it supposed that it is the same with Abingdon, in Berkshire, about the middle of the nation, anciently written Shovesham by mistake for Clovesham, or Cloveshoo.



The 12th excludes bastards from succeeding to the crown.

The 15th condemns marriages within the prohibited degrees.

The 16th makes bastards, particularly the children of nuns, incapable of inheriting.

The 17th urges the payment of tithes from the authority of the law of Moses.

The 18th presses a strict performance of vows.

Some irregularities in the subscription list in the several copies of the canons of this council, have caused the council itself to be called in question; but they are insufficient to render the whole questionable.\*

In 798 a synod was held at Finchale, in Northumbria,† by Eanbald, archbishop of York; the design of which was to make some regulations with regard to discipline; but the archbishop took advantage of the opportunity, and ordered the canons of the first five general councils to be read, which were unanimously received.

The council, held at Cloveshoe, or Cliff, in 800, under Adelard, archbishop of Canterbury, was convened for the recovery of certain church-lands usurped by the kings of Mercia.

Three years after, another council was held at the same place, wherein, according to Pope Leo's constitution, and with the consent of Cenulph, king of Mercia, the archbishopric of Lichfield was reduced to a bishopric, as formerly.

In 816, Wilfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a council at Calcuith, at which Cenulph, king of Mercia and Monarch, was present, with all the English bishops except those of Northumbria. There were eleven canons drawn up by this synod, of which the 2nd and 5th seem to be the most remarkable.

The 2nd orders all churches to be consecrated by the bishop of the diocese, with the following formalities. The bishop shall bless the holy-water, and sprinkle the church with it, according to the directions of the ritual; then having consecrated the eucharist, he shall put it in a box with some relics to be laid up in the church; and in case there are no relics, the consecrated elements, being the body and blood of our Lord, shall be sufficient. Every bishop shall be obliged to have drawn upon the altar, or upon the wall, the figure of the saint to whom the church is dedicated.

The 5th declares against allowing any Scotchmen to baptize, or read the divine service in England.

There is mention of two councils more convened in Mercia in the reign of Bernulph, one in 822, and the other in 824. Probably the first is a forgery; but they are both of little consequence.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Origin of the Danes. Their continual irruptions, from the reign of Egbert to Edward the Martyr. The laws and customs introduced by Alfred the Great, which are the basis of the present laws of England. The state of the church and religion, from Egbert to Edward the martyr, inclusive.*

ENGLAND, grown more powerful by the union of

the various kingdoms, seemed to be better secured than ever from foreign invasions. Yet the Danes now began their descents with a fury, equal to that with which the English themselves had formerly attacked the Britons; and for above two hundred years these new enemies were so bent upon the conquest of the island, that it will be necessary to give some account of a nation, who in the ninth century became so formidable to all Europe, and especially to England.

Scandia, or Scandinavia,\* situated in the north of Europe, contains a tract of land in length, from north to south, about four hundred leagues, and in breadth, from east to west, about one hundred and fifty. If the northern historians are to be credited, this country was peopled soon after the flood by two nations, or rather two branches of the same nation, namely, the Goths and Swedes, who founded two large kingdoms in this part of the world. From these two nations, who were sometimes united and sometimes divided, sprang, as they say, all those colonies which after the decline of the Roman empire overran the rest of Europe.

In the reign of Eric, the sixth king of the Goths,† Gothland was become so exceeding populous, that the country was unable to maintain its inhabitants. To remedy this inconvenience, which daily increased, Eric was compelled to send away part of his subjects to seek their fortune in the neighbouring isles.‡ These colonies at length not only peopled the islands, but also Jutland, on the continent, known to the Romans by the name of Cimbrica Chersonesus. The people thus spread over the isles and the Chersonese, acknowledged above seven hundred years the kings of Gothland for their sovereigns; until Humel, the sixteenth king of the Goths, first made them independent, by letting them have for their king, Dan, his son, from whom Denmark received its name.§ Norway also very probably was peopled by Gothic colonies, since it remained a long while under the dominion of the kings of Gothland; but in process of time, and after many revolutions, it was governed by chieftains independent of Gothland, till about the end of the ninth century, when it became subject to a king.

The Danes and Norwegians being thus separated from their ancestors the Goths and Swedes, became so powerful as to be in condition to make head against them both in several wars; and the situation of their country, and the great plenty of all things necessary for building and equipping a fleet, soon made them superior at sea to all their neighbours. In time, they employed all their naval forces in plundering ships, and ravaging the coasts of Europe; France, England, and the Low-Countries, were most exposed to their robberies. For above one hundred and fifty years the sea was covered with Danish pirates; who were grown so powerful, that Charlemagne could never subdue the Saxons, whilst assisted by the Danes. History tells us that this emperor, having sent his son Pepin to

\* It contained Norway, with as much of Sweden as lay west of the Gulf of Bothnia. It was also called Baltia, whence the Baltic Sea.

† They pretend he was contemporary with Terah, Abraham's father.

‡ As in those days none had a permanent interest in land, which was canted out to the people to be possessed for one year only, it was decided by lot who were to leave their country to go in quest of new habitations.

§ Dan, according to northern historians, was contemporary with Odin.

\* About the year 757, the monks of Lindisfarne, who from the first time of their habitation were allowed to drink nothing but milk and water, obtained through the means of King Ceolwulf, who is supposed to be a monk of that house, permission to drink wine or beer.

† Now called Embsay, in the bishopric of Durham.

make war upon the Saxons, he was prevented in his designs by Gothric, king of Denmark, sending a reinforcement of Danes on board three hundred vessels; and a northern historian affirms, that Charlemagne was never better pleased than at the news of Gothric's death, having despaired of accomplishing his ends as long as that prince was alive.

As people increase and multiply exceedingly in cold countries, it often happened that Denmark and Norway were overstocked with inhabitants, and therefore forced, in order to make room for the rest, to send away large colonies. Their natural inclination to a sea-life made these colonies readily abandon their country; and the great booty the first adventurers gained, tempted the richest and most powerful of their countrymen to urge their fortune in the same manner; and they entered into associations, and fitted out large fleets to seek and ravage foreign countries. These associations were much of the same nature with those entered into now in time of war, by the corsairs of Barbary; and they became so entirely devoted to this mode of life, that very considerable fleets were put to sea. They had the authority and example of their highest leaders for what they did, who occasionally commanded them in person, and who were known by the name of Vikingr, or Sea-kings. Their fleets made great devastation in several parts of Europe, particularly France, England, and the Low-Countries. In France they were called Normans, that is, men of the north; but in England they were generally styled Danes or Goths. There is no doubt but the Swedes and Goths very often joined with the Danes in their piratical expeditions; and it appears that the Frieslanders also were concerned with them in ravaging the coasts of France and England. The Saxon historians call them indifferently, Getes, Goths, Jutes, Norwegians, Dacians, Danes, Swedes, Vandals, and Frieslanders, their bands being a mixed multitude of these several nations.

The Danes, when they first invaded the coasts of England, only plundered; and therefore they made war, not like regular troops, with some fixed and settled design, but like pirates, sacking and destroying what they could not carry away; and as they were divided into several independent bands, it frequently happened that no sooner had one departed, than another came; by which means the settled inhabitants had scarcely any respite from their incursions.

However, it is but proper to observe that the Saxon and Danish historians give very contradictory accounts of these wars. Each endeavours to magnify the advantages of his own nation, and lessen those of the opposite party. But it is very certain the Danes could not have gained such footing in England, had not victory generally inclined to their side. The historians differ chiefly in chronological matters, and in the names of the persons of whom they are speaking; which may greatly arise from the difference of language.

#### EGBERT, FIRST KING OF ENGLAND.

Egbert, who began his reign over the West-Saxons in 800, finished not his conquests till 827 or 828, from which time his title of king of England is to be dated. But to have a correct notion of the limits of his power, it must be remembered that the kingdom he was in actual possession of, consisted only of the ancient kingdoms of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, which were peopled by Saxons and Jutes. The other three kingdoms,

whose inhabitants were Angles, he was contented with reserving a nominal sovereignty over, permitting them to be governed by their own kings, who were his vassals and tributaries.

We have already seen that Egbert, before he turned his arms against his countrymen, attacked and subdued the Britons of Cornwall and Wales. But although his power after his subjection of the octarchy was exceedingly increased, yet the Welsh, by their proceedings, plainly indicated a design to shake off his yoke; and Egbert, to give them no time to complete their revolt, marched into their country with so numerous an army, that they were compelled to submit, without even offering to come to a battle.

Whilst he was enjoying the fruits of his victories, the Danes, who had before made two descents on England,\* arrived at Charnmouth,† with thirty-five vessels; and as they met with no opposition, they landed and ravaged the country. Upon the first news of this descent, Egbert marched against them with what troops he could hastily draw together, believing at his approach they would repair to their ships; but finding, contrary to his expectations, that they firmly stood their ground, he resolved to attack them; and soon experienced he had to deal with much more formidable enemies than he imagined. After a long and bloody battle, the Danes were victorious, and his own army was entirely routed; and he found himself so very hard pressed, that he was compelled at last to follow his flying troops; and was indebted to the darkness of the night for his life. The Danes, having no design to make conquests, were satisfied with plundering the country, and returning to their ships.

Two years after, another band of Danish pirates, having been informed by their emissaries that the Cornish Britons were extremely desirous of throwing off the yoke of the English, came and landed in their territories, where they were received with joy; and being reinforced with some British troops, they began their march in order to give the English king battle; and were in hopes of surprising him, but were themselves astonished by finding he was marching towards them with the same intent. The two armies met near Hengistdun, in Cornwall, and Egbert obtained a signal victory.

This delivered the English for a short space from the Danish invasions; and it is said that Egbert, by a public edict, approved by the general assembly of the nation, ordered, that for the future the name of England should be given to that part of Britain conquered by the Anglo-Saxons, and by them erected into various kingdoms.‡ But it is much more likely he only confirmed or revived this name, which certainly is older than the reign of Egbert. We find in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, that before that time the three nations settled in Great Britain, are indifferently called Angli or English. And indeed

\* In 789, at Portland; and in 832, in the isle of Sheppy, which they laid waste.

† In Dorsetshire.

‡ The Saxon chronicler says, "Egbert having subdued the six Saxon kingdoms, and forced them to submit to his dominions, called a great council at Winchester, whereto were summoned all the great men of the whole kingdom; and there, by the general consent of the clergy and laity, Egbert was crowned king; and at the same time he enacted, that it should be for ever after called England; and that those who before were named Jutes or Saxons, should now be styled Englishmen." Egbert may indeed have published an edict for the confirming or reviving that name; but that it was in use long before his time, is evident from the laws of King Ina.



Bede himself, who wrote long before Egbert, gives his history the title of the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, though it much more relates to the churches of Kent, Wessex, Sussex and Essex, than to those of Mercia, Northumberland, and East-Anglia. We have already said, that the change of the name of Britain into that of England, ought to be carried back to the year 585 or 586; and Egbert had no reason to call the various kingdoms England, since he himself was a Saxon, and the provinces his own kingdom consisted of were peopled with Saxons and Jutes. Some historians positively affirm, that very shortly after the founding of the various kingdoms, the name of England was given to Britain by the unanimous consent of the various kings; but this can by no means be applied to the time of Egbert (above two hundred and fifty years after), since that prince could not have published this edict till after the dissolution of the octarchy. Besides, how can we explain why Bede, who lived one hundred and fifty years before Egbert, should call the three nations settled in Britain, English, if that monarch was the author of that name? But what is still more convincing is, that though the subjects of Ina, king of Wessex, were Saxons or Jutes, that prince, in his laws enacted for the West-Saxons, only styles them English. "If an Englishman," says he, "commits theft,"—Again, "If a Welsh slave shall kill an Englishman,"—Is it not plain, that unless this name had been common to the three nations, Ina would not have called his subjects Englishmen, but Saxons? In short, it is not at all strange that immediately after founding the different kingdoms, the Anglo-Saxons should term their conquest, England, since the Angles were in possession of a larger and more considerable tract of land than both the Saxons and Jutes. But it was not probable this name should be introduced in the reign of Egbert, when the three kingdoms of the Angles were gone to decay, and the kingdom of the West-Saxons was in a flourishing condition.

Egbert died in 836, after he had reigned thirty-six years, twenty years as king of Wessex only, six years with the dignity of monarch, and ten years as chief sovereign of all England. Redburg, his wife, had never assumed the title and port of a queen, because of the law made in Wessex, on account of the death of Brithric. She is said to have persuaded the king to forbid the Welsh, on pain of death, to come beyond Offa's dike, the boundary of Mercia and Wales.

Egbert was succeeded by a son named Ethelwulph, both as king of Wessex, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, and as sovereign of the other three kingdoms. Egbert had had, doubtless, another son, as Ethelwulph was designed for the church; but whether he died previously to his father, is doubtful. A modern historian, Mackintosh, says, Egbert "weakened the power of his successor, and lessened the influence of the Bretwalda, by bequeathing all his own dominions, except Wessex, to a younger son." What became of this other son, if he did survive his father, is unknown. He must have died, as we hear of no interruption from him of the dominion of Ethelwulph. Some say there was also a daughter called Edgith, who founded the abbey of Pollesworth, but this is equally uncertain.

By all that has been recorded of Egbert, we perceive he had the qualifications of a great warrior. He accomplished his ends, not by such treacherous methods as Hengist and Offa, but by way of arms, which though no less criminal, tarnishes not the

reputation of those that make use of it, especially when crowned with success. It is a lamentable thing that ambition, by which princes are led to invade the property of others, should pass in the world for a virtue, and that a historian, by reason of men's depraved notions, should not dare to represent it in its true colours, since, generally speaking, all ambitious princes are honoured with the surname of great.

#### ETHELWULPH.

Some historians assert that Ethelwulph was obliged to have a dispensation from the pope, because he was in holy orders; but it is a matter of very great doubt, and at the same time of very little consequence.

Ethelwulph was hardly seated on his throne before a fleet of Danes appeared near Southampton; and after they had roved up and down for some time, they landed and ravaged the country along the shore. Ethelwulph, who was a lover of peace and ease, sent Wultherd, his general, against them, who drove them back to their ships. But the king had not reason long to rejoice at this victory; for before his army returned, news was brought him that more Danish forces, having landed at Portland, were plundering and destroying the country. Though he had no reason to be displeased with Wultherd, he sent Earl Ethelhelm to command the army, who was shamefully beaten and put to flight; and Herbert, the succeeding general, was still more unfortunate, for he was not only vanquished, but lost his life in the battle. These two victories gave the Danes the opportunity of overrunning several counties, particularly Kent and Middlesex. Canterbury, Rochester, and London, were great sufferers on this occasion, the enemy committing great atrocities before they returned to their ships.

Some historians make Witglaph, king of Mercia, die this year, 839; whilst others place his death two years sooner, in 837; but this difference is of little moment, as he was but of little importance after he became vassal to the king of Wessex. Berthulph, his brother, succeeded him.

The next year Ethelwulph, not at all satisfied with his two last generals, resolved to go in person against a body of Danes who arrived in thirty-five ships, and landed on the coast of Wessex. The two armies engaging at Charmouth, the English were defeated, and thought themselves happy that the enemies, after their victory, were contented with carrying off their booty, the only aim of these Danish expeditions.

This year, 840 (or as some historians say, the year before), was very remarkable for the entire destruction of the Picts. After a long war with the Scots, their neighbours, they lost two successive battles, which disabled them from making any further resistance; and Kenneth II., king of Scotland, who was exasperated against them for having slain his father, and inhumanly mangling his corpse, told the Scots they ought not to lose the present opportunity of rooting out a nation that had been their perpetual enemies. His advice was approved of, and executed with such a barbarous fury, that from that time nothing remained of that miserable nation. It is chiefly owing to his extirpating, or at least entirely subjecting the Picts, that Kenneth II. was looked upon by the Scots as an illustrious prince, and one of the founders of their monarchy.

The Danes continuing their incursions, Ethelwulph, who was naturally slothful, thought himself unable to govern alone all his dominions, ex-

posed as they were to the perpetual insults of foreigners; and this consideration, strengthened perhaps by his tender affection for Athelstan, his natural son,\* made him resolve to resign to him the kingdoms of Kent, Essex, and Sussex, with the title of king of Kent, reserving to himself the sovereignty of all England, with the kingdom of Wessex.

#### ETHELWULPH in Wessex. ATHELSTAN in Kent.

Andred, king of Northumbria, died in 841, and was succeeded by Ethelred his son.

Roderic, surnamed Mawr, that is, the Great, who was then king of Wales, a prince, to whom the British historians give the highest commendations, about this time attacked Berthulph, king of Mercia, with great success. Roderic left three sons, among whom he shared his dominions, which by that means were divided into the three kingdoms of Venedotia, Demetia, and Powis.

Ethelred, who ascended the throne of Northumbria in 841, was driven out of the country three years after, by one of the factions that for a long time prevailed in that kingdom, and Redowald put in his place; but the new king being slain shortly after by the Danes, in a descent made on Northumbria, Ethelred was recalled by his party, who were now become powerful enough to support him in the throne.

The Danes never failed to visit England once a year, purely for the sake of plunder; and in 845, the earls Enulph and Osric, with Bishop Alstan, gave them battle near the river Parret, in Somersetshire, and obtained a victory, which probably was the reason the English remained unmolested for some years.

The king of Northumbria reigned but three years after his restoration; the opposite party having put him to death, a thane, named Osbert, was placed on the throne by a faction; but the troubles and divisions in that kingdom gave the Danes opportunity of making frequent incursions; and whenever they came, they were sure of being welcome to the weakest party; neither of the factions scrupling to join with them.

Whilst the Danes were thus employed in the north, the southern provinces enjoyed some tranquillity. But at length, in 851, they landed on the coast of Wessex, where they committed great atrocities, and after ravaging the country, were met as they were returning to their ships with their booty, by Earl Ceorle, Ethelwulph's general, who waited for them at Wenbury, and being incumbered with their spoils, they fought in such disorder, that they were entirely routed. Some time after King Athelstan attacked the Danes on the sea near Sandwich, and took nine of their ships, but could not, however, prevent another band from wintering in the Island of Sheppy.

The Danes, next spring, came up the Thames with 300 sail, and nothing being able to oppose them, landed near London, where they began their usual ravages.

Whilst the two kings were making preparations, the Danes not content with ravaging the country, attacked the towns; and London and Canterbury

were great sufferers on this occasion. Having pillaged these two cities, they marched into Mercia, and overthrew an army led against them by Berthulph; and would have overrun all England, if the preparations of Ethelwulph and Athelstan had not deterred them; and induced them to repossess the Thames, with the design to give the two kings battle, now encamped at Okely in Surrey, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the English were victorious, who made such a slaughter of the Danes, that few escaped.

Berthulph, king of Mercia, died this year, and was succeeded by Buthred, with the consent of Ethelwulph, whose daughter he had married.

After the battle of Okely we hear nothing more of Athelstan, and therefore presume he did not long survive that great victory, to which his valour greatly contributed.

#### ETHELWULPH alone.

Ethelwulph was very religious, if not bigoted; and was entirely guided by Swithin, bishop of Winchester, and Alstan, bishop of Sherborn. He is said to have granted to the church the tithes of all his dominions, by the advice of Swithin; and from his zeal for religion, he sent to Rome his youngest son Alfred, then about five years of age. In the year 855 he himself visited Rome.

The English college founded by Ina and enlarged by Offa, having been burnt down the year before, he caused it to be rebuilt in a more magnificent manner than before; and desiring to endow the college with greater revenues than his predecessors had done, extended the tax of Peter-pence all over his dominions, which till then had been levied only in Wessex and Mercia. He obliged himself also to send to Rome yearly the sum of three hundred mancuses, or marks, two hundred whereof were to be expended in wax tapers for the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the remaining one hundred for the pope's private use. These are the liberalities that have given occasion to certain historians to assert, that Ethelwulph made his kingdom tributary to the holy see. But whatever wrong appliance might be made of them in the course of time, it is certain they were no more originally than charitable donations to the churches and English college.

Ethelwulph having satisfied his devotion and curiosity by a twelve months' stay at Rome, returned home through France, where he married Judith,\* the daughter of Charles the Bald, a young princess of twelve years of age.† This unsuitable as well as unseasonable match, he having already several children, was made another pretence for the conspiracy forming against him in England by Alstan, bishop of Sherborn, and Ethelbald his son.

By the mediation of the nobility Ethelwulph resigned to his son the ancient kingdom of Wessex, and retained only that of Kent for himself, in which were comprised also Essex and Sussex.

#### ETHELWULPH in Kent. ETHELBALD in Wessex.

Ethelwulph out-lived this partition but two years, which he spent in doing acts of charity, administer-

\* She is called Leotheta in the Saxon annals.

\* The Sax. Ann. W. Malmb. and Ethelwerd, call him only the son of Athelwulph. Chronic. de Mailros styles him Ethelwulph's brother, and Mat. Westm. says, that he was his natural son. So little agreement is there between the ancient historians in this and other matters.

† This does not appear from our English historians. R. Higden says, that he married her in the 12th year of his reign. Ethelwulph's first wife was Osburga, the daughter of Osac, his cup-bearer, who was descended from Stuff and Withgar.



ing justice to his subjects, and endeavouring, by the force of his example, to induce them to lead lives conformable to the precepts of the Gospel.

The Saxon annals tell us, that about this time, Edmund, a youth of fifteen years of age, was crowned king of East-Anglia. He was son of Almund, a prince of the royal blood, who fled into Germany when Offa seized upon East-Anglia; but it is not said whether this was done with the consent of Ethelwulph and Ethelbald, or whether, taking advantage of the dissension between the father and son, the East-Angles resolved to have a king of their own. Edmund was guided, during his youth, by the advice of Bishop Humbert, who instilled into him sentiments of justice and equity, of which his subjects reaped the benefit.

Ethelwulph, by his will, disposed of the kingdom of Kent to his second son Ethelbert, and the kingdom of Wessex to Ethelbald, Ethelred, and Alfred, in the order of seniority. It is not clearly ascertained whether it was customary for the kings to dispose of their dominions by will, or whether Ethelwulph was the first that did so. However that may be, it is certain Ethelwulph's sons succeeded one another by virtue of this will. He also directed his heirs to maintain one poor person for every tithing in his hereditary lands. He died in 857, having reigned twenty-one years, leaving behind him four sons and one daughter, who was married to Buthred, king of Mercia, and died at Pavia in 888. Ethelbald, the eldest son, was already in possession of the kingdom of Wessex; and Ethelbert, his brother, succeeded to Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, comprised under the name of the kingdom of Kent. Ethelred and Alfred were ill provided for; but we shall see that they in succession mounted the throne.

#### ETHELBAID IN WESSEX. ETHELBERT IN KENT.

Ethelbald's reign was remarkable neither for any event of moment, nor for any action of his own, worth recording. All historians agree, that he was a prince of little capacity, and of an evil disposition. He is said by some Saxon historians to have married Judith of France, his father's widow; and to have been brought to a sense of his fault by Swithin, bishop of Winchester, and to have undergone a severe penance for it; which probably consisted in making grants to monasteries. He died in 860, having reigned two years in Wessex during his father's life, and about two years and a half after his decease. Ethelbert, his brother, already in possession of the kingdom of Kent, succeeding to Wessex, by virtue of their father's will, reunited the two kingdoms.

#### ETHELBERT ALONE.

The Danes having left England for some years unmolested, immediately after Ethelbert's coronation renewed their invasions. Landing at Southampton, they penetrated as far as Winchester, the metropolis of Wessex, which they reduced to ashes; and they would have proceeded to much greater mischiefs, had not Osric and Ethelwulph, two West-Saxon earls, with some troops drawn together in haste, beaten them back to their ships.

Another time they came in autumn, and landed in the Isle of Thanet, where they wintered in order to begin their incursions in the spring. Ethelbert offered them a sum of money to retire, which they accepted on the terms proposed, but treacherously

rushed into Kent. Ethelbert levied an army to intercept them in their retreat, and prevent them for carrying off their booty; the dread of which preparations made them embark with their plunder so hastily, that it was not possible to intercept them.

Ethelbert's reign, which lasted but six years, affords little matter for history. He died in 866, leaving two sons, Adhelm, and Ethelward, who did not succeed him, his younger brother Ethelred ascending the throne by virtue of Ethelwulph's will.

#### ETHELRED I.

The reign of Ethelred was short and unfortunate. From his coronation to his death, he had one continued conflict with the Danes; who began with attacking Northumbria, which at length they became masters of. They proceeded next to East-Anglia, which they also subdued; and after extorting money from the Mercians, they entered Wessex.

The authority reserved by Egbert over the kingdoms of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumbria, and enjoyed also by his son Ethelwulph, was now much weakened by the frequent invasions of the Danes. Whilst the kings of Wessex were employed in the defence of their own dominions, it was hardly possible for them to think of enforcing their sovereignty over the three kingdoms of the Angles, to whom Egbert was willing to leave a shadow of liberty; and therefore, by degrees, the Northumbrians, as most remote from Wessex, had freed themselves from servitude; and the various factions had so far agreed at last as with unanimous consent to place Osbert on the throne.

But a civil war was excited by an outrage of Osbert on the wife of a thane of the name of Bruern-Brocard; he being said to have ravished her during the absence of her husband when entertained by her on returning from a hunting party. By the incitement of the injured earl, the Bernicians successfully revolted, and elected a king of the name of Ælla. And not satisfied with this revenge, he invited a body of the Danes over to expel him entirely from Northumbria, and consequently, Ivar entered the Humber with a numerous fleet, and without any difficulty became master of the northern side of the Humber; whence he marched directly to York, where Osbert was preparing an army to oppose him.

After two signal victories, Ivar, without any difficulty, took possession of all Northumbria; but this not satisfying his ambition, he marched into Mercia, plundering and ravaging without mercy whatever came in his way. Buthred, king of Mercia, having had time to prepare, had called to his assistance Ethelred, his brother-in-law, who joined him with all the forces of Wessex. Ivar was now advanced as far as Nottingham, in expectation of surprising the king of Mercia; but when he was informed Ethelred had joined him, he stopped short, being apprised that his forces were inferior to those of the English chiefs. The two armies remained near one another for some time, but at last separated without fighting.

Ivar, from the time he arrived in England, had cruelly ravaged all the places wherever he came, particularly the monasteries, where the English endeavoured to conceal the most valuable effects. He left Hubba, his brother, in Northumbria, and embarking with the flower of his troops made a descent on East-Anglia, where Edmund was king, of whom we have already spoken. This

young prince, more used to acts of devotion than to the exercise of arms, having given the Danes battle, was easily overthrown, and compelled to save himself by flight. He endeavoured to conceal himself in a church, but being discovered, was brought before Ivar at Hegilsdon.\* The conqueror offered to leave him in possession of his kingdom, provided he would acknowledge him for sovereign, and pay him tribute; but Edmund refusing these terms, Ivar ordered him to be tied to a tree, and shot at with arrows, and then to have his head cut off. Humbert, bishop of the East-Angles, was also put to death by Ivar's order; and Edmund's head being found some time after, was interred with his body at St. Edmund's Bury, so called from him; and whilst the Roman Catholic religion was predominant in England, great numbers of miracles were pretended to be wrought at his shrine.

Ivar, being thus master of East-Anglia, appointed a Danish captain, one Godrim, or Guthrun, governor of it; and afterwards having recalled his brother Hubba from Northumbria to be near his person, he made Egbert, by birth an Englishman, but entirely at his devotion, king there.

The success the Danes had met with during this war inspiring them with hopes of becoming masters of all England, they began to form new projects. Ivar, having perfect information of the state of the island, embarked his troops and sailed for the coast of Wessex, where, landing his army, he advanced as far as Reading; but Ethelred, who had foreseen his design, marched his army towards that quarter, accompanied by Alfred, his brother. It would be tedious, and perhaps impracticable, to relate the particulars of this war.† It is sufficient to say, that within the compass of one year, Ethelred fought nine pitched battles, and upon all occasions gave signal proofs of his courage and conduct, though fortune did not always prove favourable. In the last battle, which was fought near Wittingham, he received a mortal wound, of which he died in 871, after a reign of five years.

Though Ethelred was noted for his great bravery, yet his piety is said to have surpassed even his valour. A historian tells us, that being at prayers on a day of battle, he resolved not to move until the service was over, though the fight was begun, and the Danes had some advantage; and he adds, God rewarded his piety with a signal victory.

Ethelred left several children, amongst whom, according to some historians, was a daughter called Thyra, married to Trotho VI., king of Denmark. Ethelred's sons did not succeed to the crown, for the same reason that the sons of his elder brother Ethelbert were set aside, namely, the will of Ethelwulf; according to which, Alfred, his brother, mounted the throne without any question being made to his title.

During Ethelred's reign, the Danes demolished the famous monasteries of Croyland, Ely, Peterborough or Medeshamsted, besides that of Coldingham before mentioned. It is chiefly on the description of what befell the abbays that historians have enlarged, whilst doubtless they omitted events more remarkable, and more worthy the notice of a curious reader.

#### ALFRED THE GREAT.

Ethelred had left the affairs of his kingdom in a deplorable condition. The Danes, already masters of Northumbria and East-Anglia, were in the very heart of the kingdom of Wessex; and notwithstanding the many battles Ethelred had fought with them, they were in possession of several towns, and not only maintained their position in the country, but had reason to hope they should soon complete the conquest of it. Alfred had scarcely been a month on the throne, when he found himself obliged to take the field against these formidable enemies, who were advanced as far as Wilton; whither he marched to attack them the first time, after his brother's death. Victory for some time inclined to his side; but changed on a sudden in favour of the Danes; but his loss was not so considerable as to make him despair, though the victory certainly belonged to the Danes. He laboured incessantly to put his army in condition to give them battle again, before they should be reinforced; and they were astonished at his expedition, and though victorious, sued for peace, finding they were unable to continue the war; and as they offered to march out of his dominions, on condition he would molest them in no other part of England, he accepted their offer, and gained by this treaty time to prepare against a new invasion.

The Danes, quitting Wessex, retired to London, which they had taken during the late war. Ivar was gone back to Denmark, having left the command of the army to his brother Hubba, who being prevented from attacking Wessex, turned his arms against Mercia. Buthred, knowing he was unable to resist, since Alfred was bound not to send him any succours, thought it his wisest course to buy off the Danes with a sum of money, and save his country from their depredations. Upon the receipt of the money, they marched towards Northumbria, designing to take up their quarters with their countrymen; but their provisions running short, in consequence of the devastations they themselves had made there, they were under the necessity of returning into Mercia. Before they had left Northumbria, they had deposed Egbert, whom they had placed on the throne, and put Ricsige, a Danish earl, in his room. Buthred finding they were come again into his dominions, complained of their breach of faith; but without regarding his complaints, they obliged him to give them another considerable sum to save his country from the destruction it was threatened with; but no sooner was the money paid, than they fell to plundering and ravaging; and Buthred soon found that even his own person was in danger. The fear of falling into their hands obliged him to abandon his kingdom, and retire to Rome, where he spent the residue of his days in the English college. Mercia being thus left without a king, and Alfred being prevented by his own treaty from lending any assistance, the Danes without difficulty became

\* Now called Hoxon, in Suffolk.

† The particulars delivered by Huntingdon and the Saxon annals are as follows:—"The first battle in these parts between the English and Danes (three days after the coming of these) was fought at Inglesfield, in Berkshire, in which the English got the victory. Four days after, there was another fight at Reading, in which Ethelred and Alfred were overcome. But four days after, they defeated the Danes at Aston, near Wallingford, and Basreg (so in the originals), the two Sidrocs, and several thousands of Danes, were then slain. A fortnight after, the English were beaten at Basing, in Hampshire; and again, two months after, at Marden, in Wiltshire, in which last battle Ethelred received his death's wound. After the battle of Basing, there came a fresh army of Danes from beyond sea, and joined those that were already in England."



masters of that spacious kingdom. However, not to alarm the Mercians too much, they set over them for king, Ceoluph, one of Ruthor'd's domestics. And though the new king was an Englishman, yet holding the kingdom in trust only for the barbarians till they should otherwise dispose of it, he resolved to make use of his time to gratify his private avarice: so that the Mercians suffered as much by the continual rapines and extortions of their degenerate countryman, as they would perhaps have done by the rapacity of a foreigner.

Though the Danes were masters of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumbria, they were not contented; but fearing to renew the war, cultivated the lands they had acquired, and began to consider the country they had so often and so terribly laid waste, as their own; and England, thus divided between the English and Danes, seemed about to be restored to tranquillity.

But whilst Alfred flattered himself with the enjoyment of some quiet, new calamities were preparing for him in Denmark; Halfden, a Danish general, having fitted out a fleet, with which he made a descent upon East-Anglia. The arrival of Halfden with these fresh forces, ought to have put Alfred upon his guard; but trusting to the treaty he had lately made with the Danes, he remained unprepared, of which Halfden did not fail to take the advantage. In the beginning of the spring the latter put to sea, and took by surprise Warham-castle, the strongest place in all Wessex.

The English seemed hitherto not to be aware what kind of enemies they had to deal with. They considered the Danish irruptions as a regular war, wherein the whole nation was concerned; and accordingly imagined that a treaty concluded with one band or party was obligatory on all the rest. But the Danes entered, with the consent of their kings, into private associations to man out fleets and go shares in what booty they could get in England and other countries; and for this reason, the several bands were independent of one another, all thinking themselves bound by no other treaty but that which they themselves entered into. Alfred had made an agreement with Hubba; but Halfden did not consider himself as included in it. However, the English considering the surprise of Warham as treachery, exclaimed bitterly against the violation of the treaty; but Halfden, regardless of their complaints, was about to penetrate further into Wessex, had not Alfred prevented him by entering into a particular treaty with him. The author of his life says, "the Danes swore by the holy relics of the church, that they would never set foot again in Wessex." It is probable it cost the king very dear to bring them to these terms; and it is something strange that Alfred should insist upon men's swearing by the holy relics, who being yet pagans could not think themselves more strongly bound by this, than by their usual oath, by their bracelets. Perhaps he considered the oath as really more religiously binding, or that his subjects would be more indignant if they violated it, which they immediately did, and began ravaging as they were even quitting Wessex; and as they were marching towards Mercia, they met a body of English horse, who were riding in a careless manner, in consequence of the treaty being concluded, and unexpectedly setting upon them, slew the greatest part of them. The horses they took upon this occasion, were of service to carry them with the more speed towards the west-

ern parts of Wessex, where they laid siege to Exeter.

Alfred finding it was in vain to conclude treaties with such a perfidious race of people, resolved to take more effectual measures to secure himself from their treachery; and to this purpose convened a general assembly, and represented to them that they had nothing to trust to but their own valour and courage, to deliver them from their miseries; and urged upon them the absolute necessity of venturing their lives in defence of their country, and of sacrificing part of their estates to preserve the remainder. His eloquent remonstrances having produced the effect he expected, an army was immediately levied, with which he engaged the enemy seven times in one campaign; but as fortune was not equally favourable to him in all these engagements, he was once more constrained to treat with the Danes; and though he could have no great dependence upon their promises, it was the only way by which he could put an end to a disastrous war. The new treaty, in which the Danes undertook not to return any more into Wessex, was somewhat better kept than the former.

The West-Saxons looked upon the retreat of these formidable enemies as a great deliverance; but they were yet far from the climax of their miseries. This band, which had struck them with such terror, were scarce gone, when a new swarm arrived, under the command of Rollo, the famous Norman general, who became afterwards the scourge of France. Fortunately, Alfred was in some measure prepared to receive them; and after some attempts, Rollo despairing of procuring a settlement in England, resolved to go in quest of one in France. In all probability, finding the best part of England in possession of his countrymen, and Alfred ready to dispute the rest with him, he imagined he had a better prospect in France. Some superstitious chroniclers inform us, it was revealed to Rollo in a dream what success he should meet with in France.

After his departure, Alfred enjoyed some repose, which afforded him leisure to revolve means to prevent these frequent invasions; and he ultimately determined to equip a fleet, and engage the Danes before they came to land, where they generally had the advantage; and as the latter had not contemplated being engaged at sea, their ships were only fit for transports, whereas those built by Alfred were contrived on purpose for warlike service. It was not long before he reaped the fruit of this wise precaution; for his fleet meeting with six Danish vessels, gave chase to them, and one of the largest being taken, the soldiers and mariners were thrown overboard; and this first engagement was followed by a much more considerable one. A hundred and twenty sail of Danish transport ships making to the shore in order to land their men, the king's fleet attacked them, and sunk the greatest part of them; and the next year another Danish fleet sailing westward, met with so violent a storm, that all the ships perished, except a few which fell into the hands of the English.

Alfred, encouraged by these successes, resolved to attack the Danes in the west, where they had fortified themselves by the taking of Exeter, and where the Cornish men had always taken part with them; and he ultimately obliged them to give him hostages, and entirely abandon Wessex. They retired into Mercia, where being

weary with leading such unsettled lives, they were incorporated with their countrymen, who were already in possession of that kingdom. After which they deposed, with one consent, Ceoloph, and divided the land among themselves. What kind of government they established we know not; the Saxon historians, passing over in silence the civil affairs of the Danes, and relating only their wars. Thus was an end put to the kingdom of Mercia, after having subsisted near three hundred years.

The year before, the kingdom of Northumbria had met with the same fate. Halfden, who was gone thither, made Egbert king in the room of Ric-  
sige, who died in 876; but the new king, or viceroy, was of no long continuance; for in the first year of his reign, Halfden dethroned him, and divided the land among his countrymen; which no doubt excited the Danes in Mercia to do the same. Thus the kingdom of Northumbria, which had lasted three hundred and thirty years from the time of Ida the first king, was divided among the Danish marauders.

Though the Danes were in possession of three of the ancient kingdoms of the heptarchy, or octarchy, yet was there not space enough for all those that were already in England, and for those which were continually coming over with intent to settle. The new-comers consequently beheld Wessex with a rapacious eye; and on the other hand, those who had shared the lands of the other kingdoms among them, perceiving their countrymen envied their good fortune, were apprehensive they might think of dispossessing them, if they were not otherwise provided for: which made them all desirous to invade Wessex, and exert their utmost to conquer that kingdom, which hitherto had so bravely withstood their attacks. They carried on their design with the utmost secrecy and expedition; and suddenly, a formidable army of Danes appeared in the field, which advanced rapidly towards Wessex,\* before Alfred could possibly put himself in a posture of defence; and attacking Chippenham,† one of the finest and strongest cities of the kingdom, made themselves masters of it in a few days. The loss of this place inspired the West-Saxons with such a terror, that they had no longer the courage to defend themselves. Some fled into Wales, or beyond sea, whilst others went over to the Danes, and swore allegiance to them; and in this so general a revolt, Alfred was left alone with a few domestics, who, out of duty and affection, were unwilling to abandon him in his adversity. But as they were chargeable to him; and could do him little service, he dismissed them all, that he might with more ease provide for himself; and such was his distress, that he was compelled to conceal himself at a neat-herd's‡ in the Isle of Athelney in Somersetshire.§ This place was surrounded with a large morass, through which there was but one narrow footpath leading to the neat-herd's cottage, which was hid by bushes and briers; and here the king lay concealed for some time from his friends as well as

enemies, without being even known by the neat-herd's wife, who employed him about her household affairs.\* This was a wretched situation; but he had not been six months in his retreat, before he was relieved by an unexpected turn in his affairs.

Hubba, who commanded the Danish troops in the absence of his brother Ivar, had invaded Wales, and destroyed all with fire and sword. After which he entered Devonshire, in the kingdom of Wessex, with the same intent; and at his approach, the earl of Devon, with a handful of brave men, retired into Kinworth-castle† to avoid the first shock of his fury. Hubba was not long before he laid siege to the castle, not doubting but the garrison, being few in number, would soon be obliged to surrender; but the earl of Devon, finding all the defence he could make would be to no purpose, induced the besieged to sally out sword in hand upon the Danes, which they did, and by their furious attack put them immediately in extreme disorder; and continued so to press them without giving them any time to recover themselves, that they at length entirely dispersed and made a dreadful slaughter of them.‡ Hubba was slain, and his famous standard, called reafan, or the raven, in which the Danes believed there was a secret virtue, and which Ivar's sisters had themselves wrought,§ fell into the hands of the English. It is said that the Danish soldiers believed that the raven on the standard presaged victory or defeat, by either clapping or drooping his wings before battle: probably some rude deception on the part of their leaders.

On this victory, Alfred immediately collected his friends, and advised them to draw together in several parts of the kingdom, small bodies of troops, which at the shortest warning might be ready to join one another.¶ The most difficult as well as most important point was, to know exactly the posture of the enemy; and Alfred, not knowing who to employ on this most dangerous and difficult service, resolved himself to undertake it. Having disguised himself, and taken a harp in his hand, as if he had maintained himself by playing on that instrument, he entered the Danish camp, and stayed there several days. He found that the Danes had neglected their usual precaution of encamping themselves on a hill; that they had not placed any advanced guards to secure the avenues to their camp, and, in fact, considering themselves in a state of perfect security, as the Saxons had no army in the field, were totally unprepared for service. He returned to his friends at Athelney, and appointed Selwood forest¶ for the general rendezvous of all their

\* She having one day set a cake on the coals, and being busied about something else, the cake happened to be burnt, upon which she scolded the king for his carelessness in not looking after the cake, which she told him he could eat fast enough. Alfred was then sitting in the chimney-corner, making bows and arrows, and other warlike instruments.

† Which stood on the river Tau below Raleigh. There are at present no footsteeps of it.

‡ There were twelve hundred slain. The place was afterwards called Hubbestowe, or Hubblew, from the mount raised on the place where Hubba was buried. For it was the common way of burial among the Danes to raise mounds upon the bodies of the famous men, which were called Lowes.

§ They pretend it was worked magically, in almost an instant, in one forenoon.

¶ In 872, about Easter, Alfred erected a fortification at Athelney, from which he often sallied out with a body of Somersetshire men, and defeated the enemy.

¶ That is, the great wood in Somersetshire. This was done seven weeks after Easter, and the rendezvous was

\* It was about Christmas.

† In Wiltshire, by the Saxons called Cyppanham, now only famous for its market, whence it had its name; for Cyppan signifies to traffic, and Cyppan a merchant; and we still retain cheapen and chaupman. Of the same original is Cheap-side, London.

‡ One belonging to him.

§ Formerly called Athelingey, that is, the Island of Nobles lies near Taunton, where the Thone and Parret join. The firm ground is not above two acres.



troops; and the matter was transacted so expeditiously, that in a little time Alfred attacked the Danes at the head of an army, consisting of the inhabitants of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, that had not fled beyond sea. The Danes, though assaulted thus unexpectedly, defended themselves with their usual courage. But whether it was that they had not time to draw up their troops in order, or the loss of their standard had possessed them with a notion that their gods were adverse to them, they were at length entirely routed, and almost their whole army cut in pieces; and the few that escaped betook themselves to a castle, where they were immediately besieged. Alfred taking advantage of the consternation thus struck into the whole body of resident Danes, compelled them to capitulate; and granted them terms more advantageous than they could have expected. Agreeing to entirely resign the lands of East-Anglia to those who were willing to become Christians, and requiring those who were not, immediately to quit the island, with a promise never to return; hostages for the performance of which were to be given. Guthrun, chief of East-Anglia, who since the death of Hubba commanded the Danish army, agreed to these conditions, and came to Alfred with thirty of his chief officers, having embarked all those that refused to be baptized.\*

Alfred thus by a single battle recovered his kingdom, and every day his subjects, whom fear had dispersed or constrained to submit to the enemy, flocked to him. All the historians agree, that he invested the Danish general with the title of king of East-Anglia; but it is not known whether he did so by virtue of some private treaty made before, or with a view to engage him in his interests. The kingdom of East-Anglia was now wholly inhabited by Danes, and Guthrun divided the lands among his countrymen, and exercised the regal authority as long as he lived.

It is to be observed, that at the time of the last battle, there were in England two sorts of Danes; those who were already settled, and those who were endeavouring to procure themselves habitations. It was probably with the last that Alfred treated; as the former were anxious to be left in quiet possession of their settlements; and accordingly all those Danes settled in the three kingdoms of the Angles, submitted quietly, and swore allegiance to him. But they were not all equally satisfied; as several had accepted of the terms of the last treaty, only because they knew not whither to go, and became Christians, to procure a subsistence, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to return to their old course of life. That this was the case, evidently appears from what followed. When it was least expected, the most considerable among them, headed by Hastings, earnestly solicited Guthrun to renew the war in Wessex;† but not prevailing, they put to sea, and went and ravaged the coast of Flanders; and shortly after, another and no less numerous troop, informed of the great booty the first ravagers had met with at Kent, embarked to join them. These two bands thus united

overran Brabant, Hainault, Flanders, Picardy, and Artois, perpetrating unheard-of cruelties. After which, having again divided into two bodies, one of them sailed back to England, in hopes of plundering the country, where they imagined they should come unexpected. Having landed in Kent, they marched towards Rochester, with design to surprise that city; but Alfred, who, contrary to their expectation, had his army in readiness, speedily marched towards them upon the first notice of their arrival, and his approach was sufficient to make them fly to their ships in such haste that they left their plunder behind them.\* His vigilance having prevented their designs upon England, they returned to France, and rejoining their companions, continued their devastations in that kingdom.

Hitherto the English had only acted on the defensive. Exposed to the continual invasions of the Danes, and uncertain where the enemy would land, they were generally surprised, before it was in their power to defend themselves; and the sea-coast being uninhabited, there was nothing to prevent the piratical marauders from landing unopposed. Alfred's first care, therefore, was to equip a considerable fleet, the advantage of which he had already experienced, with which he determined to cruise along the coasts, and attack all Danish ships laden with booty. Sixteen were surprised in the port of Harwich in East-Anglia, part of which were captured and the remainder sunk; and a considerable booty was also obtained.† Guthrun, incensed at this act of hostility in one of his harbours, suffered the parties aggrieved to endeavour to retrieve their losses, and even furnished them with means; and it was not long before they found an opportunity of attacking, and gaining some advantage over Alfred's ships. The Saxon fleet, however, in general maintained the superiority and kept the Danes in awe.

Alfred having thus secured the sea-coasts, fortified the kingdom with castles and walled towns; repairing those that had gone to ruin, and building others in so strong a manner that they could not easily be assaulted; and as London, considerable both for its size and situation, remained in the hands of the Danes, and gave them a passage into Wessex, he resolved to invest it, and the besieged were in a little time obliged to capitulate. He is said to have added both to its strength and beauty;‡ and committed the government of it to Ethelred, who had married his daughter Elfleda, or rather gave it him, with the title of earl of Mercia. Some historians say that he conferred on him the title of king; but there appears to be no authority for such an assertion. The creating Ethel-

\* Consisting of the prisoners they had taken, and abundance of horses they had brought over from France or Flanders.

† Asser says, that all their ships and booty were taken, and Alfred ordered all the men to be put to death.

‡ We have no certain account of the origin of this celebrated city. But as it is not evident there was any such place in Cesar's time, and yet a large town in Nero's, it is probable it was founded in the reign of Claudius, and inhabited by the Britons and Romans together, being a trading, though not a military colony from the very beginning. The walls are said to have been built by Constantine the Great, at the request of Helena his mother, containing within them an oblong space of three miles in compass. The origin of its name is unknown. Cesar's saying, the Britons called the places fenced round with woods and groves, cities or towns, made Camden conjecture London was so named from Llyn, which signifies in British, a particular town, as if we should say, by way of eminence, the city.

Petra Eboracensis, supposed to be Brixton in Somersetshire: staying there one night, he marched away the next morning to Eborac, or York; where he encamped one night: the next day he came to Eboracum, or Eborington, in Somersetshire, where the battle was fought.

\* Alfred stood godfather to Guthrun, and named him Ethelstan.

† They came up the Thames, and wintered at Fulham.

red, earl of Mercia, did not invest him with power over any other part of that province, except London; as all the rest was in possession of the Danes, over whom he asserted no other right but that of a nominal sovereignty, to which they had lately consented. Ethelred, therefore, was honoured with an empty title, until such time as by his valour he could conquer a larger dominion for himself.

The repairing and fortifying great numbers of towns by Alfred, employed him some years; and these fortifications served equally to defend the kingdom against the Danes, and to keep those in subjection who were settled in the island; who finding every precaution was taken, were disposed to remain quiet; and they even permitted several of the English, whom they had driven from their habitations, to return and live among them under the protection of their chieftain.\*

This state of things lasted for the then almost unprecedented term of twelve years, and during this comparatively long peace, Alfred by his wisdom and genius perpetuated the foundation, if he did not entirely found, the future glories and liberties of England. But as the particulars of this eventful period will be more fully related hereafter, we shall at present pursue the relation of the wars.

The Danes, who, under the conduct of Hastings, their most notorious chief, ravaged for twelve or thirteen years together France and the Low-Countries, were not satisfied with the prodigious booty they had gained. And as according to the custom of pirates, they prodigally squandered away what they had acquired without pains or labour, they were always compelled to renew their ravages. Disheartened by two terrible checks given them by Eudes and Arnulph, kings of France and Germany, they resolved to return into England, not so much for the sake of settling, as to plunder; and for this purpose they fitted out three hundred ships, which they divided into two fleets. With the first, consisting of two hundred sail, they arrived on the coast of Kent,† and took Appledore;‡ and this place, which was then considerable, made them masters not only of that province, but also of Sussex and Surrey. The other fleet commanded by Hastings, and consisting of eighty sail, entered the Thames, and landed at Middleton.§ It would be difficult to describe the miseries inflicted on the inhabitants by these barbarians. Alfred was then in East-Anglia, on account of Guthrun's death; and as he had received no intelligence of their designs, he had made no preparations for his defence. All he could do, therefore, was to take a new oath of fidelity from the East-Anglian Danes, which they regarded only whilst he stayed with them: for on his departure, they immediately went and joined Hastings, in hopes to share in the plunder. Alfred, amidst all these dangers, was not however discouraged; but drawing together what troops he could, he marched against those Danes who were pillaging Kent; but being informed by the way that another body of Danes had entered Wessex,

he altered his course, and advanced towards these last, as judging them most dangerous; and those Danes, who were before Exeter, consequently raised the siege in haste, and went and vented their fury in some other place.

The Saxon historians are so exceedingly confused in their accounts of this war, that it is impossible to give the particulars of it. There being several different bands of Danes in a state of hostility at the same time, is probably the cause of the contradictions and intricacy of the old chroniclers.

We are ignorant, also, by what fortunate occurrence Alfred found himself suddenly freed from enemies so lately spread over the whole kingdom. It is however certain, after they had reduced England to a deplorable state, the last comers suddenly retired, though historians have not told us the cause of their departure. Some have conjectured it was owing to the plague, which raged then in England, and swept away great numbers of Danes as well as English; but it is probable, that having plundered the country in such a manner that there was nothing left to pillage, the greatest part of them returned to France, under the command of Hastings. The terror that successful marauder had everywhere spread along the sea-coasts having put all upon their guard, he resolved to steer his course where he was not expected, and sailed for the Mediterranean; and whilst there, he contrived, by the following impious and perfidious stratagem, to become master of Luna, a town situated on the coast of Tuscany. He pretended to be desirous of becoming a Christian, and was actually baptized by the bishop, whom he had sent for; and some days after, he had the same bishop falsely informed that he had died like a good Christian, and earnestly desired to be buried in the church of Luna, to which he had bequeathed a considerable legacy; by which device, he and a great number of Danes, under the mask of the funeral, entered the city, and immediately murdered and plundered the inhabitants.

This powerful bandit ultimately fixed on Chartres\* for his residence, a town that the French king, Charles the Simple, had presented to him to purchase his forbearance. And there he ended in peace a life almost wholly spent in plundering the maritime countries of Europe. The Danes, who refused to follow him when he left England, put themselves under the command of one Sigefert, settled in Northumbria, and for some time, they also committed ravages on the coast of Wessex,† without venturing, however, to advance into the country, and at last retired to ravage elsewhere.

As soon as the Danes, who had settled in England, found they were deprived of the assistance of their countrymen, they applied themselves how to secure their present possessions. The continuation of the war was so far from being likely to increase their advantages, that they had reason to fear they should by that means lose what they already possessed; and were therefore induced at last to submit to the dominion of Alfred, and acknowledge him for sovereign of all England. Historians do not inform us whether he was compelled to use force to perfect this desirable object: but it is cer-

\* In the year 890, or 891, died Guthrun, king of East-Anglia, and was buried at Headleaga (perhaps Hadley, in Suffolk).

† In the mouth of the river Limine, supposed by Spelman to be the Rother.

‡ Where they built a strong castle.

§ Now Milton, in Kent. The Danes built a castle here, part of which is still remaining at Kemsley-Downs. They now call it Castle-Ruff. On the other side of the water, the ditches of Alfred's fortifications remain also by the name of Bavord castle, near Sittingbourne.

\* Forty-two miles from Paris.

† But Alfred having caused ships, twice longer, taller, swifter, and more steady than those the English or Danes used to have, and of forty oars and above, he put to sea with nine of them, took twenty or more of the enemy's ships, and ordered the men to be hung up along the sea coasts, for a terror to the rest."—Saxon Annals.



tain his authority was acknowledged, as well in Northumbria, Mercia, and East-Anglia, as in Wessex. The Welsh themselves, who had been terribly plundered by the Danes, finding they were in no condition to resist, became his tributaries; and it is said, the king of Scotland paid him homage also. But this is too disputable a point to be positively affirmed.

As the laws, during the war, had been very much neglected, and were become almost unknown to the people, Alfred made a collection of the best he could find. He inserted some of the judicial laws of the Old Testament, and several of those formerly enacted by Ina, king of Wessex, and Offa, king of Mercia, in their respective kingdoms; and to these he added many of his own, adapted to the circumstances of his people. Throughout these laws may easily be observed an ardent zeal for justice, and a sincere desire of rooting out oppression and violence. They were indeed mild, if compared with those of later ages, seeing they punished most offences by mulcts and fines; but the strictness wherewith Alfred caused them to be observed, counterbalanced their lenity. If with respect to private persons the rigour of the law was somewhat abated, it was not so with regard to corrupt magistrates; for to such Alfred was ever inexorable; and history informs us that he executed four-and-forty judges within the space of one year, for corruption.

These precautions seemed to be sufficient to hinder the poor and the defenceless from being oppressed by the rich and great. But as Alfred was sensible the spirit of oppression naturally grew upon men in authority, he studied to prevent that injustice; and to that end, ordered, that in all criminal actions, twelve men, chosen for that purpose, should determine concerning the fact, and the judge give sentence according to their verdict. This privilege, enjoyed by the English to this day, is doubtless the noblest and most valuable that subjects can have; and an Englishman accused of any crime, is to be tried only by his peers, that is, by persons of his own rank. These twelve men, chosen out of many others, with the approbation of the person accused, are called by the collective name of jury; and these are properly the persons by whom the life or death of the party accused is determined. We must here remark that the purity of the jury would be greater, if this rule of being tried by *peers* (equals) were more strictly attended to. The law makes but the distinction of nobles and commons; whereas, there is a much greater distinction between a labourer and a wealthy trader, than there is between one of that class and a modern nobleman.

The wars had caused such disorders and licentiousness in the kingdom, that vagabonds and vagrants everywhere abounded, who committed all kind of crimes with impunity, their poor and mean condition screening them from justice; and as they had no settled abode, upon committing any offence they merely shifted their quarters, and thus eluded justice. To prevent this and other evils, Alfred divided all England into shires\* or counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings; which being done, all the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to belong to some tithing; and whoever did not, was looked upon as a vagabond, and as such denied the protection of the law.

Every householder was to answer for his wife, his children under fifteen years of age, and his domestics. If any one by his way of living fell under suspicion, he was obliged to give security for his good behaviour; and in case he could find none, the tithing threw him into prison, to prevent their being liable to the penalty he might incur by any offence. Thus the householders being responsible for their families, the tithing for the householders, the hundreds for the tithings, and the counties for the hundreds, every one was watchful over the public conduct. If a stranger guilty of any crime made his escape, information was taken of the house where he lodged, and if he had been there three days, the master of the family was condemned to pay his fine; but in case he had not stayed so long as three days, the householder was acquitted upon making oath he was not privy to his crime.

Alfred also invited over from foreign countries learned men, to whom he gave pensions, and dispersed them in the several dioceses, to instruct the people; and not satisfied with this, and desirous of having in his own kingdom a nursery of learning, he founded four schools or colleges at Oxford. In the first, the abbot Neots and Grimald read divinity; in the second, Asserius, a Benedictine monk, taught grammar and rhetoric; in the third, John, a monk of St. David's, set up a chair for logic, arithmetic and music; and in the fourth, Johannes Scotus professed geometry and astronomy. This last was surnamed Erigena, that is, the Irishman, from the word Erin, or Irin, the true name of Ireland; and he was also called Scotus, no doubt upon the same account, the inhabitants of Ireland being then termed Scots. It is related of this Johannes Scotus, so famous in the republic of letters, that he was stabbed to death by his pupils with penknives; but some say, he taught in Malmesbury-abbey, and not at Oxford.\* We find also among the learned men encouraged by Alfred, Plegmund, a Mercian, who became archbishop of Canterbury, and many others. It is unnecessary to stay to examine whether the colleges founded by Alfred were the first foundations of the university of Oxford, or whether before that, there were at a place called Grecklade the like schools, which were removed from thence to this city. It is enough to observe, that from very small foundations, the university of Oxford has advanced to its present state.

All resolutions relating to the public Alfred governed with the advice and assistance of the general council or assembly of the nation, called in Saxon, Witten-Gemot, to which rank and office gave a right to sit, and which was independent of the king. This assembly, styled at present the parliament, a name taken from the French, was composed of the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops, earls, viscounts, or high-sheriffs of the counties, and the thanes of the first rank or barons. It has been disputed with great warmth, whether the people had a right to send representatives to this assembly.

Alfred induced the English to build their houses in a stronger and more regular manner. At that time there was scarce any but timber houses; but Alfred

\* From the Saxon word *scyre*, that is, to branch or divide. Spelman says, that Alfred was not the first that divided the kingdom into shires, but only fixed their number and limits.

\* Camden says, Alfred founded but three halls or schools; the first, at the end of High-street for grammarians, was called Little-University-Hall; the second in School-street, for philosophy, was styled Less-University-Hall; and the third, in High-street, more to the west than the first, for divinity, was named Great-University-Hall, now University-College.

having raised his palaces with stone or brick, the nobility by degrees began to follow his example; but this mode did not become general till several ages after. The monasteries, that were destroyed by the Danes, and afterwards rebuilt, had, we may conclude, the benefit of this improvement, as places that were held in still greater veneration in the following than in the present century. The religious houses, however, did not begin to be inhabited again until the following reigns; and at the time we are speaking of they were almost forsaken, for the lands designed for the maintenance of the monks being wasted by the Danish wars, there was scarce a man to be found willing to embrace a monastic life; which is a clear evidence, that it was not so much devotion as idleness that filled the religious houses. During the reign of Alfred, the repugnance to a monkish life was so great, that the king was compelled to stock the monasteries with foreigners, there being scarce such a thing as a monk in the kingdom. But after his death, when the lands were restored to the monasteries, the zeal for that mode of life began to rekindle; and, although in Alfred's days, there were more monasteries than monks; in a few years after, the monks were grown so numerous, and increased daily in such a manner, that there were not religious houses enough to contain them.

Whilst Alfred lay concealed in the Isle of Athelney, he made a vow to dedicate to the service of God the third part of his time, as soon as he should be restored to a state of tranquillity. He was punctual to his vow, and allotted eight hours every day to acts of devotion, eight hours to public affairs, and as many to sleep, study, and necessary refreshment; and as the use of clocks and hour-glasses was not yet introduced into England, he measured the time by means of wax-candles, marked with circular lines of different colours, which served as so many hour-lines.\* And to prevent the wind from making them burn uneasily, it is said he invented the expedient of enclosing them in lanterns.† But it is doubted whether this invention is of so modern a date.

His charities were very extraordinary considering his revenues. He educated, at court or at Oxford, a great many young noblemen, who were instructed in all things necessary to render them one day serviceable to their country. But this was not his only method of promoting the arts and sciences, for his own example, and devotion to his studies, greatly contributed towards it. The progress he made in learning, notwithstanding his being so long employed in his wars and the administration of the government, demonstrates how well he improved his intervals of public business. The author of his life assures us, he was the best Saxon poet of his time, and for the age an excellent grammarian, orator, philosopher, architect,

geometrician, and historian. He composed several works, that were in great esteem; and among others, translated into Saxon, Pope Gregory's Pastoral, Boethius de Consolatione, and Bede's Ecclesiastical History. He complained bitterly, that from the Humber to the Thames there was not a priest that understood the Liturgy in his mother tongue, and that from the Thames to the sea, there was not one that knew how to translate the easiest piece of Latin. This universal ignorance, and the little relish the English then had for the arts and sciences, caused him to earnestly invite to his dominions foreigners who were eminent in their professions; and he took particular care to have always about him the most noted workmen and architects, and to keep them employed, with the sole view of improving their skill. He placed in the chairs at Oxford, men famous for their learning, and rewarded them handsomely. His aim was to excite the emulation of the English, and to redeem them from the barbarous state of ignorance into which they had sunk. The fame of his great wisdom and piety reaching as far as Rome, the pope sent him a large quantity of relics, and upon his account granted some new privileges to the English college; and Abel, the patriarch of Jerusalem, willing also to show him marks of his esteem, sent him a present of relics, which he received with great satisfaction.

He divided his revenues in two parts, one of which was wholly assigned for charitable uses, and subdivided into four portions. The first for alms to the poor: the second for the maintenance of the monasteries he had founded: the third for the subsistence of the professors and scholars at Oxford: the fourth for poor monks, as well foreigners as English. The other half was divided into three divisions; one was expended in his family; another in paying his architects, and other curious workmen; and the rest was bestowed in pensions upon strangers, invited to his court for the encouragement and instruction of his subjects. This monarch is justly distinguished with the surname of Great; and all historians unanimously represent him as one of the greatest that ever wore a crown. It is, however, said that in the commencement of his reign he was subject to great violence of temper; that he was haughty towards his subjects, and indulged the impetuosity of his passions; so much indeed, as to draw down the censure of his kinsman St. Neot. But these may be the assertions of faction which his vigour subdued; and at all events, are but the weaknesses incidental to humanity. His subsequent greatness proves his was one of those firm and lofty souls which misfortune strengthens and purifies.

He died in 901, in the fifty-third year of his age, after a reign of twenty-nine years and six months, the greatest part of which was spent in war.

Alfred had several children by Alswitha his queen: some of whom died before him; which was the case with Edmund, his eldest son, whom he designed for his successor. Of those that survived him, Edward mounted the throne after him. Ethelwald was educated at Oxford, and became a very learned man, and died in the fortieth year of his age, in 922. Elfreda, the eldest daughter, wife to Ethelred, earl of Mercia, became very famous in her brother Edward's reign. Alswitha, or Ethel-switha, called also Eltrude by the Flemish writers, married Baldwin, earl of Flanders; and Ethel-

\* He ordered just such a quantity of wax to be made into six candles, each twelve inches long, with the division of the inches marked out distinctly. These being lighted in succession, burned four hours each, that is, every three inches an hour, so that the whole six candles lasted just twenty-four hours, the watching of which was committed to the keepers of his chapel, whose office it was to put him in mind how each hour passed.

† Glass was then a great rarity in England, and it is said that the king ordered some fine white horn to be scraped so thin as to become transparent, and put into close frames of wood, which defended the candles from the injury of the wind. Thus lanterns, though of vulgar use and estimation, were the invention of a man of genius.



githa, a nun, was made abbess of Shaftsbury nunnery, which had been founded by her father.

#### EDWARD THE ELDER.

When Edward ascended the throne, England was almost equally divided between the English and Danes. The Danes inhabited Northumbria and East-Anglia, whence they had driven the English during the wars. The English were still in possession of Wessex, containing the ancient kingdom of Essex, and all the country lying south of the Thames. Mercia was peopled with a mixture of Danes and English, but in such a manner, that the English were superior in the south and west parts, and the Danes in the east and north. During the latter part of Alfred's reign, the Danes had remained very quiet, from fear of provoking that prince to invade their possessions. Besides, they were very well satisfied to enjoy some repose, in order to fortify their settlements in England; and therefore, the retreat of their countrymen was to them rather an occasion of joy than sorrow.

It has been observed that King Ethelbert, elder brother to Alfred, left two infant sons. Ethelward, the eldest, having arrived at the death of Alfred, to man's estate, determined to lay claim to the crown; under the plea that Ethelwulf, his grandfather, could not with justice settle the kingdom upon all his sons successively, to the prejudice of the children of the eldest. He further argued, that granting he had a power to do this, there was no reason the succession, after the death of the four brothers, should continue in the family of the youngest, when the heirs of the second were alive. That besides, at most he could but entail the kingdom of Kent, which he was in possession of, and not the kingdom of Wessex, which belonged not to him when he made his will. Though these reasons appeared plausible; yet Ethelward met with no encouragement from the English, most probably from the great veneration they had for Alfred's memory, which made them adhere to his son. The ancient historians not having expressed themselves clearly upon this point, it would be difficult to decide the abstract title by the public laws of the Saxons, which are not sufficiently known.

Ethelward, finding his countrymen unwilling to support his title, applied to the Danes, who very probably had incited him to this undertaking; and began his design upon the crown by seizing Winburn, a fortified town in Dorsetshire. He expected to be attacked; but hoped, if that place made ever so little resistance, the Danes would keep Edward so much employed in other parts, that it would not be possible for him to retake it. But his hopes were in vain. Edward came upon him with such expedition, that he nearly surprised him in Winburn, before he had taken necessary measures for his defence; and he had hardly time to escape out of the town, and fly to the Danes, who were now in arms; and who, on his arrival, proclaimed him king of England, pretending, as they were in possession of half the kingdom, they had as much right to make a king as the West-Saxons.

The retreat of Ethelward among the Danes, made the king sensible he was about to be involved in a war, the consequences of which were to be dreaded; and immediately after the taking of Winburn, he marched towards Northumbria, at the head of his army which daily increased

by the arrival of troops from all parts of the country. The Danes were astonished at his expedition, and finding themselves in no condition to resist him, were constrained to abandon and banish from their country the prince they had undertaken to protect. They also soon had reason to repent of having espoused his cause, or not defending it better; for this fruitless attempt cost them several strong holds in Mercia, which Edward deemed necessary to secure. He did not think proper to chastise them more severely at this time, lest he should urge them to the necessity of sending for succours from Denmark; and he remained satisfied therefore with repairing some fortresses in Mercia, in order to confine them within narrower bounds.

Ethelred, earl of Mercia, and Elfreda his wife, were very serviceable to the king in this war, by making head against the Mercian-Danes, and preventing the Welsh from coming to their aid. It is related of Elfreda, that having suffered exceedingly with her first child, she made a resolution never to have another, and kept her resolution; and from thenceforward wholly devoted herself to arms, and like a true Amazon, gave proofs of her courage in all the king her brother's wars with the Danes. She was generally styled (not only lady and queen, but) king, in admiration of her manlike and royal abilities.

Ethelward, upon leaving England, applied to France, and obtained a powerful aid of Normans; and with these forces he landed in Essex, and easily became master of that kingdom. Edward, not expecting his enemy could have been so soon ready to make a fresh attempt, had taken care only to guard Mercia against the Northumbrian-Danes, imagining Essex to be in no danger. The arrival of the Normans roused the Danes of Northumbria and East-Anglia, who ravaged the country inhabited by the English in a merciless manner. But Edward, in this war, ultimately gained so many victories, that the Danes lost all hopes of throwing off the English yoke, and his cousin of mounting the throne; and at length Ethelward being slain in battle, and the Danish forces considerably diminished, they were not able to carry on the war with the vigour with which they began it. However, they continued it two years after Ethelward's death; when having in vain endeavoured to repair their losses, they sued for peace; which Edward readily granted them, on condition the Danes would acknowledge him for sovereign as they had done his father, and the Normans forthwith return to France.

After three years, the war was renewed, and proved fatal to the Danes, who lost in a very little time two battles; and Edward took from them several towns in Mercia, and at length drove them quite out of that kingdom. Then it was that Ethelred, who had all along bravely seconded the king his brother-in-law, became in reality earl of Mercia; but he died almost as soon as that whole province was united under his government. This earl was not merely governor or viceroy of Mercia; he had some particular power, the nature of which it is very difficult to learn from the historians that speak of it. Malmesbury says he held the country as a fief of the crown, much in the same manner as the German princes held their territories of the empire. Of this, Elfreda his widow's cession to the king her brother of the cities of London and Oxford, is a further proof. If Ethelred had been

only governor or viceroy, Elfreda would have had no right to resign these two places, since they would not have belonged to her.

Elfreda having taken upon her the government of Mercia, after Ethelred's death, followed the example of her father and brother, in fortifying the towns, to take away from the Danes all hopes of settling in Mercia again. Among the places she repaired, or fortified, the chief were, Warwick, Tamworth, Wednesbury, Charbury, Eadsbury, and Chester. The last had lain in ruins for some time. When Elfreda had taken these precautions, she carried her arms into Wales, and after several victories, obliged the Welsh to become her tributaries.

The year 915, according to some historians, is memorable for the founding of the University of Cambridge by King Edward; but some maintain it to be of a much later date, and others again, on the contrary, carry its antiquity a great deal higher, and attribute the founding of it to one Cantabem, a Spaniard, three hundred and fifteen years before the birth of our Saviour; and some cutting off almost a thousand years of this antiquity, are contented with asserting, that Sebert, who reigned in Essex in the beginning of the seventh century, was the first founder.

From the year 910, when the war between the English and Danes was rekindled, to the year 922, we find in history nothing but a long series of battles; during which the Princess Elfreda, sister to King Edward, died, leaving an only daughter, named Elswina, then marriageable.

In these wars, the Danes daily lost ground; and the Mercian-Danes were the first that threw down their arms. The East-Angles followed soon after, submitting without terms; and the Northumbrians were the last, as being the most powerful, almost all Northumbria being inhabited by Danes. The progress Edward had made in the other provinces, convinced them it would be better to submit than continue a war which must end in their ruin. They were then governed by three kings; Sithric and Nigel his brother reigned beyond the Tyne, and Reginald, who resided at York, ruled all the country between the Tyne and the Humber. Some time after, Sithric having slain his brother Nigel, became sole king of the north.

The state of the Welsh depended in some measure on that of the Danes. As long as the Danes were in arms, the kings of England left the Welsh peaceably to enjoy their liberty; but as soon as they had nothing to fear from the north, they seldom failed to attack them. At such a juncture it was, that Elfreda, assisted by the troops of the king her brother, compelled them to become her tributaries; but on her death the Welsh endeavoured to free themselves from the tribute she had laid upon them, and to keep Edward employed, sent a powerful aid to the Danes. Edward, having then other affairs upon his hands, took no notice of it: but as soon as he had concluded a peace with the Danes, marched against Rees ap Madoc, then king, who was assisted by Leoffrith, a Danish general; and after several indecisive skirmishes, obtained a signal victory, which reduced the Welsh to a necessity of suing for peace, with a promise of paying the usual tribute. The Britons of Cumberland, who had put themselves under the protection of the Danes, submitted also to Edward.

If Edward equalled the great Alfred in military

virtues, it must be owned he was far short of his illustrious father in all other respects. He had children by three women, the first named Egwina, a shepherd's daughter, was only a concubine. Malmesbury relates concerning this woman a sort of romance, which, on account of the sequel, it will be necessary to insert: although it has no better foundation than some old ballads handed down to his time. The historian says, Egwina, a shepherd's daughter, as she lay asleep in the fields, dreamt that the moon shone out of her womb so bright that all England was enlightened by the splendour; and some time after, she took occasion to relate her dream to an old woman that had been King Edward's nurse. This woman, who pretended to interpret dreams, imagining there was something extraordinary in this, took Egwina into her house, and educated her, not as a country girl, but as a person of superior quality; and Egwina answered all the old nurse's care; for whilst she was in the house of her benefactress, Edward fell desperately in love with her; and the old woman induced Egwina to consent to his wishes. Edward was extremely fond of her, and had by her three children, of whom Athelstan, the eldest, succeeded him; Alfred, the second, died before his father; and the third was a daughter, called by some Editha, by others Beatrix.

Edward had two sons and six daughters. Elfward, the eldest son, died at Oxford a few days after his father; Edwin, the second, was deprived of his just rights, and came to a miserable end, as will be related hereafter. Of the six daughters, some were married to powerful princes, by the care of their brother Athelstan, and others became nuns. Elfreda, the eldest, was abbess of Ramsey. Ogina was married to Charles the Simple, king of France, and was mother of Lewis d'Outre Mer. Edilda passed her days in a monastery. The fourth, of the same name, was married to Hugh the Great, earl of Paris, father of Hugh Capet. Edgitha was wife of Otho, emperor of Germany. Edgiva, the youngest, espoused Lewis the Blind, king of Provence, who had a son by her, named Constantine.

By Edgiva, Edward had two sons and two daughters. Edmund and Edred, the two sons, were both kings of England. Edburga was a nun, and her sister Edgiva was married to Lewis, prince of Aquitain.

It is very probable, that Edgiva was confounded with her sister of the same name by the second wife, who was married to Lewis, king of Provence, because there was then no prince of Aquitain mentioned in history.

The Danish historians give Edward another daughter, named Thyra, who, as they affirm, was wife of Gormon III., one of their kings; but it is strange they should speak so positively of a princess of England, unknown to all the English historians.

During the reign of Edward the Elder, Rollo, chief of the Normans in France, had gained such firm footing in Neustria, that it was not in the power of the French to drive him thence; and Charles the Simple, then king of France, was compelled, in order to free himself from the continual fears of so troublesome a neighbour, to confirm to him by a grant, that part of Neustria of which he was already possessed, lying between the Seine and the Epte, with the title of duke of Normandy. The conditions were, that Rollo should do homage



to the crown of France, be baptized, and marry Giselle the king's daughter. Rollo died, according to Mezerai, in 917; but some authors place his death in 924, and others with still less reason in 928. William his son, by Poppa, daughter of the earl of Bayeux, was his successor.

#### ATHELSTAN.

Elfwald, Edward's eldest son, surviving his father but a few days, and the rest of the legitimate children being all under age, Athelstan, son of Egwina, was placed on the throne, with the consent of the clergy and nobility. Alfred, his grandfather, had conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, by girding him with a sword, according to the custom of those days. Edward his father had committed the care of his education to Earl Ethelred, his brother-in-law, and the Princess Elfheda his sister, who did not neglect the trust reposed in them.

Some of the principal chieftains disdaining, as it is said, to be governed by a bastard, conspired to dethrone Athelstan, and place Edwin in his room. Alfred, the chief of the conspirators, had even taken private measures to seize Athelstan at Winchester, and put out his eyes; but his plot being discovered, he was apprehended by the king's order, but would confess nothing; and obstinately persisted in protesting his innocence, and offered to purge himself by oath in the presence of the pope. Although this way of justifying himself was far from being a proof of his innocence, Athelstan agreed to it, and sent him to Rome, to take his oath before Pope John. Perhaps he was unwilling to begin his reign with blood, or, it may be, was apprehensive the treating too severely a person of the first rank would draw upon him the further ill-will of the nobles. Shortly after, word was sent him from Rome, that Alfred having sworn his innocence before the pope, suddenly fell into a fainting fit, which lasting three days, ended with his life; and that the pope, convinced by this accident of Alfred's perjury, had ordered his body to remain in the English college till the king's pleasure should be known. Upon which, Athelstan, pleased with being thus rid of his enemy without having directly contributed to his death, consented he should have Christian burial: his lands were, however, confiscated, and given to Malmesbury monastery, and the king had inserted in the grant the whole conspiracy, "to testify to the world that he dedicated to God what was his own."

The death of Edward, and the conspiracy of Alfred, affording the Danes, as they imagined, a favourable opportunity to revolt, they had begun to take such measures as obliged Athelstan to march into their country; but as they had not yet drawn their forces together, they were so surprised by the arrival of the king on their frontiers, that without endeavouring to defend themselves, they returned to their allegiance; and Sithric, one of their kings, sued for peace, upon whatever terms the king might be pleased to impose. Athelstan being desirous to live in peace with the Danes, that he might have time to establish himself in the throne, not only pardoned his revolt, but gave him his sister Editha in marriage, on condition he would receive baptism.

The dissensions in the north being thus appeased,

Athelstan marched back to Wessex, where advice was brought him soon after of Sithric's death, who by a former marriage had left two sons, Anlaff and Godfrid. As the historians of those times are not very particular, we are ignorant of the reason of Athelstan's resolving to deprive these two princes of their father's dominions; but however that be, as soon as he heard of Sithric's death, he returned at the head of his army into Northumbria, by a march so expeditious, that Anlaff and Godfrid, as well as Reginald, another Danish king residing at York, had scarce time to escape falling into his hands; and their hasty flight gave him the opportunity of becoming master of all Northumbria, except the castle of York.

Though he had taken care to secure his conquest, by placing strong garrisons in all the towns, he was uneasy at the escape of the three Danish princes. It was not known what had become of Reginald, and Anlaff was fled into Ireland, where he was very secure. Athelstan therefore was obliged to be satisfied with requiring Constantine, king of Scotland, to deliver up Godfrid, who had retired into his dominions; and Constantine, being sensible he was not in condition to deny anything to him while at the head of so powerful an army, promised to deliver the prince into his hands, and give him a meeting at Dacor; but whilst he was preparing for his journey, Godfrid made his escape, either through the negligence or connivance of Constantine, who, however, met Athelstan, accompanied by Eugenius, king of Cumberland. Athelstan admitted Constantine's excuses for the Danish prince's escape; but, if the English historians are to be credited, obliged both the kings to do homage for their kingdoms; this, however, the Scots positively deny, averring that England had never any right of sovereignty over Scotland until the twelfth century.

Before Athelstan quitted the north, Godfrid made an attempt upon York, by means of the castle, where he had still some friends; but failing in the attempt he put to sea, where for some time he exercised piracy; and when wearied with that way of life, surrendered himself to the king of England, who received him kindly, and allowed him a handsome pension. Some time after, upon some disgust, or ill-grounded suspicion, he withdrew again, and was never more heard of.

Anlaff, a prince of greater abilities than his brother, took better measures for his restoration. He had, as we have observed, retired into Ireland, where being informed that the king of Scotland was displeased with Athelstan, he believed he might make use of this opportunity to persuade him to espouse his cause. To that end, he passed over into Scotland and intimated to Constantine, that he had reason to fear the worst from the king of England; and represented to him that Athelstan, having by surprise seized upon Northumbria, without the least right, might proceed in the same manner with regard to Scotland, and therefore it was absolutely necessary to prevent him. To this he added the offer of a powerful aid from Ireland, assuring him, with that increase of strength he might easily drive Athelstan out of Northumbria, and free himself from a troublesome and dangerous neighbour, by restoring that kingdom to the Danes, who would serve as a barrier against England. Anlaff found no great difficulty to prevail with the king of Scotland, who, besides being secretly exasperated at the arrogant reception he had met with at the late

interview, was grown uneasy at Athelstan's success, and was apprehensive of being invaded himself; and he resolved, therefore, to embark in Anlaff's enterprise.

Athelstan, meanwhile, having strengthened his garrisons, and taken all the precautions he deemed necessary to secure his late conquests, had returned into Wessex, where he remained in peace, ignorant of what his enemies were plotting against him. He was very soon engaged in a war with Howel, king of Wales; who had been incited to hostilities by Constantine, to keep him employed against the Welsh, whilst he and Anlaff should invade Northumbria. But Athelstan, by his expedition, defeated all the measures of the king of Scotland; and directly he was informed of the motions of the Welsh, and the aid sent them by Constantine, he marched into Wales, and giving Howel battle, obtained a complete victory. And in consequence of his victory, he augmented the tribute paid by that prince to England.

This war being thus happily concluded, Athelstan approached the borders of Scotland, to revenge himself on Constantine for assisting the Welsh. As soon as he passed over the borders he took some towns, and gave the Scots reason to dread more considerable losses. As Anlaff had not yet arrived with the promised supplies, Constantine durst not venture to engage alone in a war against a powerful enemy, who had already advanced so far in his dominions, and was in a condition to carry his conquests so much further. To gain time, therefore, until the Irish joined him, he sued for peace; and Athelstan readily granted his request, being extremely desirous to make that prince his friend, for fear he should countenance the insurrections of the Northumbrians. For this reason he restored to him all the places he had conquered in Scotland, in hopes of cementing, by this liberality, an alliance it was then so much his interest to cultivate. Some historians however affirm, Athelstan obliged Constantine to do him homage for Scotland; but the Scots peremptorily deny this, nor is there any good authority for the assertion.

Athelstan's generosity was not sufficient to prevent Constantine from pursuing the execution of his first projects. He rather hastened his preparations the more, being indignant that he was compelled to receive obligations from one whom he always considered as a most bitter enemy. Athelstan, meanwhile, had returned into Wessex, in the full hope of enjoying the repose which he expected his successes would have secured him. But he met with domestic calamities which gave him more anxiety than all the wars he had been engaged in.

A certain courtier, who was the enemy of Edwin, the king's brother, accused that young prince of being concerned in Alfred's conspiracy. Athelstan too readily gave ear to this accusation; and was easily induced to believe that a prince in whose favour the conspiracy was formed was not innocent. It is not improbable that he was glad to find him guilty, as it gave him an opportunity to get rid of one whose position made him dangerous. He would not put him to death publicly, but ordered him to be exposed to the fury of the waves in a vessel without sails or rudder. The young prince went on board protesting his innocence; but finding the king inexorable, he cast himself headlong into the sea. The moment Athelstan had gratified his passion, he was seized with remorse; and to quiet his conscience, founded the abbey of Middleton, in

Dorsetshire, where prayers were offered to Heaven day and night, for him and his brother's soul. The Saxon historians add, that, not content with this, he submitted to a seven years' penance, but do not inform us of what it consisted. Edwin's accuser had not reason long to rejoice at the success of his malicious calumnies; for one day as he waited at table with the king's cup, one of his feet slipping, he would have fallen, had he not by the nimbleness of the other recovered himself. Whereupon he jokingly said, "See how one brother helps another;" which senseless jest cost him his life; as Athelstan, who overheard it, and considered it as a covert reproach, ordered him to be immediately executed; and thus, says the old chronicler, revenged his brother's death by that of his false accuser.

Whilst these things were passing at court, Constantine continued his preparations for the execution of the project concerted between him and Anlaff. The latter, whom some groundlessly style king of Ireland, had contrived to engage in the league, the Irish, Welsh, and Northumbrian Danes, who ardently desired to have a king of their own nation on the throne. Anlaff appeared as head of this league, though Constantine was no less concerned in it, the war being carried on chiefly at his expense. The project was managed so privately, that Anlaff entered the Humber with a fleet of six hundred sail, and invaded Northumbria before Athelstan had any intelligence of his motions; and with such forces, and the assistance of the Danes settled there, he easily became master of several small ill-guarded towns; but the fortified places that were well garrisoned by the English stopped his progress, and gave Athelstan time to draw his army together; who used such expedition, that he surprised the two confederate princes upon their march towards Bernicia. It had been agreed that this small kingdom, if conquered, should be apportioned to the king of Scotland; but the prompt measures of Athelstan by surprising the invaders, totally defeated their plans. The two armies met at Brunanburgh,\* where a bloody battle was fought; in which victory finally declared for Athelstan; and the allies lost Constantine, king of Scotland, six other Irish or Welsh kings, and twelve earls and general officers. This victory was chiefly owing to the valour of Turketul, the king's cousin, who was afterwards abbot of Croylard.

Athelstan, after gaining this battle, easily extended his conquests further into Scotland, and chastised the Welsh by raising their tribute to twenty pounds weight of gold, three hundred of silver, and twenty-five thousand head of cattle; besides which, they were driven beyond the Wye, and lost all the country between that river and the Severn. As for the Northumbrian Danes, who had openly sided with the allies, Athelstan for a punishment increased their yoke, and kept for the future a stricter hand over them. After he had settled the affairs of the north, he marched against the Cornish Britons, who had likewise assisted the confederates;

\* Supposed to be Bromford, near Bromridge, in Northumberland; though some think it was somewhere nearer the Humber. In the description of this battle, the historians and poets of that age are exceedingly full of bombast; and the Saxon annalist, who is usually wont to be sober and succinct, launches out strangely. Axminster, in the borders of Devonshire, is famous for the tombs of the Saxon princes slain in this battle of Brunanburgh; they being conveyed thither after the victory. Athelstan subsequently took Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scots, and recovered Northumberland from the Danes.



and took Exeter, formerly destroyed by the Danes, and caused it to be carefully repaired and fortified. From that time the Britons were compelled to retreat beyond the Tamar, which served for a boundary to the two nations. They had previously been intermingled with the English in some of the western counties.

We shall conclude the reign of Athelstan with an incident which the best historians have thought worthy their notice, although it sounds like one of those romantic fictions with which rude historians deck their narrations. A few days before the battle of Brunanburgh, Anlaf wanting to know the posture of the enemy, went into the English camp disguised like a harper, as Alfred the Great was said formerly to have done; but notwithstanding his disguise, he was detected by a soldier, who suffered him to go away undiscovered. As soon as the soldier thought him safe, he told Athelstan what had happened, and advised him to remove his tent, judging Anlaf had some design upon that quarter; and excused himself for not having discovered this secret sooner, by saying he had formerly given his military oath to Anlaf, and therefore could not resolve to betray him. Athelstan generously forgave him, and followed his advice, which he soon found to be of great consequence; as the next night, the Danish prince, with a body of chosen troops, attacked the English camp, and penetrated to the very place where he had seen the king's tent; and a bishop who had arrived in the camp that night, and had accidentally pitched his tent in the same place, was slain with all his followers.

Athelstan out-lived the victory of Brunanburgh but three years; dying a natural death in 941, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign. Historians have dilated on the glory of his arms, but much more on the miracles Heaven wrought in his favour. His abilities caused him to be feared by his neighbours, beloved by his subjects, and respected by the greatest kings in Europe. The Emperor Otho, and Hugh the Great, his brothers-in-law, gave him frequent demonstrations of their esteem, by making him considerable presents; and the noble matches he made for those of his sisters who preferred the marriage-state to a cloister, are clear evidences of his great reputation in the world. His sister Ogina, widow of Charles the Simple, king of France, being obliged to fly for refuge into England with her son Lewis, who from thence had the surname of Outremer, he gave them an honourable reception, and furnished them with all things necessary during their exile; and it is affirmed, his application and countenance did not a little contribute to the restoring the king, his nephew, to the throne of his ancestors. Though he seemed to be entirely engrossed by military affairs, he found time to cause justice and civil government to flourish in his dominions; which is proved by the excellent laws he from time to time added to those of Alfred, his grandfather. From those of his laws which are still extant, it appears that his intent was to create an equality in civil and religious immunities, as he was exceedingly opposed to those privileges the clergy had so much increased, and which he found served only to authorize wickedness, and prove a sanctuary to criminals.

Amongst all the monuments of his piety, which for the most part consisted only in building and endowing monasteries, according to the custom of those days, the translation of the Scriptures into Saxon, the then vulgar tongue, is one, the useful-

ness of which appears to be least dubious. He took great pains to have it well done, employing those that were deemed the most learned persons in the kingdom. Hence it is evident how much the state of learning had been improved by the wise regulations of the Great Alfred, since in his time it would have been impossible to find any Englishman capable of undertaking a work of that nature.

The famous Dunstan, so often mentioned hereafter, was born in the first year of this reign.

Athelstan having no issue, Edmund, the eldest of the legitimate sons of Edward the Elder, was unanimously placed on the throne.

#### EDMUND I.

Athelstan left England in profound tranquillity. The Welsh paid their tribute regularly; and Anlaf, after his defeat, had retired into Ireland, where he seemed to lay aside all thoughts of any further projects; and the Danes remained in subjection. But as soon as Athelstan was laid in his grave, these last prepared for a revolt; Edmund's youth inducing them to hope they should at length be able to accomplish their long-projected design of having a king of their own nation, who would free them from the English yoke. Anlaf having intelligence of their wishes, resolved to make use of this juncture to recover the crown of Northumbria, but as he was sensible this undertaking could not be executed without a foreign aid, he found means to persuade Olaus, king of Norway, to espouse his cause, who promised to assist him to the utmost of his power. With the troops lent him by this prince, he once more entered Northumbria, and appearing before York, the gates were opened to him, by means of the understanding between him and the principal inhabitants. The example of the metropolis was followed by most of the other towns, whose garrisons were either expelled, or cut in pieces by the citizens, who were generally of Danish race. And Anlaf, not content with being master of Northumbria, marched into Mercia, where his countrymen received him with open arms, and assisted him in recovering several places which Edward the Elder had formerly taken from them.

Though Edmund was not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, the progress of the enemy was so far from daunting him, that it rather made him more eager to decide by a battle to whom a country, so often and so long contended for, should belong; and as soon as he had drawn all his forces together, he resolutely marched towards the north, though he well knew the superiority of his enemy. On the other hand, Anlaf hearing Edmund was advancing with long marches to give him battle, went to meet him with the same confidence; and the two armies meeting near Chester, came to an engagement, wherein victory held the balance so even, that when night came, neither could boast of the least advantage. Both sides prepared to renew the fight as soon as day should appear; but the archbishops of Canterbury and York, who were in the two armies, laboured so earnestly to make peace, that a treaty was begun that very evening, and concluded by break of day. This peace was the more easily made, as neither of the parties could insist upon any advantage gained in that day's action, since neither of them could know either their own or his adversary's loss. By this treaty, Edmund was obliged to deliver up to the Danes all the country

lying north of the Roman highway, called Watling-street, which divided England into almost two equal parts, running from North Wales to the most southern parts of Kent, quite to the sea. Accordingly, Anlaf was put in possession of the kingdom of Northumbria, whose bounds by this treaty were enlarged with several counties which his father Sithric had never enjoyed.

The Northumbrian Danes had not reason long to rejoice at the restoration of Anlaf, which they had so ardently desired; for this prince having contracted a large debt with the king of Norway for the troops he had lent him, was anxious to pay it; and to this end he laid heavy taxes on the people, by which he forfeited their affection. The inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Deira were the first that revolted, and having sent for Reginald, his brother Godfrid's son, crowned him king at York.

Reginald was no sooner on the throne, than he made preparations for the war against his uncle, who was also preparing to dispossess him. The quarrel between these two kings incited Edmund to march towards the north at the head of an army, as well to improve the present opportunity, if there was any appearance of success, as to appease the troubles there, being apprehensive they might give occasion to the foreign Danes to return into England. He arrived upon the borders of Northumbria, when the uncle and nephew, wholly intent upon their private quarrel, thought of nothing less than repulsing the English. He probably might with ease have made himself master of that kingdom; but he was satisfied with procuring peace between the two kings, in such a manner that Reginald was to keep the crown he had lately received; but at the same time, Edmund obliged them both to swear allegiance to him, and be baptized, himself standing godfather.

This forced peace did not last long, and Edmund had hardly returned into Wessex, when the two Danish princes took up arms to free themselves from his yoke, having engaged the Mercian Danes and the king of Cumberland to espouse their quarrel. Whereupon Edmund immediately marched into Mercia, and before the Danes there could be joined by the Northumbrians, took from them Leicester, Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, and some other places of less note; and then advancing with the same expedition towards Northumbria, he surprised the two kings before they had drawn their forces together. This sudden attack threw the Northumbrians into such disorder, that the two kings fearing to fall into the hands of Edmund, believed it their only refuge to abandon the island, where they could not possibly remain in safety, so closely were they pursued; and their flight depriving the Danes of all hopes of withstanding Edmund, they threw down their arms, and gave him allegiance.

Before he returned to Wessex, Edmund resolved to punish the king of Cumberland, who, without cause, had taken part with the Danes; and he easily subdued that petty kingdom, whose forces bore no proportion to his own, and presented it to the king of Scotland, in order to attach him to his interest, and prevent him from again assisting the Northumbrians; reserving, however, the sovereignty of it, and obliging that king to do him homage, and appear at the court of England at the time of the solemn festivals, if summoned. This, perhaps, is what gave occasion to the assertion, subsequently made, that from thenceforward the kings of Scotland were vassals to the kings of England. They

were certainly so with regard to Cumberland; but it does not appear that they ever did homage for the kingdom of Scotland.

Edmund was not wholly employed in military affairs; and there are some of his laws still in being which demonstrate how desirous he was of the people's welfare and happiness. Having observed pecuniary punishments were not sufficient to put a stop to robberies, which were generally committed by people who had nothing to lose, he ordered, that in gangs of robbers, the oldest of them should be condemned to be hung; which was the first law in England that made it death to rob or steal.

Probably this prince would have rendered his people happy, had his reign been longer; but a fatal accident robbed him of his life. One day, as he was solemnizing a festival at Pucklekirk, in Gloucestershire, Leolf, a notorious robber, though banished the kingdom for his crimes, had the effrontery to enter and seat himself at one of the tables in the hall where the king was at dinner. Edred, the king's brother, enraged at his insolence, commanded him to be apprehended; but perceiving he was drawing his dagger to defend himself, the king himself leaped up in great fury, and catching hold of him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall; and whilst he was wholly intent upon venting his furious passion, Leolf stabbed him in the breast with his dagger, so that he immediately expired upon the body of his murderer. Thus died King Edmund in 948, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the eighth of his reign. By Elgiva, his wife, he had two sons, Edwy and Edgar, who did not succeed him, on account of their minority; Edred, his brother, being placed on the throne by the unanimous consent of the clergy and nobility.

During this reign Dunstan began to distinguish himself; being in great favour with Edmund, who made him abbot of Glastonbury.

About this time William Long-Sword, second duke of Normandy, was assassinated by Arnold, earl of Flanders, in a little island of the Somme, opposite Pequigni. Richard I., his son, a minor, succeeded him. As the affairs of Normandy will hereafter be often intermingled with those of England, it will be necessary occasionally to give an account of the succession of the dukes.

#### EDRED.

Edred being very young when he ascended the throne, the Danes in Northumbria, ever ready to rise, made vigorous efforts to throw off their allegiance, but after a variety of contests they were subdued; and Northumbria was reduced to a province, and Earl Osulph, an Englishman, made governor. From thenceforward Northumbria, kept in awe by strong garrisons and the English earls or governors, gave England no further disturbance, till the foreign Danes again became possessed of it.

After the Northumbrians were thus quelled, Edred lived in profound peace. Absolute in England, and dreaded by the kings of Scotland and Wales, his neighbours, he governed his dominions in perfect tranquillity; and this unprecedented calm was the occasion of his turning his thoughts entirely to religious affairs, being guided by the advice of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, who had great influence over him; and so bigoted was he, that not content with being advised by him in all things, and making him treasurer, he submitted



even to receive chastisement from his hands. To gratify this favourite, he undertook the rebuilding of Glastonbury church and monastery, in a very sumptuous and magnificent manner; and he laid out immense sums upon this work, but had not, however, the satisfaction to see it finished.

The monks made use also of Dunstan, their protector's interest, to get into the ecclesiastical benefices, which they could not have done without his influence. Though Dunstan's proceedings in this affair raised the clamours of the secular clergy, he gave himself little anxiety about them so long as he was fortified by the favour of the crown; but his arrogant manner procured him many enemies, who in the following reign made him feel the effects of their hatred, which they were compelled to conceal during Edred's life. If Dunstan favoured the monks, they were no less zealous upon all occasions to promote his fame; they everywhere proclaiming that he was a great saint, that Heaven daily wrought miracles in his favour, and that he was frequently honoured with divine revelations; according to their account, neither the saints of the first rank, nor the apostles themselves, being partakers of so many graces as he.

Those historians who have made it their business to extol the merits and sanctity of Dunstan, tell us, that Edred's death was revealed to him by a voice from heaven, as he was coming to see him; to which they add, his horse fell down dead under him at the prodigious loudness of the voice.\*

Edred reigned but ten years; and was buried in the old minster at Winchester. Elfrid and Bedfrid, his two sons, whom he left very young, did not succeed him; but his nephew, Edwy, son of Edmund, his eldest brother, was placed on the throne after him. This election seems equally to favour those who are of opinion, that in the Saxon times the succession to the crown depended entirely on the suffrages of the clergy and nobility, and those who maintain it belonged of right to the next heir; for on one hand, we find Edred's sons deprived by the great men of the king, their father's inheritance, and at the same time, the crown given to the son of the elder brother, in prejudice of those of the younger.

We find in one of Edred's charters, that he took the title of Monarch of Albion; and in another, that he styled himself King of Great Britain,† in which he was followed by Edgar, his nephew. If these charters were not forged, it may be inferred from thence, that Edred subdued Scotland; but this is no proper place to examine this matter, which has caused such warm disputes between the English and Scots; and whatever the fact may be, the title Edred and Edgar affected to use, was neglected by their successors, till the time of James I., about the end of the sixteenth century.

#### EDWY.

Edwy, who was so exceedingly fair that he obtained the surname of *Pancalus*, or the *Fair*, came to the crown at fourteen years of age, with very different notions of Dunstan from those of his predecessor. Whether he was prepossessed by the enemies of that minister, or had some particular

cause of complaint against him, is not known; but he was no sooner on the throne, than he demanded from him an account of the sums the late king had entrusted him with; to which Dunstan replied, the money that had passed through his hands having been laid out in pious uses, he was not accountable for an administration solely relating to religion; and as he urged the building of Glastonbury, which the late king had so much at heart, Edwy's council thought it not proper to push the affair any further, lest the people should espouse the abbot's cause. The founding and repairing of monasteries being in that age such sacred matters, that there was no speaking against them without being branded with the name of impious and profane. The king's council, therefore, finding they could not attack Dunstan on that head, without running some risk, took another course, which was to reverse whatever had been done in favour of the monks; who accordingly were turned out of their benefices, and the secular priests reinstated.

The persecutions of the most cruel tyrants against the church never extorted from the primitive Christians such bitter invectives as this pretended persecution did from the monks. As they represent the matter, religion was never in so great danger; and the most pernicious heresies were nothing in comparison of what was then perpetrated. The monks of Malmesbury made the greatest clamour, and for that reason were turned out of their monastery, which was given to the secular priests. William o. Malmesbury, upon this occasion, says, that after it had been inhabited by monks two hundred and seventy years, it was made a stable of clerks. Whether Dunstan incited the monks to make these complaints, or the charging him with it was made a pretence to punish him, he was banished the kingdom. Some say he voluntarily went into exile, without any previous condemnation; but whatever was the cause, he certainly retired to a monastery in Flanders, where he lived in expectation of being recalled by some favourable turn of affairs.

Dunstan's enemies and the king were highly delighted with being freed from such a man; but the latter soon found, by fatal experience, there is no giving offence to ecclesiastics with impunity, and least of all to saints. The monks, enraged to the last degree for the loss of their benefices, opposed to the utmost of their power the administration of the young monarch, whom they looked upon as the principal author of their disgrace. By the calumnies which they everywhere spread, they at length persuaded their votaries he was the most impious of men; and consequently, great numbers of malcontents appeared in Mercia, of whom Edgar, the king's brother, was the declared leader and protector. Having secured Mercia, he went into Northumbria and East-Anglia, where he found the Danes ready to join him; and reduced Edwy to such extremities, that so far from endeavouring to recover what was thus suddenly lost, he was obliged to resign it all, and confine himself entirely to the kingdom of Wessex, which still continued faithful to him. Edgar was immediately elected king of Mercia, by which was meant all the country lying north of the Thames, except the ancient kingdom of Essex; and to exalt the authority of the new king, it was given out, that whilst the great men were deliberating on the choice of a king, a voice was heard from heaven, commanding them to elect Edgar. This base device of the monks was readily received by the credulous and ignorant people

\* Some think this was a contrivance of Dunstan's, to keep the treasure Edred had committed to his trust.

† *Historians* say, that by Great Britain is meant, that part of Britain lying on the south of Adrian's wall, which the Britons inhabited.

whose superstition was encouraged to the extreme by the ambitious and wily ecclesiastics.

EDWY in Essex. EDGAR in Mercia.

This partition of England did not continue long; Edwy falling into an excess of melancholy, which brought him to his grave, after he had reigned four years and some months.

If we believe the monkish writers, he was a very wicked prince. Indeed, how was it possible for a king that did not please them to be recorded as otherwise? However, when we examine all they say to blacken his reputation, we find but one thing which can have any foundation, and which, after all, has very much the air of a fiction, or, at least, is greatly exaggerated. They say, he kept the wife of one of his courtiers for his mistress, and on the very day of the coronation, whilst the chief men were debating the affairs of the kingdom, he abruptly withdrew to the apartment of this woman, from which he was brought back by Dunstan, who alone had the boldness to reprimand him for this infamous action. From that time, if we may believe them, the king and his mistress were so incensed against this holy man, that they would have proceeded to the taking away his life, had he not prevented their wicked design by voluntary exile. But to give a still more convincing proof of the dissoluteness of Edwy, and the holiness of Dunstan, they have invented a story which plainly shows what rancour they possessed. They say, after Edwy's death, his soul being dragged into hell by a legion of devils, one of them was dispatched with the good news to Dunstan; who, far from rejoicing at it, prayed so intensely for the soul that was going to be eternally miserable, that God, moved by his zeal, snatched it from the devils, and translated it into paradise. This last instance of the animosity of the monks against Edwy, renders their charge of adultery very suspicious, especially if we consider he was not above fourteen years of age when he ascended the throne.

Some of the old historians assert that Elgiva was within the canonical limits of kinship permitted by the church; and also assert that Odo, the archbishop, seconding Dunstan, in his illimitable and extraordinary domination over the king, placed Edwy under the lesser excommunication, and braided Elgiva on the forehead, in order to destroy her beauty, and banished her to Ireland. And that on her returning, and the mutual attachment between her and the young king continuing as ardent as ever, he had her ham-strunged, of which outrage she died at Gloucester. These atrocities betray the coarseness of the times, and the power which the ecclesiastics had acquired; but there have not been wanting modern historians who have endeavoured to dignify this arrogant abuse of the temporal power of the priests as the high-mindedness of ministers of heaven, who disregarding earthly grandeur and power, dared to rebuke and chastise vice even on a throne; but the generality of persons will be more inclined to feel disgusted at the tyrannical exercise of a usurped dominion by a set of abandoned hypocrites, totally at variance with the precepts and examples of the Master in whose name they impiously committed crimes, and indulged in vices which he most expressly forbade and deprecated.

EDGAR THE PEACEABLE.

Edwy dying without issue, his brother Edgar succeeded him, and united the two kingdoms, which

had been for a short time divided; and though he was not above sixteen years of age, his genius and solid judgment rendered him more capable of governing than many others of a more advanced age.

One of the first acts of the young monarch, was to recall Dunstan from banishment, and promote him to the see of Worcester, then vacant. The suddenness with which this prelate was recalled, gives reason to suspect he was, though absent, concerned in the insurrection that placed Edgar on the throne of Mercia; and his great interest at court during the whole of this king's reign, strengthens the suspicion.

The reign of Edgar is chiefly remarkable for the long-continued tranquillity the kingdom enjoyed; from which he was surnamed the Peaceable. This unusual term of peace is attributable neither to his victories nor slothfulness, but to his extraordinary preparations for defence, in case he should ever be attacked. He always had a large standing army in the northern provinces, as a terror to the kings of Scotland and Wales, as well as to keep in awe his own subjects, particularly the Danes; and he is said to have fitted out four thousand ships, great and small; or according to some authors, four thousand eight hundred. It is probable this number has been considerably exaggerated, but it at all events proves the number of his ships was extraordinary. This numerous fleet, being distributed in all the ports of the kingdom, and cruising incessantly round the island, made the Danes cautious in making descents, and suffered no ship to come upon the coast unexamined. These precautions produced the effect intended by Edgar; for by the mere fear created by his armaments, without even drawing his sword, he obliged the kings of Wales, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, to swear allegiance to him, and acknowledge him for sovereign. The cotemporary historians, in order to heighten the idea of his superiority over the adjacent kings, tell us, that keeping his court at Chester, and going by water to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, he was rowed down the Dee in a barge by eight kings, himself sitting at the helm. But our ideas of this magnificence are very much altered, when it is discovered that these kings were most of them nothing more than petty chiefs, who exercised an uncontrolled dominion on their estates, and who claimed that lofty appellation with about as much propriety as any German baron of the present day might. These mighty crowned heads were the king of Cumberland, the lord of the Isles, and six Welsh kings. Sure kingship must have been as much below par in those days as in more modern.

Edgar, to free the country from the multitude of wolves, which came down in droves from the mountains in Wales, converted the tribute of gold, silver and cattle, paid him yearly by the Welsh, into three hundred wolves' heads, and proclaimed a general pardon for all past offences, on condition each criminal brought him by such a time a certain number of wolves' tongues, in proportion to his crimes. Upon the publishing of this act of grace, the wolves were hunted and destroyed in such a manner, that in three years there was not one left in the kingdom.

Edgar was indefatigable in his endeavours to procure a proper administration of justice, and personally, by progresses and investigation, promoted this desirable and rare advantage. Fines, the common punishment for all crimes at this period, were exacted for ignorantly illegal judgments, and perpetual degradation for wilful corruption. By these



means he purified the sources of justice, which had been greatly corrupted by the turbulence and barbarism of the times.

If Edgar was a lover of peace, it was not for want of courage; a weakness never laid to his charge. There is, indeed, a story extant of him, which, though it has the air of a fiction, proves at least he had a character for the reverse. It is said, that being informed Keneth III., king of Scotland, had jested on the smallness of his stature, he sent for him to court, and walking with him in a certain place where he had ordered two swords to be deposited, he bade him take his choice, telling him, at the same time, he should see, if he pleased, what a little man could do; and Keneth, as the story goes, was so far from accepting the challenge, that he threw himself at his feet, and solicited his pardon. This relation appears, from every reason, to be very improbable. In the first place, it is generally referred to the beginning of Edgar's reign; whereas Keneth III. did not come to the crown of Scotland till five or six years before Edgar's death. In the second place, the character the Scotch historians give Keneth does not at all accord with the conduct attributed to him; and lastly, this adventure seems to have been confounded with one of the same nature, between a king of Scotland and one of the lords of his court, related by Buchanan.

Edgar's good qualities, and the tranquillity England enjoyed during his reign, leave no doubt that he was a wise and excellent king. But his bigotry to the monks, which at the time was extolled as the most sublime virtue, is the principal cause of the commendations given him by historians, and of his being honoured with the title of saint after his death. He is said to have founded forty monasteries, and repaired and beautified many more, particularly that of Glastonbury, built by his uncle Edred. He was extravagantly liberal to the monks; and Ingulphus, in his history of the abbey of Croyland, says, that in his reign, the treasure of that monastery amounted to ten thousand pounds, besides holy vessels, shrines, relics, &c. This was an immense sum, considering that house had been rebuilt but thirty years; and from its wealth, an idea may be gathered of the immense riches of the monasteries in those times.

Edgar, not content with being thus liberal to the monks, undertook to put them in possession again of the ecclesiastical benefices; no doubt at the instigation of Dunstan, whom he had made archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate was so much in his favour, that Edred's affection to him was trifling in comparison of Edgar's. As he holds a very prominent place in the history of this and the following reign, and was esteemed as a saint of the highest kind, it will not be irrelevant to give the following particulars of him.

He was the son of Herstan, and nephew of Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, and was born at Glastonbury in 925. He spent his youth with his uncle, the archbishop, who took care to have him instructed in all the sciences, as far as that age of ignorance would permit. He is said to have excelled particularly in music and painting, in which he took great delight all his life. By painting, we must understand that kind which was used in illuminating missals. As soon as he had finished his studies, the archbishop recommended him to King Athelstan, who sent for him to court, but, however, gave him no preferment. The author of his life pretends, the courtiers envying his virtue and learning, malici-

ously represented him to the king as a dissolute and scandalous liver: which the king believing, forbade him the court, without examining the truth. Some time after, the archbishop finding means to undeceive the king, Dunstan was restored to favour, and presented with, some lands near Glastonbury; where he spent several years in retirement with certain devout men, whom he had drawn together, living with them a sort of monastic life. Glaston, or Glassenbury, was anciently a small church, founded, according to the vulgar opinion, by Joseph of Arimathea. This church having been destroyed, Devy, bishop of St. David's, built another in the same place; which being also gone to ruin, was repaired by twelve devout persons, who coming from Armorica, settled in this place. Ina, king of Wessex, having pulled it down to the ground, raised a stately church, and dedicated it to Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul; and several persons famous for their piety, most of them Irish, retired thither, where they were maintained by Edgar's bounty. From that time there were always devout persons, who made choice of this place for their retreat.

After Dunstan had been some time at Glastonbury, Edmund, successor of Athelstan, having conceived an esteem for him, built there a monastery, and made him abbot; and as Dunstan was a person of great address and ability, he maintained a great authority over this prince, and was very much in favour all his reign; and his interest at court even increased under Edred, to whom he was prime-minister and confessor. Dunstan's extreme fondness for a monastic life made him use, without any caution, all his interest to restore the monks to the benefices, and eject the secular priests, whom he both despised and hated. This attachment to that class, added to his arrogance, procured him abundance of enemies, and drew upon him the displeasure of Edwy, successor of Edmund, as we have already seen. But the haste Edgar displayed to recall him from Flanders, is a clear evidence he was indebted to him for the crown of Mercia. Upon his return to England, Edgar promoted him, as already stated, to the see of Worcester; and some time after, the bishopric of London being vacant, he was entrusted with the management of it; which has led some writers into the mistake of imagining he was bishop of Worcester and London at the same time.

Edgar never ceased to give him fresh marks of his esteem, and his regard for him was strengthened by the miracles attributed to him. After the death of Athelm, who held the see of Canterbury, Odo, by birth a Dane, was made archbishop, but did not long survive his installation; and to him succeeded Elfin, who died, as he was going to Rome for his pall, in the beginning of Edgar's reign. Brithelm, bishop of Bath, was elected to the vacant see; but Edgar being desirous of making Dunstan archbishop, called a general council, where he represented Brithelm as unqualified for so great a station; whereupon he was ordered to return to his old diocese, and Dunstan was chosen in his room. This election not being perfectly canonical, it was deemed necessary Dunstan should go to Rome, on pretence of receiving his pall, where he might at the same time justify these proceedings. The pope, who was perfectly aware how extensive the influence of Dunstan was at the court of England, and who was gratified by the zeal with which he had espoused the interest of the church of Rome and of the monks, readily confirmed his election, constituting him

in addition his legate for England, with a very extensive authority. At his return, Oswald, his relation, was through his means made bishop of Worcester, and Ethelwald, his intimate friend, bishop of Winchester; and these three prelates entirely governed the church during this reign, Edgar committing to them the management of all ecclesiastical affairs.

As soon as Dunstan found his credit firmly established, he returned to his grand project in favour of the monks, which he had been compelled to lay aside during the reign of Edwy. This affair was not without its difficulties, as the great men of the nation considered it as a wrong to them, that the guidance of the churches should be wrested out of the hands of the ancient and lawful governors. They were still less pleased with its being committed to the monks, who by the rules of their order, and according to the custom hitherto observed, were excluded from the pastoral functions, in order to employ themselves wholly in prayer within the walls of their monasteries. They were also of opinion, that instead of encouraging and enriching the monks, it would be much more politic to restrain the people's zeal, who were perpetually bequeathing to them considerable estates, which were passed away in mortmain, to the great prejudice of the nation. It was easy therefore to foresee that this project would meet with great opposition from the nobles. But on the other hand, the people, who did not reflect so deeply as to consequences, were entirely in the interest of the monks, and extremely offended at the scandalous lives of the secular clergy, who applied the revenues of the church to uses directly contrary to the intent of the donors. It must be confessed, the secular clergy at that time were very depraved in their morals, and that pride, avarice, gluttony, drunkenness, and luxury, reigned openly among them. Dunstan and his party of course exaggerated these irregularities, in order to irritate the people against their pastors; and succeeded so well in their design, that multitudes espoused the cause of the monks, merely from detestation of the vices of the opposite party. But the great support of the monks, was the king's power, and his inclination towards them; and his good opinion of them was always increased on comparing them with the seculars, who indeed observed no measures in their excesses; he therefore thought he was sincerely benefitting the church by putting it under the government of the monks, whom he considered as a body of saints; and being thus inclined, Dunstan found no difficulty to persuade him to countenance a reformation he represented as advantageous to the church.

Dunstan caused a council to be assembled, in which Edgar assisted in person, and made a speech, which plainly showed how greatly he was prejudiced in their favour. As this harangue gives a lively picture of the vices and corruption of the monks, and consequently, some slight glimpse of the manners of the time, it is inserted; although the translation gives too modern a tone to it, and subsequent historians have no doubt added to and altered it; but it is sufficiently true in its main details to be interesting.

"Almighty God having vouchsafed of his infinite mercy to show his goodness to us in a remarkable manner, it is most reasonable, reverend fathers, we should exert our endeavours to make a suitable return. That we are in possession of this plentiful

country is not owing to any strength of our own but to the help of his all-powerful arm, who has been pleased to manifest his loving-kindness towards us. It is but just, therefore, we should bring ourselves, our souls, and bodies, in subjection to him who has subdued all things for us, and should take care that all that are under us should be obedient to his laws. It is my office, reverend fathers, to administer justice without respect of persons; suppress the rebellious; to punish the sacrilegious; to protect the poor and weak from the hand of the oppressor. It is my business also to take care that the church and her ministers, the holy fraternities of the religious, have all things necessary to their subsistence and well-being. But it is your duty to examine into the life and conversation of the clergy. To you it belongs to see that they live agreeably to their profession: that they are sober, temperate, chaste, hospitable to the poor and the stranger: that they are careful in the administration of their office, constant in their instructions to the people. In a word, that they are worthy of the glorious character of the ministers of Jesus Christ. With submission be it spoken, reverend fathers, had you taken due care of these things, I should not have had the dissatisfaction of hearing from all hands the enormous crimes daily committed by the clergy of this land. Insist not on the smallness of their tonsure, contrary to the canons of the church, nor their effeminacy in their habits, nor the arrogance in their gestures, nor on their immodest discourses, which plainly show all is not right within. I omit their negligence with regard to divine service: hardly will they vouchsafe their company at the public prayers, and when they come to church to celebrate the holy mysteries, one would think it was a mockery. But the chief subject of my complaint, I speak it with extreme regret, is what ministers occasion of grief to the good, and of joy to the profane, I mean the lewd and scandalous lives of the clergy. They spend their days in diversions, entertainments, drunkenness, and debauchery. Their houses may be said to be so many sinks of lewdness, public stages, and receptacles of libertines. There they have gaming, dancing, and obscene singing. There they pass the night in rioting and drunkenness. It is thus, reverend fathers, it is thus the bounty of my predecessors to the church, and their charities for the maintenance of the poor, and what is more, the adorable blood of our Saviour, are consumed. Was it for this that our ancestors exhausted their treasures? Was it for this they were so liberal of their estates? Was it to deck the concubines of their priests, to provide for them splendid entertainments, to furnish them with dogs and hawks, that our forefathers displayed their munificence to the church? these are the crimes which the people complain of in private, and the soldiers in public; which are sung in the streets, and acted undisguisedly; and yet they are forgiven, they are overlooked, they are connived at by you! Where is now the sword of Levi, and the zeal of Simeon? Where is the wrath of Moses against the worshippers of the golden calf? Where is the indignation of St. Peter against Simon the magician? Imitate, reverend fathers, imitate the zeal of these holy persons, and follow the way of righteousness, shown you by the Lord. It is high time for you to draw the sword of St. Peter, whilst I make use of the great Constantine's. Let us join our forces to expel the lepers out of the temple, to cleanse the



sanctuary, and to cause the Lord to be served by the true sons of Levi, 'who said to his father, and to his mother, I know you not; and to his brethren, I know not who you are?' Let the disrespect to the relics of the saints, and the daily profaning of the holy altars, rouse you up. Be moved at the great abuse of the piety of our forefathers. One of my ancestors, you all know, dedicated to the church the tithes of the kingdom: the glorious Alfred, my great-grandfather, laid out his revenues in religious uses. You are not ignorant of the great benefactions of my father and uncle, which it would be highly dishonourable so soon to forget, seeing the altars are still adorned with them. You, O Dunstan, father of fathers, raise your imagination a little I pray you, and fancy you behold my father looking down from heaven, and expostulating with you in this manner: 'It was you that advised me to the building of so many churches and monasteries, it was you I made choice of for my spiritual guide, and the inspector of my behaviour. Did not I always obey your voice? Did I not always prefer your advice before wealth? How frankly did I lay out my treasures, when you commanded? My charities were always ready when you called for them. Whatever was desired for the churches was immediately granted. If you complained that the monks were straitened in their circumstances, their wants were forthwith supplied. You used to tell me, such liberalities brought forth immortal fruit, and were highly meritorious, since they were expended in supporting the servants of God, and maintaining the poor. And is it not an intolerable shame they should be laid out in adorning and decking a pack of prostitutes? Are these the fruits of my benefactions? Are these the effects of your glorious promises?' These, O Dunstan, are the complaints of the king my father. What can you answer to this charge? I am convinced that you have hitherto been unblameable, when 'you saw a thief you consented not to him, neither have you been partaker with the adulterer.' No, you have endeavoured to correct these abuses. You have argued, exhorted, threatened. But since these means have proved in vain, it is time to apply more effectual remedies. You have here ready to assist you the reverend father Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and the venerable Oswald, bishop of Worcester. To you three I refer the management of this important affair. Exert the episcopal in conjunction with the regal authority, to expel from the church of God the disorderly clergy, and put in such as live regularly in their stead."

Shortly after, the secular priests were expelled from the monasteries, and the regulars put in their places. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, leading the way in this extensive reform, was quickly followed by Dunstan and Oswald, and all the other bishops, who being monks, without much solicitation, imitated these three prelates. The monkish historians represent those days as the golden age of the church, and as the happiest England ever knew.

Perhaps it will seem strange that the secular clergy should at this time be more bitterly inveighed against than in the following centuries, when the lives of the priests were no less scandalous; but to account for this, it must be remembered, the popes had for some time prohibited the clergy from marrying, and were very severe to all who refused to comply with their decrees. This prohibition, which at present is a fundamental article in the church of Rome, met at first with great

opposition, especially in England, which compelled the popes to exert every effort to bring the English priests to a compliance; in which Dunstan's interest, and his address in engaging Edgar in the project, were an extraordinary assistance. We must therefore retain in our minds this prohibition of the marriage of the clergy, in order to fully comprehend the occasion of the complaints of the monks and their favourers against the seculars, and to judge how far they are to be credited. Though it is but too true the priests at that time led very disorderly lives, yet that was not the thing that drew this storm upon them; their marriage was the great cause of offence, and was that which their enemies were desirous should be thought a more heinous crime than fornication, or any other actual sin which they could lay to their charge. Their wives were always called concubines, or by a more opprobrious name; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of the court of Rome, this pretended abuse could not be reformed till the end of the twelfth century, when the celibacy of the clergy was established after a struggle of three hundred years.

The monks were bound in gratitude to make a suitable return for the service Edgar had done them; and accordingly, their historians have endeavoured by their excessive commendations to make him pass for a real saint. But whether for want of attention, or some other reason, they have related some particulars of his life, which certainly do not tend to sustain that idea of him. If, indeed, his political actions are only considered, it must be confessed he was a great prince; but a great king and a great saint are two very different characters. For instance, it would be very difficult to justify, by the Gospel, a massacre perpetrated by his order in the Isle of Thanet, upon a very slight occasion, as historians allow; and what might not these said historians have said of his vicious inclination to women, who published to the world that the soul of his brother Edwy was about to be dragged into hell for having had a single mistress.

It is in fact very palpable that if Edgar had not purchased the good opinion of the monks by his excessive complaisance, they would have given him no better a character than his predecessor, who was much less faulty in his morals. To conclude the reign of Edgar, which was disturbed neither by foreign nor domestic wars, it remains only to give an account of his amours, which will prove that his good qualities were not without a great mixture of failings.

His first mistress was a nun, whom he took by force out of a convent, and could not be prevailed on to send back, even by the solicitations of Dunstan. He had a daughter by her named Editha, who was greatly celebrated for her sanctity. It is true, he atoned for his crime by not wearing his crown during the space of seven years. A severe penance indeed for a fault his confessor under other circumstances would have denounced as a sacrilege! By his second mistress, whom some however call his lawful wife, was Elfeda, surnamed the Fair, from her complexion; he had a son called Edward, who succeeded him. An extraordinary adventure is said to have gained him a third mistress. Travelling by Andover, he stopped at a chief's house, who had a very beautiful daughter; whom he commanded to be brought to his bed, without even asking her consent. The mother of the young lady, dreading by her denial

to draw down his displeasure upon herself and family, prevailed upon one of her waiting-women to substitute herself, which she did; and although the king subsequently discovered the imposition, he took the waiting-woman as his mistress. The coolness with which these atrocious exercises of a vicious and despotic power are narrated by contemporary chroniclers, is as great a proof of the brutality of the period as the crimes themselves.

Edgar's marriage was attended with some peculiar circumstances. Being informed that Olgar, earl of Devonshire, had a daughter of great beauty, he resolved to marry her, if she answered the description report gave of her. He communicated his design to Earl Ethelwold, a peculiar favourite, and ordered him to ascertain whether the lady's beauty was really as great as it was said to be. Ethelwold no sooner saw Elfrida, the earl of Devonshire's daughter, than he fell desperately in love with her, and demanded her for himself; and his request being complied with, he was married as privately as possible, informing his father-in-law that he had important reasons for not divulging his marriage. Returning to court, he informed the king there was nothing extraordinary in Elfrida; and suggested, that probably the fame of her beauty was owing more to her father's riches than anything else. This report had the effect Ethelwold expected; and perceiving the king was grown perfectly cool upon the matter, he represented to him, that though the fortune of the earl of Devonshire's daughter was nothing to a king, yet it would be the making of a subject; and therefore humbly desired his leave to make his addresses to her, as being the greatest heiress in the kingdom. Edgar granted his favourite's request, and Ethelwold returned to his wife, and publicly solemnized his wedding; but still fearing she should appear too beautiful in the king's eyes, he did not suffer her to approach the court.

Notwithstanding Ethelwold's caution, Edgar was at length informed of the truth; and suddenly told Ethelwold he wished to visit his lady, of whom he had formerly heard so much. The latter did all he could to divert the king from his purpose; but his artifices were in vain, and served only to confirm the king in his resolution; and the utmost favour he could obtain, was leave to go before, on pretence of preparing for the king's reception. When he arrived at home, he threw himself at his lady's feet, and confessing what he had done for the sake of possessing her, conjured her to use all her endeavours to conceal her charms from the amorous king. Elfrida promised him whatever he desired, but she was determined to break her word; and no sooner was he gone to meet the king, than she set off her natural beauty with all the art she was mistress of. The event answered her expectation; the moment Edgar cast his eyes on her, he fell desperately in love with her, and from that instant was resolved to possess her. He pretended to see nothing extraordinary in Elfrida's beauty; at which the husband was overjoyed; but he shortly after commanded Ethelwold to go into Northumbria, on pretence of some urgent affairs. The unfortunate earl was found dead in a wood, where it was pretended he had been murdered by robbers; but on the king's immediately marrying the widow, other conjectures were formed, which were fully warranted by Edgar's character, and the ferocious conduct of the age. The king, instead of making inquiry after the murderers, indulged his lust. Some historians say,

that Edgar slew Ethelwold with his own hand at a hunting match.

There was a great mixture of good and bad qualities in this prince; and the commendations given him are in many respects so grossly exaggerated, by the partiality of the monks, that it is extremely difficult to form a proper judgment of him. Judicious historians have taken him from among the saints, where his flatterers placed him, and have not scrupled to rank him in the number of the vilest princes; a notion of him which may be grounded on what is related of Canute the Great, who upon mention of the sanctity of Editha, Edgar's daughter, is reported to have said, "He could never believe it possible for the daughter of so wicked a father to be a saint;"—a speech which leaves great reason to suspect that the monkish historians have suppressed several of Edgar's worst actions.

Edgar died in 975, in the thirty-second year of his age, leaving two sons and a daughter, having reigned sixteen years from the death of his brother Edwy. Edward, his eldest son, was born of a mistress, or at least of a very doubtful marriage. Ethelred, his youngest, was the son of the beautiful Elfrida. Editha, his daughter by his first mistress, passed her days in a nunnery, and after her death was honoured with the title of saint.

Edgar had too well deserved of those who looked upon themselves as authorized to reward their votaries with a saintship, not to have a place in the calendar: but as there are no other proofs of his sanctity during his life but his affection to the monks, and his founding monasteries,\* it is pretended, he gave more substantial ones after his death; and it is pretended, that when his body was taken out of the coffin to be put into a stately shrine, it was as fresh as when he resigned his last breath. It was further affirmed, that the shrine being made too short, though he was of very small stature,† and somebody daring to sever his head from his body, the blood gushed out in great abundance. After such convincing proofs as these of the sanctity of this prince, his body was placed near the high altar of Glastonbury church, where it was afterwards said to work several miracles.

#### EDWARD II. THE MARTYR.

Upon Edgar's decease, those who had with impatience borne the great power of the monks, thought it a fair opportunity to reduce them to their primitive state; and Elfer, duke of Mercia, their sworn enemy, turned them out of all the benefices they possessed in that province, and replaced the seculars in their room. But the duke of East-Anglia, and several other great men, firmly adhered to Dunstan and his party; and this diversity of opinion, on account of the monks, caused a considerable dissension among the nobles, when they came to choose a successor to the deceased king. Edgar had left two sons, who had both their adherents, though their age would not permit either

\* It has been observed that his building so many monasteries (forty-eight, says Ingulphus) proved one great occasion of the Danes conquering England; for by so doing he exhausted the treasury, and gave great portions of lands for the maintenance of the monks, who refused his son Ethelred assistance in his necessity.

† Though Edgar as to his person was both low and slender, yet was he so well proportioned, that he is said to have contended often with such as were thought strongest in his court; and disliked nothing more than that they should spare him out of respect, or fear of hurting him.



of them to prosecute their respective titles to the crown. Many believed it had devolved to Ethelred, pretending there was a legal obstacle in Edward's birth, and that his mother was never lawfully married to Edgar. But Dunstan and all the bishops who were for Edward, pleaded his being named successor by Edgar in his last will and testament: to sustain which, they were incited by the powerful motive of governing the kingdom under this young prince, which they could not hope for if they placed his brother on the throne, because his mother Elfrida was not inclined to be guided by their counsels.

In the mean time, Ethelred's party being most numerous, Edward was in danger of being excluded if Dunstan, his supporter, had not hit upon the following daring resolution to support him. As he knew himself to have great influence with the people from their high idea of his sanctity, he, in the midst of the public debates as to which of the princes should succeed, suddenly rose up, and taking Prince Edward by the hand, led him towards the church, attended by the other bishops and a great crowd of people, and anointed the young prince king, without regarding the opposition of the contrary party. The nobles deplored their falling once more under the government of that imperious prelate; but as they saw the people ready to support him, they were compelled to submit.

Edward was but fourteen years old when he began to reign under the guardianship of Dunstan, who immediately took all the power into his hands; and as soon as he was fixed in the regency, exerted every possible means to maintain the monks in possession of the benefices they had acquired in the last reign, and made use of the king's authority to that end. But he met with greater opposition than he contemplated, for as the king was but a minor, the orders given in his name were not so readily complied with. Dunstan assembled several councils about this affair; but most probably all his endeavours would have proved ineffectual, if by means of several miracles, which were never wanting when requisite, he had not brought the people to believe that Heaven interposed in the affair.

In one of these councils held at Winchester, the majority being against the monks, they would have infallibly lost their cause, if, on a sudden, a crucifix that hung aloft in the room had not pronounced these words with an audible voice: "It shall not be done, it shall not be done: You have decided the matter well hitherto, and would be to blame to change." Astonished at this oracle, the most obstinate immediately voted for the monks.

At another assembly in the same place, Dunstan had used all his endeavours to have one Elphegus, a monk, chosen dean of that church; but the people were desirous that the dignity should be conferred on a secular priest; and the contest ran so high, that there was likely to have been a struggle, which might have been of dangerous consequence. But St. Andrew, the apostle, on a sudden revealing to St. Dunstan in the audience of all the people, that the monk ought to be elected, he was immediately installed. These and several other miracles, too many to be inserted, were not, however, sufficient to unite all men in favour of the monks; but one at last occurred that converted their most strenuous opponents.

Dunstan had called a council at Calne, in Wiltshire, to decree that the monks should keep possession of their benefices. It was one of those

mixed councils, where the king and all the nobility were to be present, as well as the bishops and abbots; and probably the affair would have been decided against the monks, considering the great number of their opponents in the assembly; but whilst they were warmly disputing on both sides, the floor of the room happened to break under the company, and crashed several to death. The beam on which Dunstan's chair was placed, was the only one that did not give way, so that he remained unhurt, whilst scarce a man besides himself in this numerous assembly escaped being either killed or bruised. This was sufficient to convince the people the monks were the favourites of Heaven, since their head and protector was so wonderfully preserved; but there were some malicious people, however, who insinuated that Dunstan prevented the king, contrary to custom, from being in the council that day. After this seasonable accident the monks were left unmolested; either the miraculous preservation of Dunstan had made an impression upon the minds of his enemies, or their most potent opposers perished in their fall.

Besides these ecclesiastical matters, we find nothing remarkable in the reign of Edward but his death in 979, four years after he ascended the throne. The story is thus related by the greatest part of historians. Edward, passing one day, as he was returning from hunting, near Corfe-castle, where his mother-in-law Elfrida resided with her son Ethelred, separated from his company in order to pay her a visit. Elfrida being told the king was at the gate, ran to receive him, and urged him very earnestly to alight, and come in to refresh himself; but as the king's design was only to pay his respects to his mother-in-law as he passed her castle, he only desired a cup of wine to drink her health. Whether Elfrida had already formed a design of destroying the king to make way for her son to the crown, or that favourable opportunity suggested the thought to her, the young king had no sooner lifted the cup to his mouth, but a ruffian stabbed him in the back with a dagger.\* Perceiving himself wounded, he set spurs to his horse, which soon carried him out of sight; but not being able to keep his saddle from the loss of blood, he fell off his horse, and his foot hanging in the stirrup, he was dragged some distance before his horse stopped, just by a poor blind woman's house that stood in the road; where the people sent after him by Elfrida, tracing him by his blood, found him dead, and his body miserably mangled. Elfrida imagining she could conceal this horrid deed, known only to her domestics, ordered the corpse to be thrown into a well; but it was found there a few days after, and carried to Warham,† whence it was removed to Shaftesbury, and laid in a monastery founded by King Alfred. It is pretended to have worked many miracles there; and that a blind man was restored to his sight, and a cripple to his limbs, by only touching the body. The poor woman also, in whose house his body lay one night, was said to be cured by his intercession; and the well into which he was thrown, endued with the virtue of healing several sorts of distempers. In fine, it is reported that Elfrida, curious to know herself the truth of these miracles, resolved to go to the place, but her horse, in spite of all her

\* Knighton says, that Elfrida herself stabbed him.

† In Dorsetshire. Part of his body was buried in Leot, or Leof's monastery, perhaps Leominster, near Hereford; and the other part at Abingdon.

endeavours, would not stir one step forward. Elfrida, anxious to atone for her crime, founded two nunneries, one at Ambresbury,\* and another at Whorwell, near Andover; in the last of which she secluded herself, in order to do penance the residue of her days. She is said to have frequently covered her body all over with little crosses to keep off the devil.

It does not appear upon what foundation Edward was canonized both as a saint and a martyr, unless it was pretended he was murdered out of revenge for his great affection to Dunstan and the monks; which would have been sufficient then to procure him these titles. We have certainly sufficient evidence that in those days all the favourers of the monks passed for so many saints, and their enemies for the objects of God's wrath. But however that may be, this young monarch is generally known by the name of Edward the Martyr.

*The State of the Church from Egbert to  
Edward the Martyr.*

The continual wars were no less fatal to the church than the state. They produced an extreme corruption of manners, and a profound ignorance all over the kingdom. The destruction of the churches and monasteries, the plundering what was designed for their subsistence, and the necessity of defending themselves against the Danes, and being wholly employed in the exercise of arms, turned multitudes from the study of religion.

Ethelwulph's reign is rendered important by the grant of the tithes. The charter runs thus:—

"I, Ethelwulph, by the grace of God, king of the West-Saxons, &c. with the advice of the bishops, earls, and all other persons of distinction in my dominions, have, for the health of my soul, the good of my people, and the prosperity of my kingdom, taken the prudent and serviceable resolution of granting the tenth part of the lands throughout my whole kingdom, to the church and ministers of religion, to be enjoyed by them, with all the privileges of a free tenure, and discharged from all services due to the crown, and all other incumbrances incident to lay-fees. The grant has been made by us to the church, in honour of Jesus Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and All Saints, and out of regard to the Paschal Solemnity, and that Almighty God might vouchsafe his blessing to us and our posterity."

Dated at the palace of Wilton, in the year 854, indiction the second, at the feast of Easter.

The terms, date, and subscriptions, of this charter, have induced several learned men to believe it spurious. Long before this charter, the clergy of England claimed a right to the tithes, if they were not already in actual possession of them; which is evident from the seventeenth canon of the council of Calcuith, held in 785, where we find they urged the payment of tithes from the law of Moses. It

is true, King Ethelwulph might confirm the rights of the clergy, by granting them a charter for the same; but in that case, it is something strange he should pass over in silence the divine right of tithes, on which the clergy chiefly insisted; and if this charter, therefore, is not to be considered as a forgery, it seems at least to be of very doubtful authority. Add to this, that by the tenth part of the lands must necessarily be meant the tenth part of the profits; which must be owned to be a very forced interpretation, especially in a primordial act, such as this.

The monkish writers furnish us with no particulars relating to ecclesiastical affairs during the reigns of Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred I.; excepting an account of the destruction of the monasteries by the Danes; on which subject they are naturally very pathetic, and describe with great lamentations the ruin of the three celebrated monasteries of Croyland, Ely, and Medeshamsted; whose monks were massacred; and the libraries of which were burnt.

From the conversion of the English to Dunstan's time, the clergy of England were not obliged to celibacy, and Dunstan undertook an unprecedented thing when he attempted to bind them to it, in pursuance of the papal decrees. It has been observed in the reign of Edgar, how Dunstan, countenanced by that prince, gained his point so far, as, not indeed to oblige them to put away their wives, but to expel them their benefices for keeping them. But notwithstanding his great interest and affection to the monks, he could never reinstate them in the northern monasteries; and for above two hundred years the abbeys in those parts were uninhabited, and the very name of a monk was scarce heard of.

The councils of these ages were properly mixed assemblies, consisting of the clergy and nobility, and termed in Saxon, Wittena-Gemot, that is, an assembly of wise men, or rather Mice-Synod, which signifies in the same language, the great, or general assembly. Both which names were rendered in Latin by the word Concilium; but because in these assemblies laws and ordinances relating to the church, as well as the state, were enacted, several of them are reckoned among the councils or synods. As for councils purely ecclesiastical, it does not appear there were any, from Egbert to Edward the Martyr.

Next to the assembly at Winchester, where Ethelwulph is said to have given a grant of the tithes, the most considerable with regard to religious affairs was the synod of Greatly, in the reign of Athelstan; the nine canons or laws of which were to the following purport.

The 1st enjoins the payment of tithes.

The 2nd commands the magistrates to put the laws in execution against those that were convicted by all the circumstances of an ordeal trial.

The 3rd is against witchcraft and highwaymen.

The 4th relates to the towns where the money was to be coined. At Canterbury there were to be seven mints, four for the king, two for the archbishop, and one for the abbot of St. Augustine's. Rochester was to have three, two for the king, and one for the bishop.\*

\* In Wiltshire, so called from Ambrosius, who built here a monastery for three hundred monks, to pray for the souls of the British noblemen slain by Hengist. The tomb of Quinever, Arthur's wife, was found here with this inscription on the wall in massy gold letters. R. G. A. C. 600; the antiquity of which is very suspicious, since she must have outlived Arthur fifty years; and besides, she is said by historians of credit to have been buried at Glastonbury. Queen Elfrida's nunnery is famous for Queen Eleanor's being a nun there; and Mary, daughter to Edward I. and thirteen noble-men's daughters were veiled here on Assumption Day.

\* London was to have eight, Winchester six, Lewis, Southampton, Exeter, Shaftesbury, Wareham, two each, and every other great town was to have one. If any person belonging to these mints was found guilty of debasing the coin (which was to be all of one sort), his right hand was to be cut off,



The 5th regulates the circumstances and formalities of the ordeal trial, to know whether the person accused were guilty or not. And here we have two things worth remarking. The first is, that the priests are spoken of as fixed or settled in certain places; whence it is plain, that in those days they did not live together in common; but each had his particular church. The second is, that the accused person was to receive the consecrated bread; whence it may be inferred, that since the eucharist was called bread after the consecration, the church of England was far from believing transubstantiation.

The 6th forbids buying and selling on Sunday.

The 7th is against perjuries and false witnesses.\*

The 8th orders the bishops to assist the judges in the execution of the laws, and to sit upon the bench with them.†

The 9th lays a fine upon remiss and negligent magistrates, which was to be paid to the bishop.‡

We find another synod, or mixed assembly, in the reign of Edmund, wherein the ceremonies of marriage, and preliminary securities the parties were to give one another, are settled.

To the ecclesiastical laws passed at these general assemblies or councils, may be aptly subjoined certain constitutions made in those days. The ten following are Odo's, archbishop of Canterbury.

The 1st threatens all those who injure the church in her property with excommunication.

The 2nd exhorts princes (and other great men) to be governed by the directions of the bishops, because God has entrusted them with the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

The 3rd admonishes bishops to discharge their duty,§ without any mercenary views, or respect of persons.

The 4th and 5th give good advice to the clergy.

The 6th does the same with regard to the monks.

The 7th prohibits unlawful marriages upon the score of nearness of relation: but the degrees of consanguinity and affinity are not recited.

The 8th recommends unity and charity among Christians.

The 9th urges fasting on Wednesdays, Fridays, and the four ember weeks.

The 10th enjoins the punctual payment of tithes, from reasons taken out of the Old Testament, without any mention of Ethelwulph's charter.

There are other constitutions, published under

and nailed upon the outside of the mint. The same appointment was made by Athelstan, only he ordered that (besides the places here mentioned) Canterbury should have seven, Rochester three, and Hastings and Chichester one each.

\* The penalty is, not to be believed afterwards, and to be debarred of Christian burial.

† In this same council were some remarkable civil laws enacted, particularly one against thieves, requiring, that if a thief be taken in the fact no man shall spare him, if he be above twenty years old, and had stolen anything above the value of eight-pence. If any one do contrary thereto, he shall pay the value of the thief's head, and make amends for the fault, and yet the thief himself shall not be spared: who if he contumaciously make resistance, or fly for it, shall find no favour. A thief cast into prison shall there stay forty days, and then after the payment of one hundred and twenty shillings, be discharged; but his kindred must give security for his good behaviour; after which, if he steal again, they must either pay the value of his head, or bring him back to prison; and in case one resist, he shall pay to the king, or to any other whom it concerns, the value of his own head: and if any default him, he shall pay to the king one hundred and twenty shillings.

‡ Usually, of the diocese where the magistrate lived.

§ That is, to go and preach about their diocese every year, &c.

King Edgar, but the author of them is unknown. The principal are,

The 1st, which confirms the civil privileges and immunities of the church, and orders the payment of tithes.\*

And the 5th, by which the solemnity of Sunday is to begin at three o'clock on Saturday in the afternoon.†

In this reign were published a body of canons,‡ of which the following are particularly remarkable.

By the 5th, if a priest received any injury, the complaint was to be preferred to the synod, who were to treat the case as if the injury had actually been done to the whole body of the clergy, and take care that satisfaction be made at the discretion of the bishop of the diocese.

The 11th enjoins the priests to learn some employment, in order to get their livelihood in case of misfortune.

The 17th orders parents to teach their children, the Lord's prayer, and the Apostle's creed, without which they were neither to be admitted to the eucharist, nor buried in consecrated ground.

The 29th forbids the burying in churches all those that were not of known and approved probity.

The 32d prohibits the priests from officiating without the service-book before them, for fear the trusting to their memories might make them mistake.

By the 36th, no person was to eat or drink before the receiving the communion.

The 38th enjoins the priest to have the holy eucharist§ always ready by him: but in case it grew so stale that it could not be eaten without disgusting the palate, it was to be burnt in a clear fire, and the ashes laid under the altar. Hence it is easy to see what the church's opinion was then of the eucharist, since it was believed it could grow stale, and was to be burnt after it was spoiled.||

The 43rd forbids the eating of blood.¶

After these canons, there follows a very particular form of confession, with what penances the confessor is to enjoin. We find here that the penitent was ordered to say the Lord's prayer threescore times a day, but not so much as one Ave Maria; a clear evidence, that the praying to the Virgin Mary was not yet introduced into the church.

Nothing more remains relating to the church of those days, but to give a brief account of the most noted persons for piety and learning.

The first saint is Swithun, or Swithun, who having been preceptor to King Ethelwulph, was promoted to the see of Winchester; and it is said, that it was by his advice that Ethelwulph granted the charter of the tithes to the church. This alone was suffi-

\* The 3rd orders the payment of the tithe of cattle before Whitsuntide, of the fruits of the farm before the equinox, and of seeds at the feast of St. Martin.

† And to continue until break of day on Monday. Edgar made several other constitutions for the regulation of religious houses. In those in the book belonging to Winchester-cathedral, Edgar makes himself general of the monks, and queen of the nuns.

‡ These canons were translated by Sir H. Spelman, from a Saxon manuscript in Bennet-college in Cambridge. It is not known where or by what authority they were drawn up.

§ That is, the consecrated bread. Had they thought them that our Saviour's flesh and bones, as the Trent catechism words it, had been present under the appearance of bread, they would never have burnt the eucharist in this manner.

|| The 52d orders priests to preach every Sunday.

¶ The 64th declares hunting and hawking are improper diversions for a priest, who is to make books his entertainment.

cient to gain him a saintship, though he had been distinguished upon no other account; but in addition to this, he is affirmed to have wrought abundance of miracles, with an account of which it is not necessary to burthen this history.

Alfred the Great, independently of his political superiority, was one of the most considerable men of his age, on account of his piety and learning.\*

Johannes Scotus, surnamed Erigena, or Irishman (Ireland being then called Erin), also flourished at this time. He had acquired an extensive reputation in France, where Charles the Bald entertained him at his court, and used to converse with him with great familiarity, when Alfred invited him into England. He was at first the king's preceptor in languages and other sciences; but he afterwards taught at Oxford, whence, in all probability, he was removed to Malmesbury, since it was in this monastery he is said to have been stabbed to death by his scholars with penknives. Before he left France, he was engaged by the emperor's order in the dispute concerning the nature of the eucharist; and in his treatise upon this subject, he strongly argued against Pascasius's doctrine, who maintained the body of Christ in the eucharist to be the same that was born of the Blessed Virgin. It must therefore necessarily be, that the contrary opinion defended by Scotus was not looked upon then as heretical, since it prevented not Alfred from inviting him into England, from having a very great esteem for him, and entrusting him with the education of youth; and, indeed, it is certain he was honoured as a saint and a martyr after his death. Roger de Hoveden says, Scotus at first had an obscure burial; but afterwards a miraculous light shining over his grave for several nights together, the monks of St. Lawrence's removed his body into their church, and buried it close by the altar. His epitaph also, the antiquity of which, according to Malmesbury, appears from the structure and diction of the verses, indisputably says he was considered a saint when that was erected. All these circumstances raise at least a strong presumption that transubstantiation was not at that time the doctrine of the church of England. For had it been so, how was it possible the English should honour as a saint one that had so openly combated their opinions? And this inference has much perplexed the Roman Catholics. One of their historians does not scruple to own that the name of Scot is registered in the supplement of the Gallican Martyrology, and commemorated among the saints on the fourth of the Ides of November; and moreover adds, that his name had been inserted even in the Roman Martyrology, and remained there until expunged by Cardinal Baronius. This historian, indeed, pretends Scotus retracted his former errors:

\* He was twelve years of age before he could read, which he first began to learn, as it is said, from the following occurrence. His mother seeing him one day exceedingly delighted with a little book, which was illuminated with gold and other colours, said, in his and his brother's hearing, she would give that book to him that should first get it by heart. Alfred, who did not then know even his letters, though twelve years old, applied himself so diligently, that he very soon could read and repeat the book to his mother; and from this time he had a great relish for books, and studied hard. Of his works relating to history, there are extant a paraphrased translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and a short genealogy of the kings of the West-Saxons. Immediate posterity had so great a veneration for his memory, that he had the title of Saint even bestowed upon him, and his name stands in the calendar of the English martyrology, printed in 1608, and in two Saxon calendars cited by the annotator on the Saxon translation of the New Testament. The day of his death is registered on the 26th of October.

but gives us no authority for what he says; and only alleges, that without a recantation it is not probable that the church would have honoured his memory. But this is supposing that transubstantiation was the doctrine of the church at that time, which must first be proved, before this argument can be of any force.

Grimbald, who lived also in the same century, was very eminent for his learning, and had a great reputation. He was invited into England by Alfred the Great (who was acquainted with him at Rheims), and who preferred him to the government of the new abbey at Winchester.

Among the Englishmen, eminent for their learning, Asserius was one of the most considerable. He wrote the life of Alfred the Great in 893, and died bishop of St. David's, in Wales.\* He must not be confounded with another of the same name, bishop of Sherbourne, who died in 883.

Werefrid, bishop of Worcester in Mercia, lived in the reign of King Buthred. When the Danes became masters of Mercia, he retired into France, from whence he was recalled by King Alfred. He translated the dialogues of Gregory the Great into Saxon; and having acquired a great reputation when living, he was registered as a saint after his death.

Plegmund, who was archbishop of Canterbury, was considered a very learned prelate, and was particularly eminent for his skill in divinity.

Dunulf had been a herdsman; and is affirmed by some to be the same who sheltered Alfred whilst the Danes possessed the kingdom. However this may be, he had the good fortune to be known to this prince; who finding him a person of a genius superior to his birth and employment, had him instructed in learning, and used his advice in affairs of the greatest moment. He subsequently promoted him to the see of Winchester, which was then the metropolis of Wessex, and the place where Alfred usually resided.

Wulfig, bishop of London, had also a great share in Alfred's esteem, as appears by his letter to this prelate prefixed to his translation of Gregory's pastoral.

Neots was an abbot distinguished for his birth, learning, regularity, and zeal for promoting the interest of the true religion. Some say, he was nearly related to King Alfred, and others, that he was descended from the blood-royal of East-Anglia. He died in 890, in Cornwall, where he left his name to the town of Neotstow, or St. Neots.†

Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, was the son of

\* He was bred a monk of Menevia, or St. David's, whom the king prevailed upon, with much difficulty, to come to court, on condition he should stay there six months, and at his abbey six months, by turns. He wrote the life of Alfred to the 45th year of his age; i.e. to the year 893, according to his computation. It was continued to Alfred's death by some later hand. He shows through the whole a great deal of modesty; and mentions nothing of the visionary dialogue betwixt Alfred and St. Guthbert, which other historians largely insist on. He is copied by Florence of Worcester, and others. This treatise was first published by Archbishop Parker in the old Saxon character; and there is an edition by Mr. Wise, fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, with a vindication of the contested clause about the antiquity of Oxford. Leland calls it the chronicle of St. Neots, because he found it in that monastery.

† Where he was buried, and when Earl Eric's seat in Huntingdonshire was turned into a monastery upon his account, his body was removed thither, and the town before called Ainulphsbury, was from him named St. Neots. From whence his bones were a third time removed to Croyland minster in 1217.



an East-Anglian Dane. Though he was born of Pagan parents, he had the good fortune to know and profess the Christian religion, and for that reason was expelled his father's house. In this extremity, he put himself into the service of an English nobleman, who had him baptized, and sent him to school. When he became capable he entered into orders, in the reign of Edward the Elder. His zeal, virtue, and capacity, gained him so great a character, that Athelstan made him bishop of Sherbourne. Some ascribe to the efficacy of his prayers, the glorious victory obtained by that prince over the Danes at Brunanburgh. Odo had no less interest with King Edmund, who resolved to promote him to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury: but Odo modestly excused himself, telling the king his abilities were too slender for so high a post. The king not admitting his excuse, he further alleged, that translations were not warrantable by the canons. This scruple being removed, by the examples of Justus and Mellitus, who were translated from Rochester and London to Canterbury, he started another objection, and alleged, that the archbishops from Augustin downwards having been all monks, he looked upon himself as unqualified for that station, since he had not been educated under any religious rule. This new difficulty was also got over by sending to the abbot of Fleury, in France, and entreating him to admit Odo into his society. Thus the prelate having nothing more to object, accepted at length, though with great reluctance, the see of Canterbury. As he became afterwards a vigorous champion for the monks, it may be presumed this was one of the chief reasons of placing him among the most illustrious ecclesiastics of his time. He is said also to have had the gift of miracles, which the favourers of the monks seldom failed to be honoured with.

Dunstan has been already sufficiently mentioned. There are modern historians, even among the Protestants themselves, who, carried away by the testimonies of the ancient writers, have given great commendations to this pretended saint, without considering upon what doubtful authorities they proceeded. It is highly probable that Dunstan's firm adherence to the monks was the ground of those excessive praises bestowed on him, of which, perhaps, he would otherwise have been deemed unworthy.\*

The same may be said of Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester first, and afterwards archbishop of York. Their great zeal in the cause of the monks, is doubtless that which contributed most to their reputation. The monks, being almost the only historians in those days, have drawn the characters of persons according to their prejudices or interests.

Turketul, King Edmund's near relation and chancellor, became famous in this age, for preferring a cloister to a court, where he lived in great reputation. But what raised his merit most with the historians, was his rebuilding and restoring to

its former splendour the abbey of Croyland,\* demolished by the Danes.

## CHAPTER V.

*Containing the Reigns of the Kings of England, from Ethelred II. to the Norman Conquest, being the space of about eighty-eight years.*

### ETHELRED II.

AFTER the murder of Edward, there was no pretence to refuse the crown to his brother Ethelred, who was the only prince of the royal family, and too young to be accused of partaking in his mother's crime. Accordingly, Dunstan could not help crowning him, being then but twelve years of age, though he plainly foresaw it would prove fatal to his whole party. The people flattered themselves they were about to enjoy a state of tranquillity, under a prince who had already given an instance of his good nature, in bitterly lamenting the death of the king, his brother, though it procured him the crown. An old historian says, his tears appeared so unseasonable to his mother, that catching up a wax-taper in a passion, she beat him so unmercifully with it, that he could not endure the sight of a wax-light ever after.

The first thing Ethelred did after his coronation, was to remove the body of the late king to Shaftesbury church; and hardly had he performed this office, but he found himself attacked by the Danes, who suffered him to enjoy little repose during the residue of his life. If this prince had followed the steps of his predecessors, perhaps he would have caused the old invaders to lay aside all thoughts of any new attempts upon England. But his natural cowardice, joined to an extreme sluggishness, and insatiable avarice, and many other failings, soon enabled them to perceive he was not likely to prove a very formidable enemy. For sixty years past they seemed to have forgot England, and the English on their side, to have lost all remembrance of the calamities they had suffered from the hands of those terrible invaders. However, after so long an interval, during which the Danes settled in England seemed to have entertained the same affection for their second country as the natives themselves, the foreign Danes determined to renew their invasions; and they no sooner appeared, than the others, resuming their old inclinations, joined their countrymen, in order to free themselves from the dominion of the English.

These Danish invaders made their first attempt on Southampton, where they arrived with seven ships, and after plundering the town and the adjacent country, they carried the same devastations into Cornwall.

\* Turketul left the monastery at his death in possession of many curious relics; among the rest, Ingulfus mentions the thumb of St. Bartholomew, the apostle, given him when chancellor by the emperor; for which he had so great a veneration, that he always carried it about him, and when in any danger, crossed himself with it. The naming of bells, together with the benediction, as a defensive against thunder and lightning, being introduced in this age by Pope John XIV. Turketul cast a great bell, which he called Guthlat. His successor following his example, added some more to it, and thus formed the first tuneable ring of bells in England.

\* The famous story of St. Dunstan and the devil is thus related by the monastic historians. As St. Dunstan was one day seated in his own court Canterbury, in making a gold cup of a cunning workmanship, the devil appeared to him in a shape the figure resembling him to him. Dunstan perceiving in 800 that he was took up a red hot pair of tongs, and catching hold of the devil by the nose, made him hold in such a manner, that he was heard all over the neighbour- hood.

This year also another band landed at Portland, and after ravaging the country round about, proceeded elsewhere to increase their spoils.

These frequent descents were so much the more injurious to the English, as having so many coasts to guard, they knew not where to assemble and expect the enemy. If at any time they happened to have it in their power to give them battle, all the advantage they could gain, in case fortune favoured them, was to recover the plunder; but when they themselves were defeated, the country was sure to be exposed to all imaginable cruelties before another army could be drawn together. Very often, whilst the English troops were upon the march, to oppose one of these bands, they were compelled to change their route, and march where the danger seemed more pressing; and thus, whatever care might be taken, one part of the kingdom was always exposed, since there was no foreseeing where the marauders would land. There was but one way to remedy this inconvenience, which was to keep a fleet at sea strong enough to engage the Danes, before they disembarked their troops; but a time of minority was not likely to take such a precaution.

In this manner passed the first ten years of this reign; and it would be needless to describe at length the ravages committed by the Danes during that time. It is easy to imagine the whole kingdom as a scene of murders, conflagrations, plunderings, and other devastations, which, with some short intermissions, were continually proceeding.

During these miseries, Elfric, duke of Mercia, one of the best guardians of his country, died in 983; and to his opposition of the monks after Edgar's death, is most probably owing the report circulated among their votaries, that he was consumed with lice. Alfric his son succeeded him.

The next year, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, one of Dunstan's confidants, and a great friend of the monks, died; he is said to have founded a dozen monasteries; and if that be true, he was, no doubt, assisted by the liberality of the two former kings, with whom he was in great favour.

The credit of the monks declined very much in the reign of Ethelred, as much on account of the frequent invasions of the Danes, as because the people, full of their misfortunes, were regardless of everything else; and began to mistrust the sanctity of the monks, wondering that men who had obtained from heaven so many miracles on their own private account, could not by their merits and prayers secure the kingdom from the calamities it was incessantly exposed to. Ethelred, whose thoughts were not occupied by religion, placed the monks and other ecclesiastics upon a level with the rest of his subjects; and gave a convincing proof how little he regarded the clergy, in a difference between him and the bishop of Rochester. The bishop having haughtily refused to comply with some demand of the king's, he ordered the soldiers to lay waste the lands belonging to the cathedral dedicated to St. Andrew; and in vain did the bishop threaten him with vengeance from the apostle, and cause Archbishop Dunstan to interpose in his quarrel; Ethelred disregarded both, nor could he be appeased but by money. Dunstan, displeased to the highest degree at this behaviour, threatened the king and council with the judgments of God, as ready to fall on their heads, for presuming to lay sacrilegious hands on the

church's property; but he was not attended to; and so low had his reputation sank, that he was hardly known to be alive, so successful were the new ministers in depressing him. He died shortly after, in the year 988; not so much of age, it is said, as of mortification at the neglect shown him.

Oswald, archbishop of York, who was his particular friend, and one of the three prelates that governed the church during the reign of Edgar, soon followed him to the grave. The death of these patrons of the monks, a contagious distemper which swept away multitudes, and above all, the continual invasions of the Danes, put an end to the quarrel between the secular and regular clergy, in such manner, that it was never after heard of.

After the Danes had pillaged the coasts of England ten years together, they relaxed their ravages for about two years; but in 991, Justin and Guthmund, two Danish captains, landed with a large body of troops at Ipswich; and whilst they were engaged in plundering, Brithnoth, duke of East-Anglia, advanced towards them, in expectation to surprise them; but finding them too well prepared, he was overcome, and his defeat exposed the adjacent country to greater devastations. The victorious Danes having nothing more to fear, penetrated still further into the country, where they committed terrible ravages; and Ethelred, being without an army, and unable to stop their progress, was persuaded by Syric, archbishop of Canterbury, to give them a large sum of money to depart.

Two years after, another of their fleets sailing up the Humber, the pirates landed on the north side, and ravaged in a merciless manner all that belonged to the English in those quarters. Ethelred sent an army against them, under the command of the three earls, Fræna, Frithegist, and Goodwin; but those generals, having led their forces in sight of the enemies, were the first to retreat, and by their shameful cowardice occasioned the loss of the army. These three chiefs, being of Danish extraction, were suspected of treachery.

Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olaf, king of Norway, allured by the great success of their subjects in England, fitted out a numerous fleet, and entering the Thames, landed their troops near London. They made several attempts to become masters of the city, but meeting with a braver resistance than they expected, retired. To make themselves amends for the time spent in vain before London, they successively plundered Kent, Hampshire, and Sussex, and threatened to lay waste the whole kingdom. Ethelred, who had no more conduct than courage, not knowing how to put a stop to these ravages, had recourse to the means usually resorted to in such circumstances; and bound himself by treaty to pay a sum of money within a certain time, on condition they left his subjects unmolested, and departed the kingdom. Upon which the two foreign kings caused all hostilities to cease, and retired to Southampton. Shortly after, the king of Norway paid a visit to Ethelred, who persuaded him to be baptized, and stood himself godfather; and at his departure, Olaf obliged himself by oath never to infest England more, and kept his promise.

It would have been happy for the English, if Sweyn, who departed at the same time, would have followed his example. For they would have es-



caped all those calamities that monarch afterwards brought on the country. When he sailed for Denmark, he left a fleet at Southampton, to keep the English in awe, and oblige them to perform the articles of the treaty; and after his departure, his admiral very earnestly pressed the payment of the money. But as there was no haste made to comply with these demands, he took their delay for a refusal, and resolved to renew the war; and in order to elude the vigilance of the English, he set sail, as if proceeding to Denmark, but on a sudden, he unexpectedly entered the Severn, and after destroying the country of the Welsh with fire and sword, crossed the river and penetrated into Dorsetshire, where he committed the same ravages. All the forces that could be levied against the Danes were as soon defeated as levied. They sacked whole counties, it being impossible to oppose them; till at last, finding nothing more to plunder in that part, they put to sea again, and landed in Kent. The inhabitants, by endeavouring to make some resistance, only increased the fury of their enemies, who treated them with the utmost barbarity; and to complete their misfortunes, a fleet equipped by Ethelred to engage them at sea, was rendered useless by the dissensions and unskilfulness of the commanders. In this melancholy situation, England would have irretrievably perished, if the Danes by a lucky and unexpected accident had not been called to the assistance of Richard II., duke of Normandy, whom the king of France would have dispossessed of his dominions. Ethelred took this opportunity to go and ravage Cumberland, but for what reason is unknown. After that, he returned to London, where he kept his usual residence.

The quiet Ethelred enjoyed was not of long continuance; the Danes staying in Normandy no longer than was necessary to put the young duke out of danger, returned into England. Cornwall felt the first effects of their fury; and then entering Wessex, they became masters of Exeter. The consternation of the English was so great that they made but a faint resistance. Whether Ethelred was betrayed by his generals, or the long peace enjoyed by the English during the foregoing reigns had enervated their courage, they were constantly vanquished, and the king himself durst not venture to be present in the battles for fear of falling into the hands of the Danes. The Danes, ever victorious, got possession of the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire, where they had their magazines; and from hence they made continual incursions into the neighbouring counties, without any one daring to oppose them.

England was now in a deplorable condition. The southern counties were perpetually ravaged by the foreign Danes, and the northern people by the Danish settlers, whom the English could not but look upon as their enemies. In this extremity, Ethelred, who had no resolution, agreed at last to pay the Danes thirty thousand pounds; and this sum, which in those days was very considerable, was levied by a tax called Danegeld, that is, Danish money, or money for the Danes.\* This was the

original of that notorious tax which afterwards became so extremely burdensome to the nation, even long after the Danes had quitted England. But the clergy and monks always found means to be exempted.

The Danes, satisfied with this agreement, ceased their ravages; and some returned to Denmark, but many remained, preferring the more genial climate and soil of England. Although they were much dispersed, the whole kingdom stood in such fear of them, that they had always the appellation of Lord-Danes. The word itself, as well as the meaning, was altered a little after; but at this day, in some parts of England, a rich idle man who is arrogant, is by way of derision called a Lurdane. But notwithstanding this alteration, the traces of its original signification are still visible in the word.

Elgiva, Ethelred's queen, dying, whilst the Danes were thus subduing England, the king married Emma, sister of Richard II., duke of Normandy, who was called, from her extraordinary beauty, the Pearl of Normandy. Ethelred, wearied with his unsuccessful contests with the Danes, had resort to the savage and useless expedient of attempting to massacre them. It is asserted by old historians, that on the 13th of November 1002, in one day all the Danes were slain with implacable fury and cruelty.† Sweyn's sister,‡ who was married to an English chief, having at first been spared, Ethelred was so barbarous as to cause her children to be murdered in her presence, and then had her beheaded. By all the Danes, most probably are meant those settled in England, and dispersed in Wessex and Mercia.

Sweyn received the news of this massacre by some Danes, who escaped by getting on board a vessel ready to sail for Denmark. Their relation of the cruelties of the English to those of his nation would have been sufficient to arouse him; but when informed of his sister's barbarous murder, he was seized with all the rage that might be supposed to excite a warlike savage. He solemnly swore he would never rest till he had revenged the atrocious outrage. It was not therefore with intent to plunder, that he made a second expedition into England, but to destroy the whole country with fire and sword. However, as he did not doubt but Ethelred would take precautions to oppose his entrance, he would not sail without securing a place where he might safely land his

hides of land is very ancient, mention being made of it in the laws of Ina. Danegeld was the first land-tax in England. It was afterwards called Hidagium, which name remained afterwards upon all taxes and subsidies imposed on lands. The Normans called these, sometimes taxes, sometimes tallages, and auxilia and subsidia. The Saxon kings before this had their levies of money and personal services, towards the building and repairing cities, castles, bridges, military expeditions, &c., which from the word bote, that is, repair, were termed burghbote, brigbote, heregeld, &c. Danegeld was released by Edward the Confessor, but levied again by William I. and II. Then it was released again by Henry I., and finally, by King Stephen. This ancient tax probably might be a precedent for our land-tax for three or four shillings in the pound, when first granted.

† Among other cruelties, the Danish women were placed in holes in the earth, as deep as their waists, and then had their breasts torn off by mastiff dogs. M. West lays the odium of this whole scene of barbarity on Huna, general of the king's forces, one of his evil counsellors.

‡ Her name was Gunilda; she is said to have been married to a noble Dane of great power and wealth, who had been settled for some time in England; his name was Paeng. She was a Christian, and had been a great instrument in making peace between the English and Danes.

\* For the payment of this money every hide of land was taxed penny at twelve-pence. A hide of land is such a quantity of land as may be ploughed with one plough in a year. Some persons it is much as will maintain a family. Some say it was a hundred acres, others, that it contained an hundred number of acres. The distribution of England by

troops. Cornwall was then governed by Earl Hugh, a Norman, whom the queen had placed in that post as a man the king might perfectly confide in, and to him Sweyn dispatched a trusty messenger, to endeavour to gain him to his interest, by the offer of a great reward; and Hugh, yielding to the temptation, promised to admit the Danish fleet into his ports, and suffer the troops to land without molestation.

Upon this, Sweyn, having equipped a fleet of three hundred sail, landed in Cornwall with a numerous army, and meeting with no opposition, marched directly to Exeter; and as that city was in no apprehension of an attack, he easily became master of it, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, reduced it to ashes. This first exploit was followed by several others, no less fatal to England; for wherever Sweyn carried his arms, revenge and not conquest being his chief aim, he destroyed all with fire and sword. Towards the end of the summer, being informed that Alfric, duke of Mercia, was advancing with a powerful army to give him battle, he resolved to meet him. Ethelred acted very unadvisedly in giving the command of his army to one whom he had formerly banished the kingdom on mere suspicion, and whose son's eyes he had ordered to be put out. The remembrance of this injury being still fresh in the duke's mind, he was pleased with having so fair an opportunity to revenge it; and as soon as he was in sight of the enemy, he feigned himself suddenly sick, and pretending he was unable to fight in his present condition, ordered a retreat, which he took care to make with so much confusion, that the Danes very easily routed his army. After this easy success, Sweyn took several towns, with an immense booty; but as he had no design to retain, he set them on fire, and returned and passed the winter in Denmark.

In the following spring he landed in East-Anglia, and taking Norwich, burnt the whole town to the ground; and Ulfketel, governor of East-Anglia, unable to resist him, gave him a great sum of money, to prevent his doing any further mischief. But upon receipt of the money, Sweyn, with the usual treachery, disregarded the treaty, and took Thetford by surprise, a town then of great note, and destroyed it. Incensed at this breach of faith, Ulfketel levied some troops with great expedition, and posted himself between the Danish army and fleet; and Sweyn perceiving he intended to cut off his retreat to his ships, marched back to give him battle, before he should be reinforced with more troops. He found the English very advantageously encamped, expecting him with a resolution to maintain their ground; but the Danes obtained a signal victory, though not without great loss; and they even owned they were never in more danger of being defeated. Ulfketel, though of Danish race, was the faithfullest as well as bravest of all Ethelred's subjects, and did him the most service; but the other chiefs were of a very different nature, and all the historians agree that Ethelred was betrayed by all who surrounded him. Sweyn had his spies, not only in his court, but in his very council; and the great chieftains, for the most part, were bribed, or at least there was scarce one that served the king faithfully. Whatever councils were held to consider of means to resist the Danes, the dissensions between the nobles prevented their coming to any resolution, or putting what was resolved in execution; and the avarice of the clergy, and particularly of the

monks, very much helped to increase the disorder. Notwithstanding their great riches, they refused to contribute their portion in defence of the kingdom, pleading their privileges and immunities, as if they had no share at all in the danger. And when all these circumstances are considered, it no longer seems extraordinary that the Danes obtained so many victories. The famine that happened soon after, would have completed the misfortunes of the English, had it not accidentally proved the occasion of Sweyn's returning to Denmark for want of subsistence in England.

Upon the ceasing of the famine, another Danish fleet arrived at Sandwich, in Kent; and Ethelred immediately levied an army to give the new invaders battle; but after committing some ravages, they retired to the Isle of Thanet, where it was not possible to attack them. They knew the English army, consisting of volunteers who served at their own expense, would soon disband themselves, as it actually happened; for the winter coming on, the English returned to their homes, it not being in the power of the king to keep them any longer together. Then the Danes, issuing from their retreat, renewed their ravages in Kent and the neighbouring counties, well assured they should meet with no opposition; and Ethelred saw no other course to stop the progress of a mischief that threatened the whole kingdom, but to give them the sum of thirty-six thousand pounds.

The king, being for awhile freed from their attacks, celebrated the wedding of one of his daughters with Edric, surnamed Streon, a very powerfulthane, whom he had just made duke of Mercia, a traitor leagued with the Danes, who never failed on all occasions to betray the king and kingdom.

Scarcely had a year passed since the last treaty with the Danes, when they demanded the same sum again, pretending it to be a yearly tribute due by contract from Ethelred; which demand was accompanied with threats of destroying the whole kingdom with fire and sword, if the money was not immediately paid. This new pretension of the Danes convincing the king and his council there was no possibility of ever contenting their insatiable avarice, it was judged the money would be better employed in equipping a fleet capable of defending the kingdom from their incursions. Necessity made them put this resolution so speedily in practice, that quickly after, the king had a fleet well manned and victualled, the command of which was given to Brithric, brother of Edric Streon, duke of Mercia. And these measures obliged the Danes to retire for fear of being forced to a sea engagement, which their ships were not so fit for as those of the English.

The first thing Brithric did after his being made admiral, was to use all his interest to ruin Ulnoth, athane of distinguished quality, who was his enemy. He consequently accused him to the king of crimes, which Ulnoth did not think fit to disprove by a public trial, being sensible his condemnation was preconcerted; and he resolved, therefore, upon a voluntary exile, to screen himself from this persecution; and persuaded nine captains to follow him with their ships; and they subsequently infested the English coasts, and did as much mischief as the Danes. Brithric, enraged at his enemy's escape, and his daring to brave him thus, put to sea with eighty sail to give him chase, and endeavour to seize him; but he was caught in so violent a storm, that the greatest part of his ships were lost or fell into



the hands of Ulnoth. Thus this great fleet, which had been fitted out with a great expense, was rendered unserviceable by Brathme's misconduct. The loss became still more irretrievable by the dissension among the sea officers; several of whom deserted and joined Ulnoth.

In the mean time, the Danes took advantage of these disorders; and the next spring two of their fleets arrived in England, one in East-Anglia, under Turkil, and another in the Isle of Thanet, under Heming and Anlaff. These leaders joining their forces in Kent, plundered the country, and then laid siege to Canterbury; which would have infallibly fallen into their hands, if the inhabitants had not purchased a peace with a large sum of money.

Whilst the Danes were pillaging Kent, Ethelred drew an army together to oppose their ravages; and as soon as he was ready, he posted himself between them and their ships to prevent their embarking and carrying off their booty. Probably, he would have executed his project, and perhaps gained some further considerable advantage, considering the superiority of his forces, if Edric had not found means to relieve the Danes. The traitor perceiving their danger, represented to the king, his father-in-law, that it would be more advantageous to let them retire than hazard a battle, which might prove fatal to him; and this pernicious advice made such impression on the king, that he suffered them to march by, with all their plunder, unmolested. But instead of sailing for Denmark, as it was expected, they threw themselves into the Isle of Thanet; from which, during the whole winter, they made incursions into the neighbouring counties; and even made several attempts upon London; in which, however, they were always repulsed. During this period, Ulfketel, duke of East-Anglia, willing once more to try the fortune of a battle in defence of his territory, had the misfortune to be overthrown.

Hitherto the Danes wanted cavalry, on account of the difficulty of transporting horses from Denmark; but as soon as they were in possession of East Anglia, a country abounding with horses, they mounted part of their troops, and by that means extended their conquests. Shortly after, they subdued Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire,\* Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Devonshire, whilst Ethelred, who had scarce anything left, kept himself shut up in London, without daring to take the field and stop their progress. In all the above-named counties, London and Canterbury were the only places in the king's power. But at length they attacked the last so vigorously, that they took, plundered, and reduced it to ashes; and Ælphagus, the archbishop, being taken prisoner, was afterwards murdered by these barbarians.† They proceeded with the same cruelty towards the monks of St.

Augustin's, whom they almost entirely massacred, killing nine out of ten.\*

England being reduced to this deplorable state, all the chief men of the kingdom assembled at London with the king, to consult upon a remedy for such violent evils; and the only expedient they could find, was, as usual, to bribe the Danes with money to leave the kingdom. The sum agreed upon amounted to 48,000*l.*, which the marauders having received, departed with their booty.†

But scarcely had they ratified this treaty, when Sweyn‡ entered the Humber with a powerful fleet, and threatened the whole kingdom with desolation and ruin. As this prince found the country unprovided with troops, and unable to defend itself, he quickly became master of Northumbria and East-Anglia, that is, of all the counties lying north of the Roman Watling-street. But these conquests not satisfying his ambition, he took hostages of all the principal towns; and leaving his son Canute to command the newly-conquered counties, he advanced southward, and on a sudden laid siege to London, where Ethelred was shut up. Though he was but ill provided with necessaries to besiege in form a place of such importance, he imagined the citizens would be terrified at his menaces; but finding they were not moved by them, he desisted from his enterprise, and passed on and ravaged the western parts of Wessex, where he found no opposition to his arms. However, as he could not be satisfied whilst London was out of his power, he resolved to besiege it once more; but whilst he was preparing for the siege with greater precaution than before, he had information of Ethelred's departure from thence. This unfortunate prince ever dreading to fall into the hands of an enemy he had so heinously injured, and perceiving himself unsafe in England, retired into Normandy with all his family; upon which, the Londoners resolved to submit to the king of Denmark, to whom all the rest of the kingdom was now subject; and shortly after this, Sweyn was proclaimed king of England without any opposition, no one in the kingdom daring to dispute his title.

#### SWEYN, KING OF DENMARK, AND FIRST OF THE DANISH KINGS IN ENGLAND.

The first act of sovereignty exercised by the new king, was the imposing an immense tax on the kingdom for payment of the Danish troops who assisted him in his conquests. No historian mentions the coronation of this prince; and perhaps he neglected this solemnity, believing it unnecessary; or matters of greater importance afforded him no time to think of it, during his short reign, which did not last a year.

Some historians say he died a natural death, being choked by a rheum; but others assert that he was poisoned; but whatever was the cause, he died suddenly, which gave occasion to the legend writers to say he was killed with a club or lance by St. Edmund, formerly king of East-Anglia; who it is pretended did it to save the town, where his body lay buried, from being

\* Oxford being burnt that year by the Danes, all studies ceased there till the year 1136.

\* He was killed at Greenwich, to which place, the station of their camp, they first brought him prisoner. And therefore, in the old history of Greenwich, on the top of the partition wall, between the gate of the church and the church, was the inscription: *hic cecidit rex Ethelredus*. This church was created and dedicated to the parts of East, and the recovery of St. Alphege, archbishop of Canterbury, killed thus by the Danes; because he would not consent but to die by an official, noble man of money. *Ann. 1012.* He was first buried at St. Paul's, in London, and afterwards removed to Canterbury. He was honoured as a martyr, and some in the Roman Martyrology on the 19th of April.

\* Florence, of Worcester, says, the burghers were served in the same manner: so that only four monks and about eight hundred laymen were left alive. Lambard supposes there were about forty-three thousand two hundred persons massacred.

† Forty-five of their ships submitted to Ethelred, and promised to defend the kingdom, provided he would allow them retreating and clothes.

‡ The English historians have not told us the reason why Sweyn staid away so long, as from 1005 to 1013, eight years.

plundered for refusing to pay the tax imposed by the new king. The shortness of Sweyn's reign, and perhaps, his not being crowned, are the reasons that but few historians have reckoned him in the number of the kings of England.

#### ETHELRED RESTORED.

Upon the death of Sweyn, his son Canute was proclaimed king of England by the Danes; but the English recalled Ethelred, promising to support him on the throne, against all the attempts of the Danes, whose government was become insupportable. Ethelred at first was unwilling to trust to their promises, being apprehensive of a design to deliver him into the hands of his enemies; but being encouraged by the reception his son met with, whom he had sent before to sound the people's inclinations, he returned to England; and was received with great demonstrations of joy; and his subjects swore allegiance to him again, as if he had begun a new reign, his flight being considered as a sort of abdication of the crown. He, on his part, promised to reform whatever was amiss; and the eagerness of the English to throw off a foreign yoke, made them flock to the king with such zeal and haste, that he soon found himself at the head of a powerful army. His first expedition plainly showed his misfortunes had made no great alteration in him; for instead of marching against the Danes, he made use of his forces to be revenged on the men of Lindsey,\* who had some way displeased him. After he had gratified his passion by the chastisement of these people, he prepared to march and fight the Danes, who little expected so sudden a revolution; and although Canute had the same forces his father Sweyn had conquered England with, he did not think fit to hazard a battle; but on the contrary, before Ethelred was advanced near enough to oblige him to fight, he led his troops to the sea-side, and embarking them, set sail for Denmark. Before his departure, he ordered the hands and feet of the hostages he had in his power to be cut off, leaving them thus mangled on the shore.

The retreat of Canute appears strange, as he had never been worsted, and besides, had many strong places still in his hands; and the only clue that can be obtained as to the cause of this conduct is the account given by the Danish writers, who say that Canute had a younger brother, named Harold, who being regent in the absence of his father Sweyn, seized upon Denmark for himself; which obliged Canute to leave England, with a precipitation that seemed to be an effect of fear rather than sound policy.

As soon as Ethelred found himself freed from the Danes, he took no heed of his promise to his subjects; but on the contrary, resumed his old maxims, and imposed, on several pretences, excessive taxes, which raised great murmurings among the nobles and people.

To these causes for public discontent, he added others of a more private nature, which destroyed all the hopes entertained of his amendment. Morcard and Sifforth, lords of Danish extraction, who had all along firmly adhered to the interest of the

king and their new country, were sacrificed to his avarice. To draw these two earls into his power, the king convened a great council at Oxford, where he caused them to be murdered, and then seized their estates, as if they had been condemned by the common forms of justice.\* Alghitha, widow of Sifforth, was shut up in a monastery, to which confinement she was indebted for her after-greatness; for Edmund, the king's eldest son, passing that way some time after, was desirous to see one so renowned for her beauty, and fell so desperately in love with her, that he married her, even against his father's consent.

The calm England enjoyed after the retreat of the Danes lasted but one year. Canute having got possession of the throne of Denmark, immediately re-embarked for England, and when least expected, landed a numerous army at Sandwich. Ethelred, being then unwell, Edmund his son, with Streon, duke of Mercia, his son-in-law, had the command of the army against the Danes; and Edmund soon perceived his brother-in-law was a friend to Canute. This discovery obliged him to invent some pretence to divide the army into two bodies, that he might be separated from him, not daring to punish the traitor, for fear of exciting a revolt in Mercia, where Streon's power was exceedingly great. He also dreaded his father's displeasure, who, he knew, could never be convinced that Streon held intelligence with the Danes. Canute taking advantage of this division of the English forces, made large conquests immediately; and the treacherous Edric, who had joined Edmund with no other view but to betray him, finding he had lost his aim, openly declared for Canute; and this would have been rather an advantage than a detriment to the king's affairs, if the traitor had not carried with him a considerable body of troops, with forty ships of war. This desertion, which proved very serviceable to Canute, was a mortal wound to Ethelred; and the people went over in crowds to the Danes, in proportion as the king's affairs fell to decay; so that even Wessex itself was not very secure.

Canute's expectations daily increasing by these successes, he turned his arms against those of the Mercians who continued in their alliance to the king, and at length, with the assistance of Streon, entirely subdued them. After which he formed a design to attack Ethelred in Wessex itself; where he had the more reason to expect success, as Edric had artfully instilled into the Mercians who were in the English army, a notion that it was a sin to bear arms against a prince in possession of their country; and consequently, all that Edmund could obtain of these troops, was, that they would follow the king when he commanded the army in person,

\* Florence of Worcester and Matthew Westminster relate, that these two earls were privately accused by Edric, who desired their estates, of treasonable practices against Ethelred, by whose order Edric invited them to a feast, where he caused them to be treacherously murdered. Their dependents, who intended to revenge their deaths, were forced to fly into St. Frideswide's church in Oxford, which being set on fire, they perished in the flames; but the king repenting of his cruelty, caused the church to be rebuilt. In this, and several other particulars, it is plain, that Ethelred was urged on by the treacherous Edric, to make him odious to the people; and that he was not so bad as is represented, appears from the good laws he made, which are still extant. He was particularly careful of the due execution of justice; and having found one Walgeatas, a judge, whom he loved, guilty of injustice, he deposed him from his office.

\* One of the three divisions of Lincolnshire, viz. Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey. The Saxon annals tell us, the men of Lindsey had provided the Danes with horses, and designed to join with them in their ravages.



refusing to fight under any other general. In this extremity, Edmund used all possible endeavours to persuade his father, who feigned himself sick at London, to take the command of the army. But the more Ethelred was pressed, the more he was confirmed in his suspicion of a design to deliver him to the Danes, imagining the English had no other way to make a peace with them; and as he durst not quit London, where he thought himself safe, he refused to go to the army; and the prince his son had the mortification to see his troops disperse, without being able to bring them to a battle. In the mean time, Canute taking advantage of these disorders, enlarged his conquests with great rapidity.

In these wretched circumstances, Edmund saw no remedy but to repair himself to London, and try to persuade the king to head the army; in which he prevailed at last with great difficulty; and then by his extraordinary assiduity, raised another army more numerous than the former; with which he designed to give Canute battle, persuaded as he was, that nothing but a signal victory could retrieve the affairs of the English. Ethelred visited the army according to his promise, but upon his arrival was seized by his old fears. Whether he had any ground for his suspicion, or it was instilled into him by the traitors about his person, does not appear; he, however, made but a very brief stay, returning to London with all imaginable speed. After his departure, the army being much weakened by the retreat of the Mercians, who obstinately refused to fight without the king at their head, Edmund was obliged to keep at a distance from the Danes, for fear of engaging at a great disadvantage; and Canute finding no further opposition, became master of several counties in Wessex, and soon found himself in a condition to complete the conquest of the whole kingdom.

Edmund perceiving he was unable to stop the progress of the enemy, resolved to march and join Uthred, earl of Northumberland, who had levied some troops in the north. They ravaged together those parts of the country that sided with the Danes, whilst Canute and the duke of Mercia laid waste the southern counties that persisted in their obedience to Ethelred. But Canute did not long suffer his friends to be exposed to the ravages of the English; for directly he was informed of what passed in the north, he marched thither with the utmost expedition, and compelled Edmund and Uthred to retire into Lancashire, where the latter despairing of any success, traitorously submitted to Canute; who upon some understanding, the particulars of which have not come down to us, continued him for a short time in his government; but being convinced that the earl had changed sides purely by compulsion, and having reason to fear he would not remain faithful, he caused him to be put to death, and put Eric, a Danish lord, in his place.

Edmund being exceedingly perplexed, retired again to his father at London, and earnestly pressed him to exert himself on the present occasion; but to no purpose; and Ethelred, who till then had feigned himself sick, became really ill, and died soon after in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

Never was England in a more deplorable state than during the reign of this inefficient monarch. He had by his first wife Elgiva, Edmund, who succeeded him; Athelstan, who died in his child-

hood; Edwy (afterwards murdered by Canute), and three daughters. Edgiva, the eldest of whom was married to an English earl, who was slain in battle. Edgith, the second, was united to the traitor Edric, duke of Mercia; and Edgina, the youngest, was wife of Uthred, earl of Northumberland. By Emma of Normandy, his second wife, he had Alfred and Edward, and a daughter named Goda, who was first married to Walter, earl of Mantes, and afterwards to Eustachius, earl of Boulogne.

The old chroniclers very characteristically give the name of the Unready to this feeble king, who was always surprised by the Danes, and was never ready in any emergency; and who on his ascension of the crown, found the kingdom in a rich and flourishing condition, but left it at his death in the extremest poverty and desolation.

#### EDMUND II. SURNAMED IRONSIDE.

On the death of Ethelred, the city of London and all the chiefs there present proclaimed his son Edmund king of England, who had already given signal proofs of his courage and conduct; but the Danes, and all the counties in their possession, declared for Canute.\* However, as the English obeyed him from constraint, numbers of them came and offered their service to Edmund, whom they looked upon as their lawful prince, though they were constrained to swear to his rival; and by this means the two kings were placed upon an equality, that occasioned many engagements with various success, which served only to prolong the war, but not to decide the contest. London being the chief support of the Saxons, Canute was exceedingly desirous to gain it; being convinced that the possession of it would secure him an easy and entire dominion of the whole kingdom; and with this view, whilst Edmund was elsewhere employed, he approached London, and forming the siege, carried it on vigorously; but the brave resistance of the citizens giving Edmund time to throw in succours from the other side of the Thames, he was obliged to raise the siege. Having thus lost his aim, he used many stratagems to surprise the enemy, or draw him off from London; and succeeding in the last project he returned and laid siege a second time to the city; but again met with the same difficulties; the inhabitants, by a very obstinate defence, giving Edmund a second opportunity of coming to their defence.

Canute, exasperated at being thus foiled in his attempt, suddenly raised the siege, and determined to offer Edmund battle,† who no less desirous of deciding the contest by one single action, instead of retreating, marched towards him. Consequently a battle was fought, which was very bloody, and in which both gave signal proofs of their conduct and courage; but without either being able to make victory incline to his side; and after a long fight, the two armies were obliged to part with almost an equal loss. The English army, however, had nearly been defeated by the artifice of Edric Streon, who fought on the side of the Danes. Perceiving that the English troops, contrary to his ex-

\* Simeon of Durham, and others say, that the bishops, abbots, and many of the English nobles, coming to Southampton, abused the race of Ethelred, at the same time they chose Canute for their king, and swore fealty to him; who also swore to them in matters ecclesiastical and civil, to be their faithful lord.

† This was about Midsummer

pectation, fought in such manner, as made the victory dubious, he cut off the head of one Osmer, a soldier, who very much resembled Edmund, and fixing it on the top of his lance, advanced to the foremost ranks, and exposing it to the view of the English, cried out aloud, "Fly, fly, villains, behold the head of your king, in whom you trust." The English were shaken at this sight, and the stratagem would have occasioned their defeat, had not the king shown himself with his helmet off, and by that means revived their courage. The battle lasting till night, without any visible advantage on either side, Edmund prepared to renew the fight on the morrow; but Canute, who had other designs, retired, during the night,\* to his fleet, which waited for him, and embarking his troops, cruised along the coast for some time, to amuse the enemy, who could not fathom his intention; and when he conceived he had deceived Edmund, he landed his forces, and besieged London a third time; but succeeded no better than formerly; and consequently was compelled to retire.

The particulars of this war would no doubt be very interesting, if it were possible to get a clear account of them. But the extremest confusion in this part of the English history prevails; and all that can be gathered from the old historians for certainty is, that the two contending princes fought five pitched battles within the space of a year. One of these battles, fought in Essex, would have infallibly proved fatal to Canute, had it not been for the pernicious advice of Edric Streon, who continually changing sides, was then in the English army. And although Edmund had been so confiding as to pardon him, and so easy as to give credit to his oaths of being entirely devoted to his service for the future, this traitor, who was a mere tool of the king of Denmark, let no opportunity pass of serving him; and as he saw the Danes, who were hard pressed by the English, retreating in great disorder, he artfully persuaded Edmund to stop the pursuit of the fugitives, by making him apprehensive their despair might cause them to rally, and the victory, by some unforeseen accident, be snatched out of his hands. This artifice, which had formerly taken effect with Ethelred, wrought likewise with Edmund, who suffered himself to be guided by this fatal advice.

This arch-traitor ultimately threw away the mask in the last battle near Assandun;† and whilst the two armies were engaged, suddenly deserted his countrymen and joined the Danes, who received him as their cordial ally. This treachery caused such consternation among the English, that throwing down their arms, they thought of nothing but saving themselves by flight; and Edmund's loss upon this occasion was immense, the flower of the

English nobility being slain; amongst whom were the earls Alfric, Ulfketel, Ethelward, and others of distinguished valour and loyalty, who fell bravely with their swords in their hands in defence of their unhappy country.

After this important victory, Canute considered himself as irresistible; conceiving that Edmund would not be able to bring any army into the field that would dare to contend with his victorious troops. But as the English were in extreme danger, they made extraordinary efforts for their deliverance; and as Edmund had the hearts of his subjects, and particularly of the Londoners, who were always ready to give him effectual proofs of their affection and loyalty, he was, so far from being depressed by this unfortunate defeat, that he rallied his dispersed troops, and drawing together a more powerful army than that which had been destroyed, he went in quest of the enemy, who were marching towards Gloucester. Canute, unwilling to give him time to augment his forces, hastened to meet him with intent to attack him; but the two kings stood in sight of each other for some time, at the head of their respective armies, without either giving the signal of battle; Edmund being sensible he should be irretrievably ruined if he lost the day; and Canute foreseeing a general defection of the English, in case he were vanquished; and thus it appeared to both, that the gain or loss of the kingdom depended on the success of that important conflict. At last, Edmund, who was strong and robust of body, and on that account surnamed Ironside, sent Canute word, that to prevent the great effusion of blood that must be shed in their quarrel, he deemed it would be better for them to decide it by a single combat. To which Canute replied, that though he did not consider himself inferior to his antagonist in courage, yet being of a weak constitution and small stature, he should be careful how he engaged in so unequal a combat; adding, if Edmund was desirous to prevent any further effusion of blood, he was ready to refer the decision of their contest to the principal officers of the two armies. This proposal was received with joy by the nobles of Edmund's party, who desired to find some expedient to put an end to so fatal a war; but Edmund himself, on the contrary, was desirous to decide the quarrel by arms, but durst not oppose the nobility, for fear of estranging them. Plenipotentiaries, therefore, were nominated on both sides, who met in a little isle in the Severn, called Alney, opposite Gloucester, to consult upon the pretensions of the two princes; and after a short conference, a peace was concluded by the partition of the kingdom. Wessex, that is all the country south of the Thames, with the city of London, and part of the ancient kingdom of Essex, being assigned to Edmund; and to Canute, the kingdom of Mercia, including Northumbria and East-Anglia. Peace being thus concluded, the two kings met in the Isle of Alney, and mutually swore to preserve the peace; and Edmund then retired into Wessex.

Edmund's challenging Canute has given occasion to some historians to assert that the two kings actually fought a duel in the Isle of Alney; to make which appear the more probable, they have taken care to be very particular in the circumstances of the combat; telling us, that after it had lasted some time without any advantage on either side, Canute finding his strength fail him, lifted up the visor of his helmet, and proposed the division of the kingdom which Edmund consented to immediately;

\* This battle was fought at Scoerstan, which Camden supposes to be Sherston, in Wiltshire; others think it to be the place where four stones, called Shire-stones, part the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick. Milton makes the battle to have lasted two whole days, and Canute to have retreated the second night: so also does Matt. Westminster, and he relates Edric's stratagem as occurring on the second day.

† Ashdon, in Essex, near Walden. Canute built a church here in memory of this battle to pray for the souls of the slain; and caused four hillocks to be thrown up, as monuments of those that were killed in the battle. Two of these monuments being opened and searched into, there were found three stone coffins, with abundance of pieces of bones in them, and many chains of iron, like those on horses' bits. These hills are commonly called Barlow-hills, though they lie in Ashdon parish. Some think it was Barlow church that was built by Canute.



and it is further added, that, at the same instant, they ran to embrace one another, to the astonishment of the two armies, who were spectators. But as the best historians do not mention this combat, and it is not probable that they would have neglected to embellish their histories with so romantic an event, had there been any foundation for it: \* it probably is a mere fiction of a subsequent period.

Edmund did not long enjoy the peace which cost him so much exertion; for Edric Streon, his determined enemy, fearing that the union of the kings might prove fatal to him, bribed two of the king's chamberlains, or according to some accounts, employed his own son to assassinate him; and thus perished that heroic prince.

Edmund had not occupied the throne a complete year; but even in that short time he had given frequent proofs of an undaunted courage, a consummate prudence, and a generous nature. He was buried next his grandfather Edgar, at Glastonbury; and with him fell the glory of the English Saxons; for by his death the Danes prevailed, and the Saxon monarchy in reality ended, after it had lasted one hundred and ninety years from the establishment by Egbert, four hundred and thirty-two from the founding of the heptarchy, or octarchy, and five hundred and sixty-eight from the arrival of the Saxons under Hengist.

He left, by Alghitha, his wife, two sons, Edmund and Edward; and he had also a natural son, named Edwy, who was afterwards put to death by Canute.

The infamous Streon, who prided himself with doing Canute so signal a service, hastened to carry him the first news of it; but Canute detested the barbarous deed, as afterwards appeared. He however concealed his sentiments at the time, feeling he should have further occasion for him, and consequently promised to advance him above all the nobles of the realm; a promise which he kept in a very different manner from that which the traitor expected.

#### CANUTE THE GREAT, THE SECOND DANISH KING OF ENGLAND.

The death of Edmund furnished Canute with an opportunity and excuse to possess himself of Wessex, which the heirs of Edmund were little able to dispute with him. For this purpose he did not intend to resort to force of arms, but determined to carry his point by extorting the consent of the nobles; and however much averse the English might be to the Danish government, he was in hopes the dread of plunging the kingdom into fresh calamities would make such an impression on them, as would constrain them to comply with his desires. He therefore required a general assembly to be called in Wessex, in order to set forth his claim, determining to appeal to force if he met with too strong an opposition. Edmund having left two sons and two brothers, Canute could scarcely feign any pretence to the crown; but he maintained, that in the treaty of the Isle of Alney, it was agreed that the survivor of the two kings should succeed the

other; and he at the same time broadly intimated he should not abide by the determination of the assembly, if the matter were decided against him.

Edmund's two sons were very young, and his brothers were in Normandy, where they did not trouble themselves about obtaining the crown of Wessex; Canute, on the other hand, was in great power; and besides possessing half the kingdom, had many friends among the West-Saxons themselves, without reckoning those who were persuaded any expedient was preferable to the renewing of the war. It was therefore scarcely possible for the friends of the English princes to surmount such great obstacles; and had they been obstinately bent to continue the succession in the family of Edmund, they would have probably rekindled in the kingdom a war, which must have ended in its destruction. Consequently in this perplexity, they were contented with proposing that Canute should be declared protector of Edmund's children, till the eldest was of age to govern; by which means they hoped, if they did not place these princes on the throne, at least to preserve their rights entire. But Canute was not satisfied with a limited power, and was determined to succeed Edmund in his own right, by virtue of his interpretation of the treaty of Alney; a right which, though all did not acknowledge, yet none durst openly contest. He maintained, that although the treaty did not expressly say what he asserted, it could not be otherwise understood without infringement of its spirit; and to prove this to be the true intent of the parties concerned in the treaty, he called as witnesses all those who were present at the conclusion of the peace, and demanded of them, whether there was anything stipulated in favour of Edmund's sons? And upon their replying that there was even no mention at all of the princes, he argued they had no right to succeed their father. This reasoning, weak as it was, being supported by the votes of his party, and moreover by the fears of the English in general, was sufficient to determine the assembly to comply with his will; and his reasons were thought, or feigned to be thought, very solid; and without a closer examination, he was acknowledged and proclaimed king of all England, and all the nobility, both English and Danish, swore allegiance to him. He was then crowned, and immediately after, he divided the kingdom into the four governments of Mercia, Northumbria, East-Anglia, and Wessex. The first he gave to Edric Streon, the second to Eric, and the third to Turketul, reserving Wessex to himself, without appointing any deputy to its governance.

Canute was too politic not to be aware of the motive which induced the English to acknowledge him their sovereign; and although all the English that approached him took care to dissemble their sentiments, he was sensible an enmity of near two hundred years' standing, and fomented by continual wars, could not be extinguished in so short a space. For this reason, he resolved to use all possible precautions to hinder their revolt; and he was aware, that to this end two things were equally necessary, namely, the gaining the affection of his new subjects, and the getting rid of those who could give him any uneasiness. Though these two projects seemed inconsistent, he despaired not of accomplishing them, and accordingly spent the beginning of his reign to that purpose; and as he well knew, the most effectual means of becoming popular, was to cause justice to be administered fairly and impartially,

\* Ethelred, abbot of Revalle, gives a very particular account of what passed before, at, and after this famous duel, and such from Agnes Huntingdon, and Matthew of Westminster. Matthew's story, Edmund challenged Canute, but he declined the combat, and offered to divide the kingdom. Simon of Dunstun, and Hoveden mention nothing of the challenge or trial, but only speak of the division of the kingdom by the parties, at which, in the same manner as the Saxon Annals. So great is the uncertainty of this fact.

he publicly declared there should be, for the future, no distinction between the English and Danes; and consequently, published an edict,\* that every county should be governed by the same laws as in the time of the Saxon kings. He excepted, however, the northern counties, because they were peopled with scarce any other than Danes, who had introduced particular laws of their own, which there was no occasion to alter. The same edict denounced the severest punishments against malefactors, either Danes or English, his aim being to let the English perceive they might rely on the impartial execution of the laws. These wise precautions produced the intended effect; and the people were never weary of testifying their satisfaction to find themselves governed by their ancient laws, under the protection of an equitable prince, who seemed to have no other view, but the happiness of his subjects.

As soon as Canute saw the progress he had made in the hearts of the English, he believed he might venture without danger upon the second part of his project, the freeing himself from those that gave him most uneasiness, and particularly the Saxon princes. Alfred and Edward, brothers of the late king, had retired into Normandy, with their mother Emma, plainly foreseeing it would not be in the power of the West-Saxons to do justice to the royal family. Edmund's two sons, who remained in England, notwithstanding their youth, made the new king somewhat uneasy, on account of the people's affection for them; and he was only restrained, by his fear of outraging the English, from putting them to death. As some relief to his fears he had them conveyed to Denmark,† under colour of sending them abroad to travel; and the person intrusted with the princes, being suspicious of the king's design, was touched with compassion for them, and instead of carrying them to Denmark, conducted them to the king of Sweden, who gave them his protection, but being unwilling to quarrel with Canute, sent them to the court of Solomon, king of Hungary, his relation, who willingly undertook to take care of and educate them. Subsequently, Solomon gave one of his daughters in marriage to Edmund; and to Edward, his sister-in-law Agatha, daughter of the Emperor Henry II. Edmund died soon after his marriage; but Edward had five children, of whom two died in Hungary; and the others were, Edgar Atheling, Margaret, and Christian.

There were still in England two sons of Ethelred II., both named Edwy, of whom one was born in wedlock, and the other a natural child. The last was called, but for what reason does not appear, the king of the clowns. Canute was no less jealous of these than the other princes, and he therefore banished them the realm; but some time after, recalling the legitimate one, under pretence of being reconciled to him, he found means to have him dispatched. The other, after enduring many hardships in exile, returned into England, where he kept himself concealed, being privately supplied by his friends with necessaries for his subsistence.‡

\* This was done by a Wittena-Gemot at Oxford.

† All the English historians affirm, that Walgar (for that was the domestic's name) had orders to carry them to the king of Sweden, Swanorun, or Suevorun.

‡ These two Edwys are confounded by several historians; but they are plainly distinguished in the Saxon annals, and in the genealogy at the end of the History of Alfred, written by Speiman. As also in H. Huntingdon, who calls the first

Canute was exceedingly desirous to be freed from the anxiety occasioned by Alfred and Edward, the brothers of King Edmund, who were in Normandy with their mother; but he knew not how to get them out of the hands of Duke Richard II., their uncle. He was also apprehensive, that the duke, whose forces were formidable, would one day espouse their cause; and to prevent this danger, he determined to secure the duke of Normandy to his interests, by demanding in marriage his sister Emma, widow of Ethelred II., and by offering him at the same time, Estritha, one of his sisters; which proposals both being accepted, the two marriages were celebrated in a magnificent manner. If Emma was pleased with being once more queen of England, it was not so with Alfred and Edward her sons, who openly betrayed their dislike; and Edward especially, never forgave her for thus scandalously espousing the mortal foe of her first husband. Both of them were also additionally incensed against her for consenting, that the succession to the crown of England, should be settled, by the marriage-articles, on the heirs of her body by Canute; which was depriving, as far as lay in her power, the family of Ethelred of all hopes of ever mounting the throne.

After Canute had thus secured himself from the Saxon princes, he determined to get rid of those chiefs whose fidelity he suspected, or whose power made him uneasy. The three whom he most dreaded were, the duke of Mercia, the duke of East-Anglia, and the earl of Northumberland; all of whom had done him signal services; which he only considered rendered them more formidable to him. He knew Edric Streon to be a villain, and as he could not rely on his fidelity, since he had so often betrayed the two former kings, notwithstanding the obligations that ought to have attached him to their interests, he resolved to begin with him; and he was not long in finding a plausible opportunity, which even made his destruction appear an act of justice. Streon having one day the impudence to upbraid him publicly, for not rewarding him for his past services,\* and particularly for freeing him from so formidable a rival as Edmund; Canute instantly took the rash declaration; and Edric had no sooner uttered the words, but the king answered in a rage, since he was so audacious as openly to avow so black a treason, of which he had hitherto been only suspected, he should instantly receive his due punishment; and at the same moment, without giving him time to reply, he commanded him to be immediately beheaded, and his body thrown into the Thames.† Some chroniclers add that he ordered his head to be fixed on the highest part of the Tower of London;‡ that he might perform his promise to the traitor, to raise him above all the nobles of the realm.

Eric, earl of Northumberland, was banished the kingdom shortly after, under some pretence; and

Edwiadelinge, and the second Edwicheorleing. Malmshury says, Edwy-adelinge was buried at Tavistock in Devonshire.

\* He upbraided him for having deprived him of the earldom of Mercia.

† He was beheaded in the king's palace, and his body flung out of a window, into the Thames. So that the king's palace stood close to the Thames. Other historians say, that the body was cast upon the wall of the city, and left there unburied.

‡ That could not be, since the Tower of London was not built till the reign of William I. Huntingdon says, he ordered it to be fixed on the highest tower in London; and Brompton, on the highest gate in London.



Turketul, duke of East-Anglia, frightened by these examples, and perhaps by the king's emissaries, voluntarily absented himself.\* Several other persons of less note falling in like manner a sacrifice to the king's jealousy or suspicions, their posts were filled with those in whom he placed greater confidence; and from this time the English began to enjoy a state of tranquillity; but were still compelled to pay a tax of eighty thousand pounds for the arrears due to the Danish army, great part of whom were sent back to Denmark.

Canute finding the whole kingdom in profound tranquillity, and having no reason to fear a revolt, resolved upon a voyage to Denmark; where his presence was absolutely necessary, on account of the war which raged between the Danes and Vandals. He took with him such of the English chiefs as he suspected, lest his absence should encourage them to raise disturbances in the kingdom; and for this reason also, he carried with him the flower of the English troops, under the command of Earl Godwin, son of Ulnoth, mentioned in the reign of Ethelred II. Godwin, who possessed considerable military experience, signalized himself in this war, by a very bold though successful action. The two armies of the Danes and Vandals being near one another, Canute designed to attack the enemies early the next morning; but whilst his troops were refreshing themselves in expectation of the battle, Godwin privately withdrawing from the camp, with the troops under his command, fell upon the Vandals in the night, and putting them in disorder by this sudden attack, made a great slaughter of them, and routed the whole army. As a reward for this important service, Canute created him earl of Kent.

The war being ended, Canute returned into England, where immediately after his arrival he convened the great council to confirm the Danish laws, which for some time had been observed in part of the kingdom, and particularly in Northumbria. We may here observe, that at this time there were in England three sorts of laws, namely, the West-Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws; but the last of which had not the sanction of public authority, until Canute, at his return from Denmark, put them upon a level with the ancient laws of England.

Canute some time after was obliged to take a second voyage to Denmark, then invaded by the Swedes; which expedition was not very prosperous; and the English troops he carried with him were great sufferers.

Two years after this he resolved to revive some ancient pretensions to Norway; as Oalaüs, who then sat on the throne of that country, was a weak and unwarlike prince. He began the execution of this design by privately forming a strong party among the Norwegian chieftains; and as soon as matters were ripe, he sailed for Denmark with a considerable body of English troops, and suddenly landed them in Norway; and Oalaüs, who had no intelligence of his intentions, surprised at the attack, abandoned his kingdom. Upon his retreat, Canute was crowned king of Norway, utterly regardless of all right but such as conquest could bestow. Two years after, the dispossessed monarch attempting to recover his dominions, was slain by his own subjects, and Canute remained peaceable possessor of the kingdom. Oalaüs, after his death, was ranked among the saints, and honoured with the title of martyr.

\* He went to Denmark, where as soon as he landed, he was taken, and put to death.

The conquest of Norway appears to have satisfied Canute's ambition; for from that time he devoted himself to religion; that is to say, he made it his principal business to enrich the churches and monasteries; as if the usurpation of two kingdoms, and all the consequent evils, could be repaired by so slight a satisfaction. Among other things he took particular care to give public marks of his respect to St. Edmund, formerly king of East-Anglia, slain by the Danes; and built a stately church over the grave of that prince, and very much enlarged the town, which from him had the name of St. Edmund's-bury. The monastery, in the same place, called Bredicworth, which had been endowed by Edward the Elder, was also considerably enlarged by Canute, who augmented the revenues, and it consequently became one of the richest religious houses in the kingdom.\*

After he had shown, as he thought, visible marks of his devotion, he resolved upon a journey to Rome, which he performed in the year 1032; and whilst there, he made many rich presents to the churches, and confirmed all the grants of his predecessors to the church of Rome, and the English college; for which he obtained in return, certain privileges for the English churches, and some advantages for those who came to visit the tombs of the apostles; of which the most material, was an exemption to all Englishmen from the payment of any toll as they passed through Italy. The Emperor Conrad, of Germany, who was then at Rome, and with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, granted him the same privilege; as did also the king of France; and by this means the English pilgrims and travellers were eased of a great expense, and freed from a thousand insults and oppressions to which they had been liable in France, Italy, and Germany. We have an elaborate account of these matters in a letter written by Canute himself from Rome, to the assembly-general of the English nation, informing them what he had done in favour of his subjects: in which letter he also professes to feel great piety, and a fixed resolution to govern his kingdom after the most exact rules of justice, and desires his nobles to assist him in that laudable design.

Mackintosh says, "In his journey from Rome to Denmark (a wonderful enterprise for that age), he obtained the cession of the margraviate of Sleswick, and the acknowledgment of the Eyder, as the frontier of Denmark, which it still is, from the Emperor Conrad II. who obtained the station of temporal chief of Christendom."

As soon as he returned to England, he applied himself to the dedication of the church of St. Edmund, which he had begun before his journey to Rome; and having spent some years longer in continual acts of devotion, he died in 1036, in the nineteenth year of his reign.

Historians have not failed to give Canute the

\* Leland, who was an eye-witness of this town and monastery in their splendour, gives this description of them:—"A city more neatly seated the sun never saw, hanging upon a gentle descent, with a little river on its east side: nor a monastery more great and stately, whether we consider the endowments, largeness, and unparalleled magnificence. The monastery itself looks like a city, so many gates it has (some whereof are brass), so many towers, and a church, than which nothing can be more stately, to which as appendages, there are three more of admirable beauty and workmanship in the same churchyard." There are two still entire; viz. St. Mary's and St. James's; the third, which lies in ruins, was the great church of the monastery. Besides the immense value of the gifts at St. Edmund's tomb, the revenues at the dissolution amounted to one thousand five hundred and sixty pounds a year; a large sum in those days.

surname of Great, a title which seems peculiar to conquerors, as if true greatness consisted in invading the rights and properties of others. But if we do not confine this title within such narrow limits, Canute may still be said to merit that title, particularly as regards the latter part of his reign; the close of his life being very different from the beginning. If there is no exaggeration in the character which historians give him, from the time he was completely settled on the throne of England, he displayed a continual wisdom, justice, and moderation, that gained him the affection of his subjects, and a universal esteem among foreigners.

The following story, among others, is instanced as an example of his wisdom. One day, as he was walking by the sea-side, his attendants extolled him exceedingly, and even proceeded to compare him to God himself. Offended at these extravagant praises, and willing to convince them of their folly and impiety, he ordered a chair to be brought, and seating himself in a place where the tide was about to flow, turned to the sea, and said: "O sea, thou art under my dominion, and the land I sit on is mine: I charge thee not to presume to approach any further, nor to dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign." And having said this, he sat still for some time, as if expecting the sea would obey his commands; but the tide advancing as usual, he took occasion to admonish his flatterers, and told them, "that the titles of Lord and Master of all belonged only to Him whom the land and the sea obey:" and he is said, from that moment, never to have worn his crown again, but ordered it to be placed on the head of the crucifix at Winchester.

He left three sons, all arrived at manhood, to whom he bequeathed his three kingdoms by will. Sweyn, the eldest, a natural son, but according to some historians, a child imposed upon him for such by the mother, had Norway. To Harold, his second son, by the same woman, he gave England; and to Canute, or Hardicanute, whom he had by Emma of Normandy, the kingdom of Denmark. Gunilda, his daughter by the same princess, was married to the Emperor Henry IV.

As the affairs of Normandy are henceforward intimately mingled with those of England, it will not be improper to give some account of the Normans.

Richard II., duke of Normandy, dying in 1026, Richard III., his son, succeeded him, who reigned but one year, and by his death left the dukedom to Robert, his brother; who was no sooner in possession, than he espoused the interest of Alfred and Edward, his cousins, sons of his aunt Emma and Ethelred II.; and as soon as he heard of the death of Edmund's son, he sent ambassadors to Canute, to entreat him to give the two princes some part of the kingdom of their ancestors; but this embassy arrived in England, when Canute found himself so firmly seated in his throne, that he thought he might safely disregard the solicitations of the duke of Normandy. Robert was so incensed at his refusal, that he resolved to compel him to do justice to the English princes; and fitted out a powerful fleet, and embarking with a numerous army, resolved to make a descent upon England, where he did not question but the English would readily join him; but meeting with a violent storm, he had the misfortune to behold the greatest part of his fleet perish; a loss which could not be easily retrieved. In the mean time, these preparations satisfying Canute, that the duke of Normandy really intended to attempt the restoration of his cousins, he endeavoured

to amuse him with offering them part of the kingdom of Wessex. But Robert would not have been imposed upon by this offer, had not his unfortunate naval expedition constrained him to suspend the execution of his design, as it had also induced Canute to depart from his word. Some time after, Robert went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, deferring, till his return, his intended invasion of England; but he died in his way home, leaving a natural son, called William, on whom, before his departure, he had settled the succession.

#### HAROLD I., SURNAMED HAREFOOT, THE THIRD DANISH KING OF ENGLAND.

When Canute espoused the princess of Normandy, it was agreed that the children by this marriage should succeed to the crown of England; but notwithstanding this agreement, Canute left England to his son Harold, born in Denmark, and gave Denmark to Hardicanute, his son by Emma of Normandy. Apparently, he did not think the English had been sufficiently injured to the Danish yoke, to venture to place on their throne his youngest son, who was not above fifteen or sixteen years of age, and of no great genius. But the English considered Hardicanute, born in England, of a lawful wife, widow of one of their kings, as the only person entitled to succeed; and regarded Harold as a foreigner and bastard. The Danes, on the contrary, were firmly bent to perform Canute's last will and testament; and this difference might have been productive of a fierce civil war, if Harold had not with the utmost expedition, seized the treasure laid up by the king, his father, at Winchester; by which means he gained over several of his opponents, and consequently, in a general assembly in Mercia, secured a majority, and was proclaimed king of England. The Danes were unanimously for him, and of course, the English Mercians, or the inhabitants on the north of the Thames, who were under the dominion of the Danes, durst not openly oppose them.

Meantime, the West-Saxons, who did not deem themselves conquered, convened an assembly of the states of Wessex, and by the management of Earl Godwin, Hardicanute was elected and proclaimed king of Wessex, the West-Saxons leaving the Mercians free to acknowledge Harold for their king. It must be remembered, that although at this period there were Danes, or people of Danish extraction, dispersed all over England, their chief settlements were in Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumbria; and consequently, in all the country north of the Thames, called then by the general name of Mercia, there were more Danes than English. On the contrary, in Wessex, that is, south of the Thames, the English were the most numerous, having admitted among them such of their countrymen, who, to avoid living under the dominion of the Danes, had quitted the northern parts; by which means Wessex was exceedingly populous, and more powerful than ever, being capable of bringing into the field as large armies as the rest of England. Harold, upon this account, and not being possessed of his father's qualities, imagined he was not strong enough to undertake the conquest of Wessex. Nor did Hardicanute, who was in Denmark, hasten to take possession of the crown of Wessex; whether that he was detained by other affairs, or on this, as well as on all other occasions, gave way to his natural sluggishness; and during his absence Earl God-



win held the reins of the government in an absolute manner, independent of Emma, the queen-mother, who was unpopular with the West-Saxons.

Meanwhile, Harold was contriving to gain, by political intrigue, a kingdom which he found himself unable to subdue by arms; and as he had been deprived of it by the sole influence of Earl Godwin, he believed there was no readier way to ascend the throne, than by gaining the earl to his interest. He took advantage, therefore, of his brother's absence, to win Godwin to his interest, by means, which, though not expressly declared in history, may be easily conjectured; as he is known not to have been very scrupulous. The whole affair was so dexterously managed, that suddenly, on pretence that Hardicanute neglected to come into England, Harold was acknowledged king of Wessex. But this change was not made with the unanimous consent of the West-Saxons, but by the promptness and intrigues of Godwin's party, who managed so well, that it was done before any measures could be taken to obstruct it.

Emma, mother of Hardicanute, and her party, were extremely surprised at this revolution, which not only deprived her son of the crown of Wessex, but herself also of the hopes of ever having any share in the government. She perceived there was no possibility of recovering the crown for her son Hardicanute; and therefore formed a project to place one of her sons by Ethelred on the throne; calculating that the English would countenance, with all their power, an enterprise tending to set the crown on the head of a prince of the race of their ancient kings. It appears, that the desire of revenging herself on Godwin influenced her as much as her son's advancement. To succeed in her design, it was necessary to find some pretence, without raising the king's jealousy, to send for the two princes, her sons, who were in Normandy, that they might form a party for themselves; and with this view, she feigned to disregard the expulsion of Hardicanute, confining herself to Winchester, where she daily frequented the churches, and seemed to be wholly occupied with religious duties. When she imagined the king was sufficiently convinced of her disregard of state-affairs, she entreated permission to send for the two princes, her sons, to Winchester, whom she had not seen since her second marriage; and her request being granted, Alfred and Edward arrived soon after in England, without discovering any other intention but to visit their mother. They were caressed by great numbers of people, who, having English predilections, firmly adhered to the ancient royal family.

Godwin immediately perceived the queen's design, and employed numerous spies, by whose means he discovered the whole of her intentions; and consequently advised the instant destruction of the two Saxon princes, as the only effectual method of stopping the conspiracy. Harold approved of his advice, and as if he were ignorant of the queen's designs, invited them to come to his court before they returned into Normandy, where he pretended to believe they intended to go very shortly. This conduct was exceedingly perplexing to Emma, as she was very sensible it would be difficult for her sons to gain a powerful party among the nobility, without appearing at court; and on the other hand, if they did go there, they were placed in the power of Harold. She at last determined on sending Alfred, her eldest son, to the king, and detaining Edward under some pretence; imagining, very ju-

diciously, that if Harold had any evil design, he would defer the execution of it until he had both the brothers in his power, since the death of one would not destroy the competition for the throne. Godwin was sent to meet Alfred, seemingly to do him honour; and Alfred's little train, consisting of Normans, were at first charmed with the respect he paid to the prince; but their satisfaction was quickly turned into consternation, when the prince and all his attendants were stopped at Guildford-castle, where they had been carried under colour of refreshing themselves. Alfred was immediately after conducted to Ely, and, after having had his eyes put out, was shut up in the monastery; where he died a few days after, either from grief, or by some more violent means. Godwin was afterwards charged with his murder, but whether justly or no cannot be decided.

As soon as Edward was informed of his brother's death, he fled into Normandy; and shortly after, Emma receiving a command to depart the kingdom, she retired to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who assigned her the city of Bruges to reside in. It seems somewhat strange she should not have gone to Normandy to Duke William, her nephew; but probably, those who had the administration of the government there during the duke's minority, did not think proper to receive her; and, indeed, it was exceedingly probable that so intriguing a person would have increased the dissensions of that dukedom, in which William was far from being firmly established.

Whilst these things were transacting in England, Hardicanute waking at length from his lethargy, formed a design of recovering by arms the kingdom of Wessex, and for that purpose repaired to Bruges, to consult with the queen-mother; and most probably he would have found it very difficult to execute his design, had not the death of Harold, which happened very fortunately for him, removed all difficulties.

This prince died in 1039, without issue, at Oxford, in the fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Westminster. He was a coarse licentious ruffian, of too strong or too brutal a mind to be bigoted; as appears from his contempt of the monks, and open disregard of the observances of religion. He laid a tax of eight marks on every port, towards fitting out sixteen ships, and enacted a law, according to Selden, that if any Welshman, coming into England without leave, was taken on this side Offa's ditch, he should have his right hand cut off by the king's officer. He was surnamed Harefoot, because he was light and swift of foot; and his death happened in one of the hardest winters that had ever been known in England; when, according to the Saxon annals, a horse-load of wheat was sold for fifty-five pence and more.

#### CANUTE II., OR HARDICANUTE, THE FOURTH DANISH KING OF ENGLAND.

After the death of Harold, the chiefs of both nations unanimously made an offer of the crown to Canute, surnamed the Hardy, not to denote his courage, but his strong constitution. He was then at Bruges, concerting measures with the queen, his mother, for the recovery of the kingdom of Wessex, by means of a powerful aid promised him by the earl of Flanders; but the news of Harold's death putting an end to their consultations, he came to England with forty ships, which he had brought from Denmark. He was received with great demonstrations of joy, both by the

English and Danes; and Earl Godwin himself, though he had no reason to rejoice at his arrival, after the part he had taken against him, was the foremost to do him homage.

The new king began his reign with an act of disgusting barbarism. The ceremony of his coronation was scarcely over, when impatient to be revenged on his brother, though dead, he commanded his body to be dug up and thrown into the Thames; where some fishermen finding it floating, delivered it to the Danes, who interred it in the burial-place of their nation in London.\* It is further added, the king being informed of it, ordered the body to be thrown once more into the river; but, being found again, it was privately buried at Westminster.

Shortly after, Hardicanute imposed an exorbitant tax on the kingdom,† for the payment of the fleet sent back to Denmark; and although the English had often paid the Danegeld, they were dissatisfied at its being renewed, when there appeared no necessity for it. The inhabitants of Worcester openly opposed the levying this tax with the greatest vigour; and proceeded so far as to kill two of the collectors. Upon which the king desired Godwin, duke of Wessex, Leofric, duke of Mercia, and Siward, earl of Northumberland, to draw their forces together, and to march to Worcester, and destroy the city with fire and sword; who so far executed these commands, that the city was burnt, after having been plundered four days together; but the inhabitants had leave to retire into a small island in the Severn, named Beverly, till the king was appeased.

Not long after Prince Edward, son of Ethelred II., and brother of the king by the same mother, came over to England and demanded justice against Godwin, charging him with the murder of his brother Alfred. Hardicanute was not displeased at having an opportunity to punish the earl, not for the death of Alfred, but for his powerful support of the late king; and Godwin was cited to answer to the charge. But knowing the avaricious disposition of the king, he diverted the storm by a magnificent present, before his trial, of a galley, manned with fourscore soldiers, each of whom had a gold bracelet weighing sixteen ounces on his arm, gilded helmets and swords, a Danish battle-axe adorned with gold and silver hanging on the left shoulder, and a lance of the same in his right hand. The galley itself was equipped with suitable magnificence; and by means of this extravagant bribe, the earl was acquitted, upon taking an oath, that he had no share in the death of Alfred.

Hardicanute died suddenly in the third year of his reign, at the nuptial feast of a Danish lord at Lambeth,‡ where he fell senseless after an inordinate draught, and never spoke more. He was riotous and dissolute in his conduct, and addicted to the pleasures of the table, which some historians have dignified as a proof of a generous and hospitable disposition, whilst others have adduced it as the sign of a low and brutal taste. One monk writes, with great enthusiasm, that he nobly intro-

duced four meals a day; but another says, his cruelty and gluttony rendered him odious.

#### EDWARD III. THE CONFESSOR.

Hardicanute leaving no issue, Edward, the son of Ethelred II., and Emma of Normandy, was the only prince then in England who had any pretensions to the crown; and it was but reasonable that the race of the Saxon kings should be restored to the throne of which they had been so unjustly dispossessed. But if strict justice had been followed, it would have been necessary to have recalled from Hungary, Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, and to have given him the crown in preference to his uncle, who was one degree further removed. On the other hand, the uninterrupted succession of four Danish kings, who had possessed the throne for the space of twenty-eight years, with the consent of the English, gave a claim to Sweyn, son of Canute the Great, who was still alive. He was stigmatized by some as a bastard; but besides that the king his father had not treated him as such in the partition of his dominions, it might be said in his favour, he had a right to the same privilege as his brother Harold; whose being born of the same mother was no obstacle to his mounting the throne.

Amongst all these claims it was difficult to settle the succession to the satisfaction of all parties; and it was to be apprehended that, on this occasion, the old animosities between the two nations would be revived, and the kingdom plunged into its former calamities. Edward, son of Ethelred II., having spent most of his life in Normandy, was little known in England; but he had procured the support of Earl Godwin, whom he had previously prosecuted as the murderer of his brother.

Godwin, as we have already seen, was distinguished by his talent and rank, when Canute the Great intrusted him with the command of the English troops, in the war against the Vandals; and after that expedition, in which he signalized himself, Canute created him earl of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and gave him in marriage Thyra, sister of Earl Ulphon, to whom Canute had given his own sister Estrith, widow of the late duke of Normandy; by which wife Godwin had a son, who was drowned in the Thames by an unruly horse. His second wife was Gith, sister of Sweyn, king of Denmark, and successor of Hardicanute in that kingdom. By this wife he had seven sons, Harold, Tostig, Swane, Ulnoth, Gurth, Elfigar, Lewin, and a daughter named Editha. His influence with Canute the Great; the superiority of his genius; his noble alliances; his dignities of earl of Kent, duke of Wessex, and high-treasurer, conferred on him by King Harold; and lastly, the government of the counties of Oxford and Hereford, in the hands of his eldest son, had raised his fortune to such a degree, that it would hardly admit of any addition; and although his power was somewhat restrained in the reign of Hardicanute; he had the address to divert the danger which the jealousy of that monarch threatened him with. This potent and ambitious chieftain, before pledging himself to Edward's cause, stipulated for certain conditions, the chief of which was, the marriage of the future king to his daughter Editha; but it was not without some reluctance, that even the placid Edward consented to wed the daughter of his brother's murderer, and his own former persecutor. When Godwin had received from Edward all the assurances he demanded, he convened a general assem-

\* Which constant tradition affirms to be the church and church-yard of St. Clement Danes.

† Of twenty-one thousand and ninety-nine pounds, for the earl, and eleven thousand and forty-eight pounds, for his thirty-two ships. Malmesbury says, he gave twenty marks to every sailor; but others affirm, it was eight marks to every sailor, and ten or twelve marks to each of the captains.

‡ He was buried in the old monastery in Winchester, by the side of his father Canute



bly, where, by his intrigues that prince was acknowledged, and with unanimous consent, proclaimed king.

In this general assembly, to which, in all probability, the Danes being then without a leader, were not called, Godwin strenuously urged, that a favourable opportunity now offered to the English to free themselves from the oppressions under which they had groaned for so many years. He described with his natural eloquence, the calamities their country was overwhelmed with, whilst in subjection to foreigners; and expatiated on the extreme arrogance of the Danes, who, not content with sharing the kingdom with the English, treated them like slaves. He called to their remembrance the sad times, when an Englishman and a Dane meeting on a bridge, the former durst not stir till the latter had passed over; and reminded them of the base homage which the Danes enforced from them. And to all these degradations, he added that of the excessive taxes they had been obliged to pay, particularly Dane-geld, which was imposed for no other end but to satisfy the insatiable avarice of their oppressors; and in fact he omitted nothing that could arouse the indignation of his audience.

Edward was a prince of a weak constitution, and a narrow genius, and possessed none of the qualities requisite for his station. His unsteadiness on important occasions, his inability in public affairs, and his continual attachment to trifles, gave the nobles the opportunity of assuming an almost sovereign power; who soon perceiving his inefficiency, became so arbitrary in their governments, that they almost totally disregarded the government. Earl Godwin, especially, by degrees usurped so great an authority, that he had almost the same deference paid him as the king himself; and it is probable that the meanness of Edward's genius was the principal motive for procuring him the crown, that he might thus use his authority to further his ambitious views. The king secretly hated him and his whole family, and deferred his marriage with Editha as long as he could, and after staying two years on several pretences, he espoused her according to his promise; but then never consummated the marriage, so great was his aversion to Godwin and his family. The queen appears to have had a strict regard to virtue, and to have been endowed with a considerable loftiness of spirit. She bore his neglect with great patience; and finding it was not in her power to gain his affections, she devoted herself to study and religion. The author of the life of Edward pretends, that he made a vow of chastity long before his marriage, and persuaded the queen to do the same; but Malmesbury is very doubtful of this circumstance, and shows a strong inclination to believe Edward's hatred to Godwin was the real cause of his abstaining from his daughter. Edward durst not venture to divorce her, for fear the earl, by whose interest alone he had mounted the throne, might have it equally in his power to depose him; and for this reason he continued to conceal, in all other respects, his aversion to him, and even to heap favours on him, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to show his resentment. But he did not consider that this dissimulation increased the earl's credit with the people, who imagining he was really in favour with the king, more firmly adhered to him; and Godwin artfully improved these advantages, and became every day more formidable from the great number of his adherents. He, however, met with

some slight counterpoise in Siward, earl of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, the former of whom had the reputation of being the bravest and best noble in the kingdom; and his excellent qualities gave him great authority at court, as well as among the Northumbrians, who were under his government. Leofric was also universally esteemed; and his power was so great in Mercia, that he had more influence there than Edward himself. These two chiefs united in an opposition to Godwin, and firmly adhered to the person of the king, and supported his authority.

Edward, to whom were given the titles of saint and confessor, mounted the throne with dispositions very repugnant to true sanctity; for besides his hatred to Godwin and his own wife, he cherished in his breast against his mother a desire of revenge, which agreed little better with the maxims of the Gospel. It must, however, be remembered that his mother, who had never any great affection for him, had done enough to exasperate her son in marrying Canute the Great, the mortal enemy of her first husband; and had moreover given her consent, that the children of her second marriage should succeed to the crown of England, which showed but little regard for those of the first. All which made so deep an impression on Edward's mind, that all her endeavours afterwards to procure him the throne, were not able to efface it; and as soon as he found it in his power to make her feel the effects of his resentment, he delayed not to gratify his revenge. And for this purpose when she least expected it, he visited Winchester, where her treasures were, and without showing the least regard for her, deprived her of them, leaving her, however, a moderate portion for her subsistence; and thus this princess, the widow of two kings, the mother of two more, and the daughter of a duke of Normandy, little inferior to a king, found herself at the close of her life, reduced to comparative poverty by the rigour of her own son.

But Edward was not content with showing, by this act of violence, the little respect and affection he had for his mother; and several historians assert that he caused her to be accused of incontinence, with Alwin, bishop of Winchester; and regardless of her quality, compelled her to undergo the ordeal trial, which consisted in obliging her to walk bare-foot and hood-winked over nine red-hot plough-shares. It has been said that Emma escaped unhurt, and gave in memory of this deliverance nine manors to the next monastery; but as has just been related, she had none left to give; and she passed ten years in the condition she was reduced to by the king her son, living in Winchester in a kind of imprisonment, from which she was delivered by her death in 1052.

Whilst Edward was thus venting his resentment upon his mother, he received advice, that a great storm was gathering in the north; and that Sweyn, king of Norway, son of Canute the Great, designing to prosecute his claim to the crown of England, was preparing for an invasion of England. Edward was no less alarmed than his subjects, and proceeded to make some preparations; and Guilda, niece of Canute the Great, fell a sacrifice to his fears; and was constrained to abandon the kingdom and her family, lest she should intrigue in favour of the Danes. But owing to an unexpected war, which suddenly arose between the kings of Denmark and Norway, the invasion was not completed; and some time after Sweyn was deposed

by Magnus, son of Oalaüs the Martyr, whom Canute the Great had dispossessed of Norway. Magnus was no sooner master of that kingdom, but he carried the war into Denmark; with intent to dethrone the king (also named Sweyn), who demanded assistance of England; and Godwin was of opinion, that to keep up the war between these two princes, an aid of fifty sail should be sent him. But Siward and Leofric, for reasons which have not reached us, prevented the council from coming to this resolution; and for want of this assistance, Sweyn was dethroned, but restored to his kingdom after the death of his enemy.

The dissensions in Denmark hindered not the Danish marauders from putting to sea, and ravaging the English coasts. In the year 1046, twenty-five sail of Danes arrived unexpectedly at Sandwich, whence they carried off a great booty; and then sailing for Essex, they carried away great numbers of slaves of both sexes, and all conditions. The English were extremely alarmed; but Godwin, Siward, and Leofric, took such complete measures, that the Danes, terrified in their turn, hastily retired, and prosecuted their ravages elsewhere.

The retreat of these Danes did not entirely restore peace to the kingdom, the coasts being in the same year infested by a new enemy. Swane, a son of Godwin, having violated an abbess, and not daring to stay in England after such an act, retired into Denmark, where he in vain expected his pardon, by the mediation of the earl, his father; but whether Godwin was willing he should be chastised, or found the king inexorable, he was not able to procure a pardon so soon as he expected; which when Swane found, he manned eight ships, and made open war upon the English, plundering the merchants, and committing such barbarities on the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, as exceeded those of the most barbarous enemies. His rebelliousness gave Godwin's enemies a great advantage, who took occasion from thence to exasperate the king more against the earl and his family; and the earl himself was in great perplexity. He was not willing to appear openly for his son, lest he should be charged with abetting his rebellion; and on the other hand, he was extremely concerned at Swane's being considered as a public enemy. To free himself from this situation, he induced Earl Beorn, son of Ulphon and Fistrith, sister of Canute the Great, to use his interest with the king in behalf of his rebellious son; and although Beorn had openly declared an animosity towards Swane, he was prevailed with by Godwin to intercede with the king, who complied with his request upon certain conditions; which Beorn went to convey to Swane, and to persuade him to submit to the king's mercy, but was ill rewarded for his pains; for Swane imagining the earl had come to betray him, slew him with his own hand, and ordered his body to be thrown into the sea. This brutal action prevented a reconciliation at that time; but the king afterwards granted him a pardon, notwithstanding the complication of his crimes: so much did this weak monarch dread Godwin's power and connexions; and thus that powerful chief, though hated by the king, obtained as many favours as if he had been really beloved by him; all which, however, instead of producing a mutual affection, served only to foment their disunion.

Besides the private resentment of the king towards Godwin, the earl had also to contend with his other enemies, the Normans, who were very

numerous at court, and in great credit there; and who considered Godwin as their professed enemy, because he loudly complained of the great regard the king had for them, and did not scruple to promulgate, that they would soon prove as troublesome as the Danes; and his complaints were not altogether groundless, for Edward, who was educated among the Normans, inclined to their manners, and expressed such an affection for them, as raised the jealousy of the English. The Norman language was more generally spoken at court than the Saxon; and the king's favour rendered them exceedingly insolent. Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, of all the Normans, was in the greatest favour at court. The king had taken him from a monastery in Normandy, to promote him to the bishopric of London, and afterwards to the archbishopric of Canterbury, to the great discontent of several English bishops, who aspired to that dignity. This prelate, who was naturally arrogant, and whom the royal favour made still more so, kept no measures with Godwin, who also showed the utmost contempt for him. The archbishop, incensed to find himself thus treated, made use of all his power to misinterpret and misrepresent all the earl's actions, and to inflame the king's hatred to him to a still higher degree.

Matters standing thus at court, an incident occurred very unexpectedly, which brought Earl Godwin to the brink of destruction, and gave the king an opportunity to discover his enmity towards him. Eustace, earl of Boulogne,\* being come to visit the king, his brother-in-law, was honourably and kindly received, Edward having a particular affection for him. Some time after, as he was on the road, in his return to France, one of his people, who was sent before to provide at Dover, insisted upon having lodgings in the house of a man there against his consent, and wounded him in the struggle; upon which some townsmen killed the other upon the spot. This occurrence exciting the inhabitants, they rose generally and ran to arms, to seize the murderer, who stood upon his defence, with some of the earl's domestics that were with him. Eustace, entering the town in the midst of this tumult, and seeing his people attacked, was obliged to take their part, without having time to inquire into the occasion of the quarrel; but being overpowered with numbers, twenty of his retinue were killed on the spot, and he himself narrowly escaped with his life. Enraged at this affront, he returned to the king at Gloucester, where the court then resided, and loudly demanded satisfaction; and Edward, willing to do him justice, ordered Godwin to march immediately with some forces, and chastise the rioters that were under his government. But instead of obeying the king's order, the earl warmly replied, "It was not the custom in England to punish people unheard, and the rights and privileges of the subjects ought not to be violated; that the accused should be summoned, and make satisfaction with their bodies or estates if guilty, or if innocent, should be discharged. Adding, in a very resolute manner, that being earl of Kent, it was his business to protect those who were under his government against the insults of foreigners." Some historians say, he even desired the king to deliver up the earl of Boulogne into his hands, that he might be punished upon the place, if found guilty of this riot. Edward was extremely provoked with this bold answer, which was not only a refusal to obey his commands,

\* He was father to the famous Godfrey of Boulogne, who won Jerusalem from the Saracens



but also a reproach for his partiality to foreigners; and the archbishop and the rest of the Normans eagerly improved this occasion to exasperate him against the earl.

However angry the king might be, he was compelled to conceal it. Siward and Leofric being absent, there was little prospect of succeeding, should he attempt anything against Godwin, without being first assured of their concurrence. But as he was in the utmost impatience to be revenged, he dispatched trusty messengers to these two chieftains, to inform them of his resolution to humble Godwin, and to request, or rather desire them, to repair to him immediately. Godwin obtained notice of his design, and made preparations accordingly; and as he was very sensible he should be infallibly ruined, was he not beforehand with his enemies, he drew together some troops, which were soon reinforced with others from his son's government. An opportune incursion of the Welsh at the same time into Herefordshire, furnished him with a pretence to levy this army; and he pretended these forces were designed to drive the enemy out of the kingdom, though he had received no orders to that purpose. In the mean time, the king causing him to be summoned before a general assembly convened at Gloucester, he came with his sons, but so well attended, that he had nothing to fear; and guarded as he was, it would have been dangerous to call him to an account, and a peace was ratified, which was not, however, of long continuance. A general assembly was in consequence again convened, where Godwin and his sons were summoned to appear; but they refused to attend, without a safe conduct, and hostages for their security; and on their refusal, they were banished the kingdom, and the combination against them was so strong, that they found themselves suddenly abandoned by their principal adherents, and were compelled to submit to the sentence imposed on them. Godwin retired to the earl of Flanders, father-in-law of his son Tostig, and Harold sailed for Ireland, where he hoped to meet with assistance; and to completely deprive them of all hopes of ever returning, the king disposed of all their posts, the chief of which was conferred on Algar, son of Leofric. Edward was not contented with being freed from Godwin, but also confined the queen in the nunnery of Wharwel, in Hampshire, of which his sister was abbess.

Godwin, who considered himself oppressed, was not long without endeavouring to reinstate himself; and the earl of Flanders furnishing him with some ships, he infested the eastern coasts of England, whilst Harold, his eldest son, harassed the western. But these feeble attempts were to little purpose; and he was obliged to return to Flanders, where, for two years together, he endeavoured to persuade the earl to lend him a powerful assistance. Baldwin being at length prevailed on, granted him an and capable of making a formidable attack; and Harold also equipped a large number of ships in Ireland. Edward having intelligence of these proceedings, fitted out a fleet with great expedition, the command of which was given to Randolph of Mortagne, his nephew, and a chieftain named Odda; but whether they were deficient in duty or conduct, or were disgraced through intrigues, which history has not discovered, Edward on a sudden removed them from the command of the fleet; and this alteration, and the reducing some of the inferior officers, raised such discontent among the sailors, that

they deserted in crowds; and the royal ships not being in a condition to keep the sea, were brought up the Thames in order to be newly manned. Godwin having information of this disorder, put to sea immediately, and made a descent on the Isle of Wight, where he extorted great sums from the inhabitants, whilst he waited for his son Harold to join him; and after their junction, they sailed up the Thames, and advanced towards London, where the king's fleet lay. Edward was desirous to go himself with such ships as were ready, and try the fortune of a battle; but his council opposed it; and the earl, who was informed of the disposition of the council, behaved in a very submissive manner to the king, who was prevailed on by the principal lords, and especially Stigand, bishop of Winchester, a friend of Godwin's, to receive him into favour again; and he agreed that he should be acquitted by the general assembly of the kingdom, of the murder of Prince Alfred, which he was charged with again, on condition he should give hostages for his good behaviour for the future. Godwin submitting to the king's terms, put into his hands his son Ulnoth, and his grandson Hacune, who were immediately sent into Normandy, Edward not thinking he could secure them in England; and the earl and his sons were restored to their estates and dignities, and the king released and received the queen. Godwin's disgrace seemed only to have served to render him more powerful and formidable.

On the ratification of this agreement between the king and the earl, the archbishop of Canterbury retired to the monastery of Jumiege, in Normandy; and shortly after his departure, was outlawed by a general assembly. Stigand was made archbishop in his place, on supposition that the see was become vacant by his banishment; but the court of Rome would not sanction this arrangement.

The court of England enjoying a profound quiet after Godwin's return, William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, visited Edward; and according to some historians, it was during this visit that Edward made the will on which the Norman duke afterwards founded his claim to the throne of England; but it is most probable that he did not actually make a will, but contented himself with giving the duke some verbal promise.

About this period Godwin died suddenly, as he sat at table with the king; and Harold, his eldest son, succeeded him in all his powers and honours.

The death of Godwin did not afford much relief to the weak and placid king. Harold had the same friends, the same creatures, and the same interest as the earl his father; and the only difference between the father and the son was, that the latter was of a more polished and easy nature, less arrogant, and more submissive to the king. His abilities were equal, if not superior, to his father's.

The cessation of hostilities with foreign potentates which had lasted during this reign, was a little disturbed by a short war with Macbeth, king of Scotland, who had usurped the throne from Malcolm, having first murdered Duncan. Edward espoused the cause of Malcolm, and commissioned Siward, earl of Northumberland, to restore him to his kingdom, who in one decisive battle routed and slew Macbeth. From such meagre narrations, on which the historian can scarcely state the bare circumstances of the war, the genius of Shakspeare has furnished a drama so vivid in its details, and so powerful in its effect, that the actions and character of Macbeth are as familiar to us

as those of Cromwell or Napoleon. Siward had scarcely concluded this war, when he was seized with a fatal distemper; and when he found he was dying, the old warrior rose, and causing his armour to be put on, expired in that posture, declaring it dishonourable for a brave man to expire in his bed.

After the death of Siward, the government of Northumberland was conferred on Tostig, brother of Harold, Edward not having resolution enough to refuse him that favour, though he had every reason to dread the advancement of that turbulent and ambitious family.

The personal merit and popular manners of Harold daily procured him multitudes of adherents. He had married the duke of Mercia's daughter, but Algar his brother-in-law behaved very coldly towards him. The latter, who was of a restless and violent character, had entered into a dangerous conspiracy with Griffin, king of Wales, which being discovered, he was accused of treason, and condemned to banishment; and he retired to his friend Griffin, who received him with cordiality, and cherished his discontent. Some time after they made an inroad together into Herefordshire, and defeated Randolph of Mantes, earl of that county, who had attempted to drive them thence; and encouraged by this success, they began to make further advances, when they were met by Harold, who stopped their career. A peace being the consequence of this victory, Harold made use of all his interest to obtain a pardon for Algar, and got him at length restored to his estate and honours; by which unusual act of generosity, he gained his friendship, and exceedingly increased the esteem which the people already entertained towards him. The reputation acquired by Harold in his last expedition, his generosity to Algar, his courteous manner, his beneficent temper, gained him the hearts of the people; and it began to be the public discourse, that as the king had no heirs, Harold had the most claim worthy to succeed him. The affection of the English for the earl, very naturally mortified Edward; who seems originally to have intended to leave the crown to the duke of Normandy, as he never thought of recalling home his nephew, in Hungary, until he found Harold aspired to the crown, and that his popularity as an Englishman would prevent any foreigner from successfully attempting the throne. Immediately he became convinced of this, he sent for his nephew Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, out of Hungary; who arrived in England in 1057, bringing with him his young son Edgar, and Margaret and Christiana his daughters, who were all three born in Hungary. His arrival diffused great joy through the nation, and he was universally considered as the king's presumptive heir; esteem for Harold giving place to affection for the royal family. There was no contesting his right to succeed his uncle, since, had he not been absent when it was debated who should sit on the throne after Hardicanute, he would have been unquestionably preferred even to King Edward himself; but this prince, who seemed designed by all parties for the crown, died soon after his arrival in England, leaving his just, though empty title to Edgar his son, surnamed Atheling.\*

Æthelric, duke of Mercia, died in the same year; of whom historians have given a high character;

but more especially of Godiva his wife; of whom it is related, that in order to free the inhabitants of Coventry from a heavy tax laid on them by her husband, she readily consented to a very extraordinary condition, on which the earl promised to ease them of their burden, namely, that she should ride naked from one end of the town to the other. This condition gave the burghers little hopes of being relieved; but Godiva performed it, covering her body with her hair, and commanding all persons to keep within doors, and from their windows, on pain of death. Notwithstanding this severe penalty, it is said, there was one who could not forbear peeping, but his curiosity cost him his life; and in memory of this event, there was long a statue of a man looking out of a window, always kept in a certain house at Coventry. Algar succeeded to his father's earldom, by Harold's interest, who earnestly interceded for him.

Harold about this time visited the duke of Normandy, but for what particular purpose or what circumstances actually took place between these two powerful chieftains, are matters of great dispute; and no subject in the whole of our early history is more involved in obscurity than this. Some historians say Harold visited Normandy to regain his two brothers, who had been placed as hostages for the good behaviour of their father the Earl Godwin; others, that he was dispatched on some mission by Edward the king, who desired that William of Normandy should find some means of detaining him, and thus rid him of such a powerful and dangerous subject; and others again say, that Harold was driven by a storm on the coast of Picardy, and was imprisoned by the Count Ponthieu, and released by the intercession of William, whom he therefore visited. But whatever was the cause of his visiting Normandy, it appears that William revealed to him his design on the crown of England on the death of Edward, and engaged him by the most sacred vows to assist him in this project; and it is said Harold swore in the most solemn manner at the altar to comply with his desires: and in order to render the compact more binding, historians add that, William had conveyed some most precious relics under the altar whereon Harold pledged his word, which he afterwards produced to him. These transactions are most curiously and ingeniously displayed in the famous Bayeux tapestry; which was embroidered by Queen Matilda and her workwomen on white linen cloth, or canvass; it is two hundred and twelve feet in length, and one foot eleven inches in breadth. The figures are in their proper colours, worked in the manner of samplers in worsted, and in a style not unlike what we see on china and japan ware: those of the men, more particularly, being without the least symmetry or proportion.

It appears strange that two powerful and talented competitors, who, in other respects, were cautious and politic in the extreme, should thus have betrayed their most secret and important designs to each other; and it is therefore very evident many important details of this transaction are lost to us. Perhaps William hoped to secure Harold's aid, and prevent his competition by promise of an extraordinary share in the advantages of the sovereignty of the country, and Harold, while in his power, dissimulated and acceded to his views. Perhaps this interview was the effect of some weak endeavour of the king to unite these two ambitious nobles, so opposed by interest and temper to each other.

\* Truly noble, to denote his being of royal blood. His father, Prince Edward, surnamed the Outlaw, was buried at St. Paul's, London.



But whatever the motives for this compact were Harold, on his return to England, pursued his own, interest regardless of it; and finding his popularity greater than ever, pursued every possible mode to secure the crown on its demise. The feeble king in his supineness perceived not these intrigues; Prince Edward, the rightful heir, was too young and too unprotected to offer any effective opposition; and his great competitor, William of Normandy, too distant to be able to counteract his deep and wide-spread schemes: and Harold therefore had ample opportunity to pursue his ambitious projects.

The Welsh renewing their incursions under the conduct of Griffin their king, Harold and his brother Tostig joined their forces to repulse them; and were so fortunate in their expedition, that after several advantages gained upon the Welsh, they compelled them to dethrone Griffin, and become tributary to England. Griffin being afterwards restored, and renewing the war with the English, Harold marched to the frontiers, and struck such a terror into the Welsh, that they sent him the head of their king; and this event, which proved how formidable Harold was to the enemies of the state, confirmed the English in their opinion, that he, who knew so well how to defend it, deserved to wear the crown.

Tostig, his brother, who had been appointed earl of Northumbria, so alienated the people by exactions and atrocities that they revolted and expelled him; and Morcar, the son of Algar, was chosen by them for their earl; who led them southward and was joined by armed insurgents from Wales and other counties. Harold was ordered to chastise them, and restore his brother; but as soon as he approached the borders, the Northumbrians sent deputies to inform him of the reasons of their insurrection; and finding this affair related chiefly to Tostig, and that the king was not directly concerned in it, he sent an impartial account to the court, and not only obtained a pardon for the Northumbrians, but interceded so that Morcar was confirmed in his earldom; by which politic proceeding, he gained the affection of the northern people, and contracted a friendship with Morcar, which was necessary for the execution of his projects. Tostig fled with his wife and friends into Flanders to Earl Baldwin his father-in-law.

Whilst Harold was thus preparing his way to the crown, Edward was wholly employed about the structure of the church and monastery of Westminster, on which he expended the money that he had vowed to appropriate to a journey to Rome, which was dispensed with by the pope upon that condition. There had formerly been in the same place, called Thorney by the Saxons, a famous pagan temple, sacred to Apollo, which Sebert, king of Essex, on embracing the Gospel, converted into a Christian church, which was destroyed by the Danes. This church having been long buried in its ruins, Edward undertook to rebuild it, with an adjoining monastery, which, from its lying west of London, was called Westminster;\* and a city was built round it by degrees, which now forms one of

the most splendid portions of the metropolis, and retains the name of the monastery. The church and monastery being finished about the latter end of the year 1065, Edward was desirous the dedication should be performed in a very solemn manner; and for this purpose he summoned a general assembly to meet at London, at which were present all the bishops and chieftains of the kingdom; but at this very time he was seized with a sudden and fatal illness; and when he found that his dissolution was approaching, his only care was to finish the ceremony for which the chief men were assembled; and he avoided making any regulation as to the succession; the right of which was manifestly in Prince Edgar his nephew.

Harold, who was exceedingly popular, was not idle; and as almost all the nobles of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, were then assembled at London, he found means to induce them to decide in his favour, and come to a resolution of sending deputies to the dying king to entreat him to name a successor; which deputies had orders to insinuate, that in case he nominated any but Harold, he would infallibly involve the kingdom in endless troubles; a measure inconsistent with his wisdom, and the affection he had ever expressed for his people. Edward, not being then in a condition to examine a proposal of this nature, replied, that since they were met in a body, he left it to them to choose the person they judged most worthy to rule over them, and dying a few moments after, on the eve of the Epiphany, left the succession as unsettled at his death as it was during his life.

Edward, who was born at Gislip, near Oxford, reigned twenty-four years, without ever suffering any misfortune from foreign enemies; but he cannot, however, be said to have reigned happily, since he lived in continual apprehension of the overgrown power of Godwin and his family. His mild and peaceable temper procured him some tranquillity; and had he attempted to humble Godwin and lessen Harold's power, he would certainly have been involved in dissensions, from whence he would have found it difficult to extricate himself. He was remarkable neither for his virtues nor vices; and his natural capacity was exceedingly feeble. His piety has been very much extolled, and acquired him the title of Confessor; but we do not find he was any sufferer on account of religion, unless we consider as a sort of martyrdom, the mortifications he voluntarily imposed upon himself from a religious motive. It is certain he was very charitable, and expended in alms the sums usually lavished by other princes upon their pleasures; which joined to his easy good nature, of which he gave from time to time uncommon instances, made him pass for a saint among the people, and particularly among the monks, who reaped great advantages from his liberal disposition. The latter have not been satisfied with extolling his virtues, but have also canonized his faults of which we need no other proof than that of his own historian, or rather panegyrist, who attributes his voluntary chastity to a vow made before his marriage. This writer assures us, Edward espoused Editha, daughter of Godwin, purely to exercise his virtue by a continual temptation; but it is easily perceived that he acted from a very different motive, since he parted with his wife the moment he thought he could do it with safety. However, the opinion of his sanctity taking by degrees deep root in the minds of the people, he was canonized by Pope Alexander III..

\* It was dedicated to St. Peter. This fabric of Edward's was destroyed by Henry III. about one hundred and sixty years after it, erected a new one, which was fifty years in building. The monks very much enlarged it on the west side, and Henry VII. added to the east a chapel, which Edward called the Chapel of the Virgin. Edward was buried in the west choir, but in 1538 his body was quietly deposited in the choir.

under the name of Edward the Confessor, about two hundred years after his death.

We are told he was favoured with several revelations, with the gift of prophecy, and many other miraculous powers; amongst which was the power of curing the king's evil, which is the most extraordinary of all miracles, it having been supposed to be an hereditary one; and successive sovereigns, until George I., have, with the exception of William III., laid claim to it.

King Edward was good-natured to a weakness; and many instances are recorded of his easy and placid nature; but the two following stories are the greatest favourites of his historians. One day, having lain down upon his bed, a domestic, who did not know he was in the room, stole some money out of a chest he found open, which the king let him carry off without saying a word; but on the boy's quickly returning to make a second attempt, the king called to him without the least anger, "Sirrah, you had best be satisfied with what you have got, for if my chamberlain comes and catches you, he will not only take away all you have stolen, but whip you severely." Another time, when he was hunting, a countryman maliciously spoiling his sport, he galloped up to him, and said to him in anger, "By our Lady, I would be revenged on thee if it was in my power."

Edward was the last king of Egbert's race, though not the last Saxon king; and had he not preposterously abstained from conversing with his queen, he might perhaps have had children, and thereby prevented a revolution, which involved the English in slavery. In person, he was tall and well made; his hair and skin were white, and his complexion rosy.

Before his reign, the West-Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws were observed in England, namely, the first in Wessex, the second in Mercia, and the last in Northumbria; but he reduced them all into one body; and from that time they became common to all England, under the name of the laws of Edward, to distinguish them from those of the Normans, introduced afterwards.

#### HAROLD II.

If the chieftains assembled to appoint a successor to Edward had been swayed only by justice, equity, and the ancient customs of the kingdom, they would not have long debated to know to whom the crown had devolved. Edgar Atheling was the only prince of the family of their ancient kings, and consequently, the only person who had a right to lay claim to the crown; but Harold had so well contrived his measures, that he was unanimously elected, without any regard to the right of the lawful heir. The duke of Normandy's pretensions, grounded on the late king's promise, do not seem to have been considered at all; and it is certain he had never openly declared his design of aspiring to the crown of England; and accordingly, the English lords might be ignorant of the matter, or at least pretend to be so; but even supposing they had been informed of his pretensions, it would have served only to furnish them with an additional motive to place on the throne a king more capable than Edgar Atheling, of defending the kingdom against the attacks of a foreign prince.

The manner of Harold's succeeding to the crown is variously related by historians: several affirm, he was elected with one common voice, and without

any constraint, by the Wittena-Gemot then assembled, and crowned the day after his election by the archbishop of York; but others say, he usurped the crown by compelling the great council to elect him, after extorting his nomination from the late king just as he was dying; and there are even some who look upon this election as a fiction, affirming, Harold, without troubling himself about the consent of the nobles or people, put the crown on his head himself without any formality. The reason of this diversity of statement among the historians, proceeds from their espousing either the right of Harold, or of the duke of Normandy, as if Prince Edgar's claim was to be reckoned as nothing; whereas, in truth, he alone had a right to succeed to the crown. But as among this variety of opinions there is considerable danger of being swayed by the passions and prejudices of the historians, rather than by justice and equity, it will not be amiss to explain the matter, by laying before the reader what might be alleged on the claims of each of the three competitors.

Of Prince Edgar, it suffices to say, that he was the sole prince of the royal race. It is true, his being born out of the kingdom might be objected against him; but as Prince Edward, his father, was not legally banished, his being compelled by Canute to live in exile ought not to have prejudiced his son's right.

The duke of Normandy can hardly be imagined to have aspired to the crown of England without some foundation, and yet it cannot be conceived upon what title he supported his pretension; so great is the diversity of opinions upon this subject. Some historians tell us, he was invited over by the English to free them from the tyranny of Harold; others, that Edward, when in Normandy, promised him, if ever he came to the crown, to make him his heir; and several even affirm, that Edward appointed him his successor by his last will; and some even assure us, this will was confirmed in Edward's lifetime by the general assembly of the nation; but this document was never produced. Neither does it appear that William ever founded his claim upon any such thing, as if it were known, or he had it in his hands. In all probability, therefore, the foundation he rested on, was some verbal promise made him by Edward when he was in England; and most probably it was in consequence of this promise, that he required Harold not to enter into any competition with him. Had the English done Edgar justice, and placed him on the throne, Duke William would not, perhaps, have attempted upon so trifling a pretension, to wrest the crown from a prince to whom of right it belonged; but he had only to contend with Harold, who, although a private individual, had procured himself the crown by indirect practices, and without any shadow of right; and accordingly, setting aside Prince Edgar, he compared his right only with that of the usurping monarch. His interest also induced him to consider, that Edward's promise was equivalent to an election, since it was thought proper to exclude the lawful heir; to all which may be added, that he looked upon the crown of England as what he could not fail of acquiring, especially after binding Harold by an oath; and therefore, the indignation at being deceived, the desire of revenge, and chiefly his ambition, the root of the quarrel, all concurred to inspire him with a resolution to make an attempt upon the English crown, in spite of all opposition. Persuaded as he was, that he had no less right than



Harold, he thought he might use force to wrest the crown from a usurper, without any fear of meeting that violent opposition which would have arisen in favour of an hereditary claimant to the throne.

Harold's right ought also to be considered under a double view; first, with regard to the duke of Normandy, and then with regard to Prince Edgar. If we examine the election of this king, in opposition to the duke, we find nothing but what was regular and according to established form, and against which the duke could not have any just reason to object; and it is certain, supposing Edward had nominated William his successor, either by will or otherwise, the nomination would have been of no force, unless confirmed by the assembly of states; and the election therefore of Harold was perfectly legal, at least with regard to the duke of Normandy, since it was made by the assembly-general, whose power William himself must have had resort to.

After Harold was crowned, he was universally acknowledged as king by the English, but he was surrounded by many foreign enemies; and his brother Tostig, who was not ignorant of the duke of Normandy's intentions, with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, on account of their marrying two sisters, daughters of the earl of Flanders, went to him to concert measures with him against Harold. There is no doubt but William encouraged him to execute his designs; but it does not appear that he furnished him with any money, troops, or ships; all which he himself required for his intended invasion. Probably, therefore, it was the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, who supplied Tostig with ships, by means of which he infested the English coasts, and plundered the Isle of Wight, and afterwards landed some troops at Sandwich; when being informed the king was marching towards him, he set sail for the north, entered the Humber with his little fleet, and made a descent on Yorkshire, and committed ravages as if he had been in an enemy's country. Harold, not thinking it advisable to leave the southern parts, commissioned Earl Morcar to go against his brother; who, having been made governor of Northumbria in the place of Tostig, was particularly interested in putting a stop to his incursions.

Harold remained at London, that he might control Edgar's party, and prevent them from exciting any discussions upon account of that young prince; who seemed to him, at that time, to be his most dangerous competitor. He was sensible the injustice done Edgar sat heavy upon the minds of those who were well affected to the ancient royal family; and accordingly, to prevent their discontent from breaking out into action, he caressed the prince as well as those of his party; and even insinuated from time to time, that he had accepted the crown merely on account of Edgar's youth, as if he meant to restore it to the prince when he was of age to govern; and with this view, he created him earl of Oxford, and seemed to take a very particular care of his education, as it were to qualify him for the government of the kingdom.

Morcar, meanwhile, accompanied by his brother Edwin, earl of Chester, marched with all expedition against Tostig, who was now on the south side of the Humber; where he came upon him unexpectedly in Lincolnshire, and put his little army to flight, compelling him to fly to his ships. Tostig, knowing he could do nothing considerable with

so small a number of forces, steered towards Scotland, in expectation of assistance from thence; but perceiving the king of Scotland was not disposed to support him, he put to sea again, with design to make another descent on England; but being prevented by contrary winds, he was driven on the coast of Norway, where he found the assistance he so eagerly sought.

Harold Harfager, king of Norway, had lately taken some of the Orkades,\* which belonged to Scotland, and was fitting out a more numerous fleet in order to carry on his conquests. Tostig being informed of this prince's designs, represented to him, that a favourable opportunity offered to conquer England, if he would but turn his arms that way; and Harfager wanted not much solicitation to engage in this project; and he immediately resolved to employ all his forces in making the attempt.

Whilst the king of Norway was making his preparations, the duke of Normandy was no less seriously taking means to wrest from Harold a crown he had so long been in expectation of; he sent ambassadors to Harold, to require him to deliver him up the crown, and in case of refusal, to charge him with the breach of his oath, and declare war against him. Harold replied to the effect that William had no right to the crown of England: that supposing the late king had disposed of it in his favour, a thing the English knew nothing of, it was contrary to the laws of the land, which allow not the king to give away the crown according to his inclination, much less to a foreigner: that he had been elected by those who had the power of placing the kings on the throne, and therefore could not resign it, without the breach of that trust reposed in him by the English: that the oath, the violation of which he was charged with, having been extorted from him at a time when he had not the power to help himself, it was null and void, by the laws of all the nations in the world: and in conclusion, that he knew how to defend his right against any person that durst dispute it with him.

Harold finding he was likely to have so formidable an adversary, endeavoured to make himself popular. He lessened the taxes, and caused justice to be duly and impartially administered, and left nothing that could confirm his subjects in the esteem and regard they already manifested towards

\* They are now called the Isles of Orkney. Whatever the ancients have said of their number, there are but twenty-six inhabited, the rest are used only for pasturage, and are called Holmes. Orkney lies north of Caithness, in the latitude of fifty-nine and sixty degrees. Eagles are in such plenty here and do so much mischief, that whoever kills one, is entitled to a hen from every house in the parish. The largest of these isles is Mainland, anciently Pomona, twenty-four miles long whereon stands the only remarkable town, called Kirkwall famous for St. Magnus's church, and the bishop of Orkney's palace. The isles were first inhabited by the Picts, who kept possession of them till destroyed in 839, by Kenneth II. of Scotland, from which time they were subject to the Scots, till delivered up by Donald Ban, the usurper, in 1039, to Magnus king of Norway; but in 1263, they were surrendered to Alexander III., king of Scotland, by treaty with St. Magnus, king of Norway, who is said to have built the stately cathedral at Kirkwall. They have since remained annexed to the crown of Scotland. In Hoy, one of these isles, lies a stone called Deathe-stone, thirty-six feet long, eighteen broad, and nine thick, hollowed by art with a square hole of two feet high, for the entry. Within, at one end, is a bed big enough for two men, excellently hexed out of the stone, with a pillow; at the other end is a couch, and in the middle a hearth for a fire, with a hole over it for the chimney. Orkney gives title to an earl.

him; and his labour was not in vain, for the English were enthusiastic in his cause.

William's chief difficulty was to raise a sum of money sufficient for the charge of so great an undertaking; and his first method was, to convene an assembly of the states of Normandy, to obtain their concurrence. But he found them unwilling to comply with his desires; and this conduct destroying his hopes of raising money in a public way, he resorted to an expedient, which succeeded; namely, to borrow money of private persons; and gaining some of the chief persons, the rest were inspired with an emulation who should be most zealous in assisting him. William Fitzosborne undertook to fit out forty ships at his own expense; and every one according to his ability subscribed; so that the duke by this method raised more money than he could have done by a public tax; but as this mode did not raise sufficient, he engaged several of the neighbouring princes to furnish him with troops and transports, on condition of their having lands assigned them in England after the conquest; and he even demanded the assistance of France; but it was not the interest of that crown that he should become more powerful. Fortunately for him, King Philip, who was then a minor, under the care of the earl of Flanders, obstructed not his proceedings, which a prince who had been old enough to have known his own interests, would infallibly have done. It is true indeed, the court of France endeavoured to dissuade the duke from this enterprise, but without success.

William, who was too wise not to be sensible of the weakness of his title, omitted nothing that might serve to give it some colour of justice; and with this view he procured the pope's approbation of his undertaking, to whom, it is said, he made a promise of holding the kingdom of England of the apostolic see. However this be, the pope very heartily espoused his cause, and sent him a consecrated banner, as a mark of his approbation; and moreover, willing that all Christians should know that religion was concerned in this affair, he solemnly excommunicated all that should dare oppose the duke in the execution of this project. This approbation was of great service, as it furnished him with means to justify his intended expedition, and at the same time removed the scruples of such as were to engage in his cause. But it had not the same effect in England; for whether the English knew nothing of the pope's excommunication, or looked upon it as a gross piece of partiality, it did not prevent Harold from equipping a large fleet, and raising a numerous army, with which he resolutely expected his enemy.

The charge of keeping so considerable an armament, could not but be very burdensome to the people, a thing the king would have been glad to avoid. After he had some months expected in vain the arrival of William, finding he did not appear, and the autumnal equinox approaching, he imagined, pursuant to some false information he had received, that the duke had deferred his expedition till the spring; and accordingly, thought he might safely lay up his ships for the winter, and disband his troops, to save an unnecessary expense.

As Harold was returning to London out of Kent, where he had given his last orders for disbanding the army, news was brought him that the king of Norway, accompanied with Earl Tostig, was en-

tering the Tyne, with a fleet of five hundred sail. Surprised at this unexpected invasion, he hastily drew his army together again, but before they were ready to march, the Norwegians had made a great progress; and having sacked the counties on both sides the Tyne, they put to sea, and entering the Humber, landed their forces on the north side, and ravaged the country with inexpressible cruelties. Morcar and Edwin, who were upon the spot, endeavoured to stop their career, with some troops levied in haste; but were so completely defeated, that their whole army was destroyed. Flushed with this success, the Norwegians advanced towards York, and laid siege to the city, which they quickly became masters of; the inhabitants, who were unprovided with things necessary for their defence, choosing rather to surrender upon terms, than expose themselves to certain ruin.

Harold having drawn his army together, advanced with all expedition, to give the Norwegians battle, who having left their fleet in the Humber, were marching towards the north, to complete the reduction of Northumberland, before they proceeded to other conquests; and as they marched but slowly, he came up with them at Stanford-bridge, on the river Derwent, a little below York. The Norwegians, upon his approach, intrenched themselves in so advantageous a situation that it seemed impossible to force them; being posted on the other side of the river, where there was no attacking them but by the bridge, of which they were masters. Notwithstanding this, Harold, who was very sensible how much it behoved him to come to an engagement, ordered the bridge to be attacked without delay; and the Norwegians stoutly defended it, but could not withstand the efforts of the English, though animated by the astonishing valour of one of their own men, who defended the bridge alone against the English army for a considerable time. At length, the brave Norwegian being slain, Harold became master of the bridge, and passed his army over; when furiously falling upon the enemy, after an obstinate fight, he entirely routed them. There had never been seen in England an engagement between two such numerous armies, each having no less than threescore thousand men; and the battle, which was consequently very sanguinary, lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon. Harfager and Tostig were both slain, and Harold obtained a complete victory.

Of the whole army that came from Norway in five hundred ships, the remains were carried off by Olaf, son of Harfager, in twenty vessels, by the conqueror's leave. The booty which was taken upon this occasion was very great, since there was found in the camp all that the Norwegians had brought from home, and all they had plundered in the kingdom. Harold was so exceedingly impolitic as to retain the spoil to himself; as he considered, the expending this booty in the war against the duke of Normandy, would very much ease the people, whose affection he was desirous to conciliate; but it raised such discontent in his army, as seriously injured him afterwards; and it would have been far better if he had secured the hearts of his soldiers by a timely liberality.

Whilst Harold was busied in the north, in rectifying the disorders occasioned by the Norwegian invasion, the duke of Normandy, who had long waited for a wind at St. Valery, set sail about the end of September. and had a speedy passage to



Pevensay\* in Sussex. It is affirmed, that in leaping ashore he fell, at which one of the soldiers said merrily, See, our duke is taking possession of England; which the duke took as a good omen. Nobody appearing to oppose his landing, his first care was to erect a fort near the place where he disembarked, to favour his retreat in case of necessity; some historians, however, assert that he sent his ships back to Normandy, to let his army see they had nothing to trust to but their valour. After some days' stay at Pevensay, he marched along the shore as far as Hastings, where he built a stronger fort than the former, resolving there to expect his enemy, of whom he had no intelligence; and it was here that he published a manifesto, showing the reasons of his coming into England; namely, first, to revenge the death of Prince Alfred, brother of King Edward; a frivolous pretence, since Earl Godwin, the contriver of that murder, was dead, and Harold never charged with it. Secondly, to restore Robert, archbishop of Canterbury to his see; a no better reason than the first, for Robert was banished by the general assembly in Edward's reign; and consequently, the present king could not be blamed for it; but it is very likely this article was inserted in the manifesto on the pope's account, to serve as a cover for his partiality to the duke. Thirdly, and principally, to offer the English his assistance to punish Harold for presuming to seize the crown, without any right, and directly contrary to his oath.

It is to be observed, in this manifesto no mention is made either of Edward's will, or verbal promise, and that his silence on that head renders this third motive very trifling. For, without such a will or promise, what pretence could the duke of Normandy have to concern himself with the affairs of England? Some affirm he founded his right on his kindred to Edward; but he was no way related to the late king, but by Emma of Normandy, who had never any title to the crown; and besides, he was himself illegitimate. But he did not rely so much on the justice of his manifesto, as on the strength of his army. He was very sensible, if he obtained the victory, his reasons would be readily admitted. Meanwhile, not to terrify the English, he charged his army to injure none, but such as were actually in arms against him; but neither this precaution nor his promises gained him any friends; for the English could not conceive upon what foundation he had entered the kingdom with an army, or what advantage any one could have by taking his part.

The news of the landing of the Normans was rapidly conveyed to Harold, who was still in the north, little expecting this invasion till the spring. As soon as he was informed of it, he marched to give these new enemies battle, whom he did not account more formidable than the Norwegians; and by hasty marches, he proceeded to London, where, upon a review, he found his army very much diminished, not only by the battle of Stamford, but by unusual desertions, occasioned by the discontent of his troops. All the nobility of the kingdom, however, repaired to him, and offered their assistance on an occasion where it was no less their interest than his to repel the foreigners; and whilst he resided at London some of his troops who

were to follow him, William sent ambassadors to require him to resign the crown, and to charge him with breach of oath. He was so moved at the arrogance wherewith the ambassadors addressed him, that he could hardly refrain from violence towards them; he, however, did govern his passion; but returned a menacing and insulting message. The duke patiently heard what Harold ordered to be said to him, and dismissed the ambassadors without any answer.

Meantime, Harold having drawn all his forces together, encamped about seven miles from the Norman army, with a resolution to give them battle; and whilst the two armies lay thus near one another, spies were continually sent out on both sides, each leader being equally desirous to know the strength and posture of his enemies. But the English spies magnified in such a manner the number and discipline of the Normans, that the principal officers began to doubt of the success of the war; and Gurth, a brother of Harold, took occasion from these reports, to persuade him to defer the battle. Duke William perceiving by all Harold's motions, that he was bent to give him battle, advanced a little to seize an advantageous post, where he could conveniently draw up his army.

Whilst they were preparing for a battle, which was to decide the fate of both princes, William seemed to abate something of his confidence; and it is to be presumed, the thoughts of a battle in an enemy's country, where his loss would be irretrievable, inspired him with some dread of the issue. Before they engaged, he sent the king by the hands of a certain monk, the four following proposals, for him to take his choice. The first was, to resign the crown, as he said he was bound by oath to do. The second was, an offer to return into Normandy, provided Harold would do him homage for the kingdom of England. The third was, to refer the differences to the judgment of the apostolic see. And the last proposition was, to decide the contest by single combat. It is not surprising that Harold rejected these four proposals, as they were all so preposterously advantageous to the duke. The two first were an insult to Harold; and although the third might seem at first sight something fairer, it was in reality equally partial, the pope having already declared in favour of the duke. As for the fourth, the advantage preponderated entirely on the duke's side, since in a single combat, he hazarded only his person, whereas Harold ventured his crown with his life; and the victory would have procured the duke of Normandy a noble kingdom, whereas it would have only acquired the king the bare advantage of getting rid of an invader. Harold's politic answer therefore was, "God should determine on the morrow the justice of their rights."

The English spent the whole night in carousing and singing, as if they were sure of the victory; while the Normans, on the contrary, were employed in preparing for the battle, and offering up prayers for success. On the 14th of October, Harold's birthday, but much more memorable for one of the greatest events that ever happened in England, the two armies engaged. In the front of the English stood the Kentish men, a privilege they had enjoyed ever since the time of the heptarchy; and Harold placed himself in the centre, and would fight on foot, that his men might be the more encouraged, by seeing their king exposed to equal

\* The journal of October 29, after having been near a month at Pevensay, says, "I have seen that the third part of his army is now at Pevensay, and the rest at Southwark."

danger with the meanest soldier. The Normans were drawn up in three bodies. Montgomery and Fitzosborne conducted the first; Geoffrey Martel commanded the second; and the duke himself headed the body of reserve, to succour those who should most want it.\* The Normans began the fight with a volley of arrows, which being shot upward, were like a thick cloud over the heads of the foremost body of the English; and as their ranks were very close, the arrows did great execution. The English not being used to this way of fighting, were at first put into some little disorder; and the Normans, anxious to take advantage of it, vigorously attacked them. But the English falling directly into good order again, gave them so warm a reception, that they were obliged to draw back and take breath; but immediately renewed the attack, and met with as brave a resistance as before; nor was it in the power of either to break the other's ranks; the English choosing rather to die than give way, and the Normans being ashamed to retreat. Both sides fought stoutly for a considerable time, without either gaining ground; and the presence of their leaders animating the soldiers, they every where fought with equal bravery, without the least signs of advantage on either side; and we may judge of the valour of the troops in both armies by the length of the fight, which began at seven in the morning, and lasted till night.

There is so much confusion in the accounts of the historians, that to give a clear idea of the battle is not easy; but all historians unanimously agree, that two circumstances gave the Normans the victory. The fight had lasted all day, and the success was still very uncertain; when William devised a stratagem, which made victory incline to his side. Perceiving there was no breaking the ranks of the English, he ordered his troops to retreat as they fought, as if they were discouraged; but, at the same time, to be very careful to keep their ranks. This order being executed, the English looked upon the enemies' retreat as the beginning of their victory; and possessed with this notion, they encouraged one another with reiterated shouts, to press the retreating enemies. Their eagerness made them break their ranks, that they might push them with the greater impetuosity, imagining they were upon the point of taking to flight; when the Normans, finding their stratagem had taken effect, stood their ground, and by a discipline they had long been used to, closed their ranks, and falling on the disordered English, made a terrible slaughter of them. Harold, enraged to see the victory, which a moment before he thought himself sure of, snatched out of his hands, used his utmost endeavours to rally his troops that were in extreme disorder; and his labour was not altogether in vain, for at last he drew up, on a rising ground at a little distance from the field of battle, a good body of foot, which became at length very considerable, by being continually joined by the flying troops. The duke of Normandy's victory being yet far from complete, whilst so strong a body of the English kept together, he ordered them to be attacked with great fury; but the English received the onset with such bravery, and the Normans lost such numbers of their men, that the

fortune of the day seemed still very doubtful. The approach of the night, and the resolution of the English, making the duke despair of penetrating their ranks, he began to think himself conquered since he was not entirely victorious; and probably, the English army might have retreated in good order, by favour of the night, if Harold could have resolved to leave his enemy in possession of the field of battle, at a time when the loss on both sides were nearly equal. But apprehending his retreat might be prejudicial to his affairs, and derogatory to his reputation, he determined to maintain his post, and not give the enemy that advantage; and he was also in hopes he should be able to rally his whole army during the night, and renew the battle the next morning.

Meantime, the duke perceiving the night was likely to rob him of the advantage of a complete victory, made one effort more to drive the English from their post; and in this last onset, Harold was slain by an arrow shot into his brains; and his troops, disheartened at this fatal accident, began to give ground, and betake themselves to flight. Thus Harold's death was the second circumstance that procured the Normans the victory. The English were entirely routed, and were pursued as long as the day lasted; and in this pursuit it was, that a terrible slaughter was made of the fugitives, the conquerors killing without mercy all they could overtake, to save the trouble of guarding the prisoners. The darkness of the night, however, saved a good part of the English army, who retreated under the conduct of Morcar and Edwin. These two thanes, who had all along firmly adhered to Harold, seeing he was slain, as well as Gurth and Lewin, his brothers, submitted at length to circumstances, and retreated, having given, the whole day, proofs of their valour. This long and bloody battle cost the duke of Normandy six thousand men; but the English lost a much greater number.\*

William, at the height of his wishes, gave orders for the whole army to fall on their knees, and return God thanks for so signal a victory. After which, he caused his tent to be pitched in the field of battle, and spent the residue of the night among the slain. On the morrow, he ordered his own dead to be buried, and gave the English peasants leave to do the same office for the others; and the bodies of the king and his brothers being found, he sent them to Gith, their mother, who gave them as honourable a burial as the circumstance of the time would permit, in Waltham-abbey, founded by the king, her son.†

Thus fell Harold, with his sword in his hand, in defence not only of his own, but of his country's cause, against the ambition of the duke of

\* This battle was fought near Heathfield, in Sussex, in the place where the town of Basingstoke now stands, so called from this day's action, wherein our modern historians say were slain above three-score thousand Englishmen.

† An ancient manuscript in the Cottonian library relates, that the king's body was difficult to be known on account of its being covered with wounds, but was at last discovered by one who had been his mistress, by the means of certain private marks known only to herself. This lady was called Swan-neck, from her beautiful neck. The duke sent the body to his mother without any ransom, though she is said to have offered him its weight in gold. But though all others agree that Harold fell in this battle, yet Knighton, from Giraldus Cambrensis, asserts that he was not slain, but escaping, retired to a cell near St. John's church, in Chester, and died there an anchorite, as was owned by himself in his last confession when he was dying. In memory of which, Knighton says, they showed his tomb when he wrote.

\* The chief of William's generals were, Eustace, earl of Bologne, William Fitz-Richard, earl of Evereux, Geoffrey, son of Rotrou, earl of Mortaigne, Robert, son of Roger, earl of Beaumont, Almeria de Touars, Hugh, earl of Etampes, Walter Giffard, Hugh de Grentemesnil, and William de Warren



Normandy. The historians, who wrote in the reigns of the conqueror and his sons, have endeavoured to blacken the memory of Harold, to justify, in some measure, the ambition of the duke; but all they have said against this last Saxon king, tends only to the imputation of a breach of the oath, on which we have seen what he alleged in his own vindication. He might have been much more justly blamed for his secret practices, in procuring Prince Edgar to be excluded from the throne, who alone had a right to aspire to it. It may be said, Harold would have been more worthy of the crown, had he been less forward to obtain it. He gained the love and esteem of the English whilst he was but a private man, and did nothing, during his short reign of nine months and nine days, which tended to lessen their affection. He fought within the space of a few days, two great battles, with very different success; in the first of which, his abilities and valour procured him a signal victory over the king of Norway; and in the last, his defeat must be wholly ascribed to his ill fortune. In his personal qualities, he is described as being candid, affable, and exceedingly generous.

Harold was twice married. By his first wife, whose name is unknown, he had three sons, Edmund, Godwin, and Magnus, who retired into Ireland after the death of their father. By his second wife, Alghitha, sister of Morcar and Edwin, he had a son called Wolf, who was but a child at the time of the battle of Hastings, and was afterwards knighted by William Rufus; and also two daughters, of whom Gunilda, the eldest, becoming blind, passed her days in a nunnery; and the youngest was married to Waldemar, king of Russia, by whom she had a daughter, who was wife to Waldemar, king of Denmark.

Thus ended in England the empire of the Anglo-Saxons, which began above six hundred years before in the person of Hengist, the first king of Kent.

#### *State of the Church, from Ethelred II., to the Norman Conquest.*

FROM the beginning of the reign of Ethelred II., to the end of the empire of the Saxons, may be termed an age of ignorance, with respect to all Europe, but more especially with regard to England.

Whatever attempts have been made at various times to prove the antiquity of transubstantiation, it has never been proved to be the doctrine of the church of England, before this period; and it is certain, from the testimony of a prelate, who was at the head of the church of England, that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not introduced in the time of Ethelred II., who ascended the throne in 979.

It is not the same with regard to the invocation of the Virgin, and of the saints, since, on the contrary, it was practised in England in this very century; which is manifest from Canute the Great's charter to the abbey of Glastonbury, where there is mention made of "the Blessed Virgin, and all the other saints." But as the authority of the charters of these days are not equally admitted by all, the same thing may be proved from a public litany then read in the church: where we find, that after the invocation of the Holy Trinity, these words are thrice repeated, "O Holy Mary, pray for us:"

after which, the angels and saints were addressed by name. It is to be observed, when this practice was first introduced, the application to the Blessed Virgin and saints was not so direct: "May the Holy Virgin, the mother of God, and all the saints intercede for us," are the words in the public form of prayer used by the Anglo-Saxons, which is in Latin; and although the lessons, prayers, psalms, Lord's Prayer, and creed, are in the same language, yet at the end of each article or verse, there follows a Saxon translation in a paraphrastical style, that the people might understand what was said.

Among the canons, which go under the name of Elfric, who lived in the reign of Ethelred II., the 33d obliges priests to have by them two sorts of consecrated oil, one for children, and another for the sick; and enjoins that the sick should be always anointed upon their beds, and should confess themselves before the ceremony of anointing passed upon them, which no priest was to presume to perform till desired by the sick person. Whence it may be inferred, they did not stay till the sick were in their last agonies, before they administered the extreme unction.\*

In the 33d canon, the four first general councils are put upon the same footing with the four Gospels; but those of later ages are not of so great authority; whence it is evident that the author of these canons did not think all the general councils were infallible. Had he been of this opinion, he would not have given a greater authority to the four first than to the other councils.

From the beginning of the reign of Ethelred II., to the Norman conquest, we find in the ecclesiastical history of England but two councils. Most probably, the wars with the Danes prevented the bishops from assembling more frequently, or perhaps were the occasion of the records of these conventions being lost. Both these councils, the one held at Engsham, and the other at Haba, assembled whilst Elphegus was archbishop. They consisted of seculars as well as ecclesiastics, and the constitutions passed there related both to church and state. The most remarkable canons are as follow:—

In the council of Engsham, the 2d canon enjoins the celibacy of the clergy.

The 9th forbids all persons to do any wrong to the church, or eject a clergyman out of his benefice without the consent of the bishop.

By the 17th, every Friday was to be a fast, unless it fell upon a holiday.

The 19th enjoins widows to stay twelve months after the death of their husbands, before they marry again.

The 20th enjoins frequent confessions, and the people are ordered to receive the sacrament three times, at least, in a year.

The council of Haba has but one canon worth notice; namely, the second; by which every Christian was obliged to fast three days with bread and water, before the feast of St. Michael, and to distribute among the poor what he should have eaten in these three days.

These are the only canons worth remarking in these two synods; but to supply the want of councils, we have the ecclesiastical laws of Canute the Great, and Ed-

\* The 23d orders the priest to read, on Sundays and holy-days, the Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and creed, in English.

ward the Confessor; some of which are inserted, to show the great regard these two monarchs had for the clergy. The following are Canons:—

The 4th enjoins all Christians to pay great respect to the clergy, because their sacerdotal functions are extremely beneficial to the people.

By the 5th, if a priest was accused of any crime, he had the liberty of purging himself by saying mass, and receiving the eucharist.

The 12th recommends celibacy to the clergy, and ranks them among the thanes of the second class, that is, among the gentry.

The 20th ordains, that at funerals the dues shall be paid upon the breaking up of the ground; and that the dues shall be paid to the parish the deceased belonged to, though he was buried elsewhere.

The 22d enjoins the observance of Sunday from Saturday three o'clock in the afternoon, till Monday break of day.

The 23d determines the times of fasting, and places the vigils of the festivals of the blessed Virgin and of the apostles among the fasts.

There are several others, relating to the payment of tithes and Peter-pence, the violators of the privileges of the clergy, and the like, in favour of the church.

It is also decreed by these laws, that every Christian should learn the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed; otherwise, they were allowed neither to stand godfather, nor receive the communion, nor have Christian burial.

The ecclesiastical laws of Edward the Confessor, relate chiefly to the protection of the church and clergy.

The 1st forbids the molesting a clergyman, contrary to the tenour of the privileges of the church.

The 2d appoints certain days, whereon all proceedings in the courts of justice were to cease.

By the 3d, the church's causes are to be tried first.

The 4th firmly establishes the immunities of those who in any wise depend on the church, and ordains that they shall not be obliged to answer any plea, &c., except in the ecclesiastical court.

The 5th confirms the privilege of sanctuary to churches, and extends it even to priests' houses.

By the 6th, if any person broke in upon the privileges of the church, he had no way of being relieved but by submitting to the sentence of the bishop.

The 6th orders the punctual payment of tithes, and sets forth what is to be paid.

The 9th determines the circumstances relating to the ordeal trial.

The 12th settles the fine of Manbote, or the sum to be paid to the lord for killing any of his vassals or slaves: the king's and the archbishop's Manbote is fixed at the same sum.

By the 13th all treasure found belongs to the king, unless it be found in a church or churchyard; then the gold is the king's, and the silver the church's.

It is visible throughout these laws, that the clergy took care of themselves, when they came in contact with devout and easy princes, or such as stood in need of their interest.

But notwithstanding the great consideration of

the Saxon kings for the clergy, they could not retain the privilege of choosing their bishops and abbots. Whilst the prelates confined themselves within the bounds of their pastoral functions, and meddled not with civil matters, the power of electing was freely left to the chapters; but when the bishops became rich and popular, and began to interpose in state affairs, by reason of the fiefs they were possessed of, it was of great consequence to the kings, to have such bishops and abbots as were in their interest, or at least, were obliged to them for their preferments. Accordingly, the kings began to interpose in elections, by way of canvassing, or recommendation, and very often by refusing to put in possession of the fiefs belonging to the church or abbey, such prelates and abbots as they did not like; and ultimately, the authority of the court prevailed so, that in the time of Ethelred II., the monks had entirely lost the privilege of choosing their abbots, as appears from Ingulphus; who says, "In those days the monks and abbots seldom resorted to court. But ever since the kings have disposed of the abbeys, the monks have made in terest with the courtiers, which sometimes cost them very dear." The historian himself loudly complains of this abuse, though he was installed in the abbey of Croyland by the same method, that is, by the sole will and pleasure of William the Conqueror.

There were but two removals of bishops' sees within the period now treated of. The see of Kirtton, in Wessex,\* was removed to Exeter,† and the see of Lindisfarne, in Northumberland, to Durham. Aldhun, bishop of Lindisfarne, being disturbed in that small island by the incursions of the Danes, removed to Durham, carrying with him the relics of St. Cuthbert, where he built a cathedral, and fixed his see, which remains there to this day.‡

In 981, the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury acquired a new jurisdiction in Wales. Gucan, a Welsh priest, being chosen bishop of Llandaff, and consecrated by Archbishop Dunstan, this precedent was followed by his successors, who like him owned the archbishop of Canterbury for their metropolitan: and some writers have inferred from hence, that all the British bishops at the same time owned the superiority of the church of Rome; but this cannot be admitted. It is certain, the bishops of St. David's exercised the archiepiscopal functions in Wales, till the time of Henry I., and that without the ornament of the pall, the mark of submission to the pope.

Edmund, bishop of Durham, was remarkable for the manner of his election. The chapter of Durham having met to elect a bishop, and not being able to agree in their choice, Edmund, a priest of that church, said jestingly, that since they were at a loss whom to choose, they might as good select him and make him a bishop. As miracles were then much in vogue, the chapter looked

\* Crediton, or Kirtton, stands on the Creden in Devonshire, there are now no signs of its having been a bishop's see, but a great meadow, called My Lord's Meadow.

† This city stands on the river called Isc by the Britons, and Ex by the Saxons, whence the names Isca and Exancaster. The Welsh call it to this day Caerisc. It was made a bishop's see by Edward the Confessor, in 1048. Leofric, a Burgundian, was the first bishop.

‡ Durham being almost surrounded by the river Were, was called by the Saxons, Dunholme, Dun signifying a hill (the city being seated on one), and Holme, that is, a river island; it was built about the year 995.



pon this motion as a divine impulse, and so unanimously agreed to elect him; and Edmund became famous for his vigour and boldness in reprimanding vice, even in persons of the highest birth and stations.

We must also reckon, in the number of illustrious persons of that age, certain English ecclesiastics, who flourished in Sweden and Norway. Olaus Scot-Kunung, king of Sweden, designing to become a Christian, desired Ethelred to send him some missionaries to instruct him in the Gospel; and Sigefrid, archdeacon of York (not archbishop, as a Swedish writer says), Eskil, Gunichild, Rudolf, and Bernard, or David, undertook this mission. Sigefrid was made bishop of Wexia, a city in the province of Smaland in Sweden, and baptized Olaus; but the greatest part of these missionaries were martyred by the pagans, to whom they preached.\*

Of the division of the kingdom into parishes, the following particulars may be interesting.

Augustin, the first bishop of the Saxons, receiving from the king of Kent some lands, for the maintenance of himself and the monks he brought with him, disposed of the profits of these lands, and the offerings of Christians as he thought proper; desirous of having instruction in this matter, he consulted the pope, Gregory I., who replied, it was the custom in the church of Rome to divide the offerings into four portions, and distribute one of them for the maintenance of the inferior clergy; but as Augustin and his companions were monks of the same order, he exhorted them to live together as brethren; and thus also lived Aidan and Finan, bishops of the Northumbrians, who were monks as well as Austin, though of a different order. But it cannot be inferred from hence, that in all the churches, the bishop and his clergy lived in common, as some pretend; for on the contrary, it seems to follow, from the bishop's being obliged to distribute the fourth part of the church's revenues among the clergy, that they did not live so. Be this as it will, the bishop and clergy were maintained, as much out of the profits of the lands given to the church, as by the daily offerings of the people.

The number of Christians increasing every day, and there being at first in each diocese, which contained a whole kingdom, but one church, it could not but be very inconvenient to many of the new converts to resort thither; and it became necessary therefore that others should be built, and priests sent to officiate in them; who were not however affixed to any particular church, but kept with the bishop, who sent out sometimes one, sometimes another, to minister in the remote churches, after which they returned to him. In proportion therefore as

Christians increased, new churches were erected for the convenience of those who lived at a distance from the cathedral: which were no more than chapels to the principal church, to which belonged all the offerings that were made in the others. Accordingly the priests at their return, put the offerings they had received into the bishop's hands, which served for the maintenance of the bishop, and the clergy who were about him. The priests at first had no other titles, but that of belonging to a certain diocese: for these first rural churches are not to be considered as distinct parishes, but as appendages belonging to the cathedral.

These rural churches were not at first very numerous, because the nobles of large estates, who were the only persons that founded them, were generally contented with building one single church for the use of their vassals. The number of Christians increasing rapidly, it had at this period become necessary to provide for the constant residence of a priest in each of these churches; and as it was inconvenient to have a new priest every time to do duty, the bishops were willing to continue the same; and from this time, parishes may properly be said to commence. However, lest the priests, thus fixed to one cure, should be unmindful of their dependence on the cathedral, the bishops reserved in their own hands the revenues and oblations these churches were endowed with; which gave the founders uneasiness; who very justly could not bear to see the priest, who did all the duty, have so small a share of their donations. Wherefore, the zeal for erecting new churches beginning to cool, at a time when there was most need of them, the bishops thought fit to yield a little; and compounded with those who were inclined to build churches, and were satisfied with reserving to the cathedral a third or fourth part of the incomes, with the right of baptism and burial. This obstacle being removed, these private oratories became very numerous, almost every great man building one for the convenience of himself and his vassals. Moreover, when any thane alienated part of his estate, the purchaser seldom failed of erecting a church in his new purchase; and the bishops also being greatly enriched by the grants made to their dioceses, built likewise churches on their lands, as well for the convenience of their tenants, as to imitate the nobles, among whom they themselves began to be ranked. By all these means the rural churches abounding every where, there was no necessity of sending priests from place to place, since each church, as was before observed, had one of its own; and thus by degrees the parochial division was settled. However, the bishops were long in possession of the tithes and oblations, till at length, in order to excite more vividly the zeal of Christians, they removed this difficulty which obstructed the building and endowing of churches; and not only left to the parochial priests the revenues the founders were pleased to assign, or at least, the much greater part, but also granted them the power of administering the sacraments in their respective churches. Such was the rise and progress of parochial division, which was nearly perfected in the reign of Edgar, or perhaps of Canute the Great; although between that period and the reign of Edward the Confessor, there were some further subdivisions; but, in all probability, there were as few new parishes after the Norman conquest: we find by several charters of the latter

\* Through the illiness or ignorance of the monks, the only writers in those days, we have but few historians from Asser to the Norman conquest. Next to Asser was Ethelwerd, who wrote in the reign of Edgar, and lived till 1090, though he did not continue his chronicle so far. He was (as he himself says) descended of the blood royal. His works consist of four books, which were published by Sir H. Saville. Bishop Newton says, the whole is an imperfect translation of the Saxon annals. His style is inflated and obscure, and in some places hardly sense, and therefore, but of little use, unless in settling the reigns and deaths of some of our Saxon kings, who lived about his time, concerning which the copies of his books almost differ. From him to the conquest we meet with no historians, except Osborn, who wrote the *Life of St. Dunstan*, and St. Alphege, which are published in the two volumes of *Anglia Sacra*, and the author of a treatise, entitled *Monasterium Eboracense*, being a short account of the period immediately preceding the reign of Edward the Confessor.

Saxon kings, that the parishes of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire, were much the same as now; and it appears from Domesday-book, that all the parishes of the counties mentioned there are nearly the same as at present.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE ANGLO-SAXON GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS.

*First Saxon government—Succession of the kings—The Wittenagemot—The aristocracy—The several orders of men—Courts of justice—Criminal law—Rules of proof—Military force—Public revenue—Value of money—Manners.*

THE government of the Germans, and that of all the northern nations, who established themselves on the ruins of Rome, was always extremely free; and those fierce people, accustomed to independence and inured to arms, were more guided by persuasion than authority, in the submission which they paid to their princes. The military despotism which had taken place in the Roman empire, and which, previously to the irruption of those conquerors, had sunk the genius of men, and destroyed every noble principle of science and virtue, was unable to resist the vigorous efforts of a free people; and Europe, as from a new epoch, rekindled her ancient spirit, and shook off the base servitude to arbitrary will and authority under which she had so long laboured. The free constitutions then established, however impaired by the encroachments of succeeding princes, still preserve an air of independence and legal administration, which distinguish the European nations; and if that part of the globe maintain sentiments of liberty, honour, equity, and valour, superior to the rest of mankind, it owes these advantages chiefly to the seeds implanted by those generous barbarians.

The Saxons who subdued Britain, as they enjoyed great liberty in their own country, obstinately retained that invaluable possession in their new settlement; and they imported into this island the same principles of independence which they had inherited from their ancestors. The chieftains (for such they were, more properly than kings or princes) who commanded them in those military expeditions, still possessed a very limited authority; and as the Saxons exterminated, rather than subdued the ancient inhabitants, they were indeed transplanted into a new territory, but preserved unaltered all their civil and military institutions. The language was pure Saxon; even the names of places, which often remain while the tongue entirely changes, were almost all affixed by the conquerors; the manners and customs were wholly German; and the same picture of a fierce and bold liberty, which is drawn by the masterly pencil of Tacitus, will suit those founders of the English government. The king, so far from being invested with arbitrary power, was only considered as the first among the citizens; his authority depended more on his personal qualities than on his station; he was even so far on a level with the people, that a stated price was fixed for his head, and a legal fine was levied upon his murderer, which, though pro-

portionate to his station, and superior to that paid for the life of a subject, was a sensible mark of his subordination to the community.

It is easy to imagine, that an independent people, so little restrained by law and cultivated by science, would not be very strict in maintaining a regular succession of their princes. Though they paid great regard to the royal family, and ascribed to it an undisputed superiority, they either had no rule, or none that was steadily observed, in filling the vacant throne; and present convenience in that emergency, was more attended to than general principles. We are not, however, to suppose that the crown was considered as altogether elective; and that a regular plan was traced by the constitution for supplying, by the suffrages of the people, every vacancy made by the demise of the first magistrate. If any king left a son of an age and capacity fit for government, the young prince naturally stepped into the throne. If he was a minor, his uncle, or the next prince of the blood, was promoted to the government, and left the sceptre to his posterity. Any sovereign, by taking previous measures with the leading men, had it greatly in his power to appoint his successor. All these changes, and indeed the ordinary administration of government, required the express concurrence, or at least the tacit acquiescence of the people; but possession, however obtained, was extremely apt to secure their obedience, and the idea of any right, which was once excluded, was but feeble and imperfect. This is so much the case in all barbarous monarchies, and occurs so often in the history of the Anglo-Saxons, that we cannot consistently entertain any other notion of their government. The idea of an hereditary succession in authority is so natural to men, and is so much fortified by the usual rule in transmitting private possessions, that it must retain a great influence on every society which does not exclude it by the refinements of a republican constitution. But as there is a material difference between government and private possessions, and every man is not as much qualified for exercising the one, as for enjoying the other, a people who are not sensible of the general advantages attending a fixed rule, are apt to make great leaps in the succession, and frequently to pass over the person, who, had he possessed the requisite years and abilities, would have been thought entitled to the sovereignty. Thus, these monarchies are not, strictly speaking, either elective or hereditary; and though the destination of a prince may often be followed in appointing his successor, they can as little be regarded as wholly testamentary. The states by their suffrage may sometimes establish a sovereign; but they more frequently recognise the person whom they find established; a few great men take the lead; the people, overawed and influenced, acquiesce in the government; and the reigning prince, provided he be of the royal family, passes undisputedly for the legal sovereign.

It is confessed, that our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon history and antiquities is too imperfect to afford us means of determining, with certainty, all the prerogatives of the crown and privileges of the people, or of giving an exact delineation of that government. It is probable, also, that the constitution might be somewhat different in the different kingdoms, and that it changed considerably during the course of six centuries, which elapsed from the first invasion of the Saxons till



the Norman conquest.\* But most of these differences and changes, with their causes and effects, are unknown to us. It only appears, that at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, called a Wittenagemot, or assembly of the wise men (for that is the import of the term), whose consent was requisite for enacting laws and for ratifying the chief acts of public administration. The preambles to all the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, and Edward the Confessor; even those to the laws of Canute, though a kind of conqueror, put this matter beyond controversy, and carry proof every where of a limited and legal government. But who were the constituent members of this Wittenagemot has not been determined with certainty by antiquaries. It is agreed, that the bishops and abbots† were an essential part; and it is also evident from the tenour of those ancient laws, that the Wittenagemot enacted statutes which regulated the ecclesiastical as well as civil government, and that those dangerous principles, by which the church is totally severed from the state, were hitherto unknown to the Anglo-Saxons. It also appears, that the aldermen, or governors of counties, who after the Danish times were often called earls,‡ were admitted into this council, and gave their consent to the public statutes. But besides the prelates and aldermen, there is also mention of the wites, or wisemen, as a component part of the Wittenagemot; but who these were, is not so clearly ascertained by the laws or the history of that period. The matter would probably be of difficult discussion, even were it examined impartially; but as our modern parties have chosen to divide on this point, the question has been disputed with the greater obstinacy, and the arguments on both sides have become, on that account, the more captious and deceitful. Our monarchical faction maintain, that these *wites*, or *sapientes*, were the judges, or men learned in the law: the popular faction assert them to be the representatives of the boroughs, or what we now call the commons.

The expressions employed by all ancient histo-

\* We know of one change, not inconsiderable, in the Saxon constitution. The Saxon annals inform us, that it was in early times the prerogative of the king to name the dukes, earls, aldermen, and sheriffs of the counties. Asser, a contemporary writer, informs us, that Alfred deposed all the ignorant aldermen, and appointed men of more capacity in their place: yet the laws of Edward the Confessor say expressly, that the heretages, or dukes, and the sheriffs, were chosen by the freeholders in the folk-mote, a county court, which was assembled once a year, and where all the freeholders swore allegiance to the king.

† Sometimes abbesses were admitted; at least they often signed the king's charters or grants.

‡ It appears from the ancient translations of the Saxon annals and laws, and from King Alfred's translation of Bede, as well as from all the ancient historians, that *comes* in Latin, *aldorman* in Saxon, and *earl* in Dano-Saxon, were quite synonymous. There is only a clause in a law of King Athelstan's, which has stumbled some antiquaries, and has made them imagine that an earl was superior to an alderman. 'The vengild, or the price of an earl's blood, is there fixed at 15,000 thrimas, equal to that of an archbishop: whereas, that of a *biſcop* and *aldorman* is only 5000 thrimas.' To solve this difficulty, we must have recourse to Selden's conjecture, that the term of earl was in the age of Athelstan just beginning to be used in England, and stood at that time for the *atheling*, or prince of the blood, heir to the crown. This he confirms by a law of Canute, where an *atheling* and an archbishop are put upon the same footing. In another law of the same Athelstan, the *biſcop* of the prince or *atheling*, is said to be 15,000 *thrimas*. He is therefore the same who is called earl in the

rians, in mentioning the Wittenagemot, seem to contradict the latter supposition. The members are almost always called the *principes*, *satrapæ*, *optimates*, *magnates*, *proceres*; terms which seem to suppose an aristocracy, and to exclude the commons. The boroughs also, from the low state of commerce, were so small and so poor, and the inhabitants lived in such dependence on the great men, that it seems nowise probable they would be admitted as a part of the national councils. The commons are well known to have had no share in the governments established by the Franks, Burgundians, and other northern nations; and we may conclude that the Saxons, who remained longer barbarous and uncivilized than those tribes, would never think of conferring such an extraordinary privilege on trade and industry. The military profession alone was honourable among all those conquerors: the warriors subsisted by their possessions in land: they became considerable by their influence over their vassals, retainers, tenants, and slaves: and it requires strong proof to convince us that they would admit any of a rank so much inferior as the burgesses, to share with them in the legislative authority. Tacitus indeed affirms, that among the ancient Germans, the consent of all the members of the community was required in every important deliberation; but he speaks not of representatives; and this ancient practice, mentioned by the Roman historian, could only have taken place in small tribes, where every citizen might, without inconvenience, be assembled upon any extraordinary emergency. After principalities became extensive; after the difference of property had formed distinctions more important than those which arose from personal strength and valour; we may conclude, that the national assemblies must have been more limited in their number, and composed only of the more considerable citizens.

But though we must exclude the burgesses, or commons, from the Saxon Wittenagemot, there is some necessity for supposing that this assembly consisted of other members than the prelates, abbots, aldermen, and the judges or privy-council. For as all these, excepting some of the ecclesiastics,\* were anciently appointed by the king; had there been no other legislative authority, the royal power had been in a great measure absolute, contrary to the tenour of all the historians, and to the practice of all the northern nations. We may therefore conclude, that the more considerable proprietors of land were, without any election, constituent members of the national assembly: there is reason to think that forty hides, or between four and five thousand acres, was the estate requisite for entitling the possessor to this honourable privilege. We find a passage in an ancient author, by which it appears, that a person of very noble birth, even one allied to the crown, was not esteemed a *princeps* (the term usually employed by ancient historians when the Wittenagemot is mentioned), till he had acquired a fortune of that amount. Nor need we imagine that the public council would become disorderly

\* There is some reason to think that the bishops were sometimes chosen by the Wittenagemot, and confirmed by the king. The abbots in the monasteries of royal foundation were anciently named by the king: though Edgar gave the monks the election, and only reserved to himself the ratification. This destination was afterwards frequently violated; and the abbots, as well as the bishops, were afterwards all appointed by the king: as we learn from Ingulf, a writer contemporary to the conquest.

or confused by admitting so great a multitude. The landed property of England was probably in few hands during the Saxon times, at least during the latter part of that period; and as men had hardly any ambition to attend those public councils, there was no danger of the assembly's becoming too numerous for the dispatch of the little business which was brought before them.

In opposition to the foregoing statement of Hume, may be placed Sharon Turner's opinion of this important national assembly, whose superior means of gaining correct information, if not superior penetration, should decide the question in favour of the popular opinion that a representative government was known to, and exercised by, the Anglo-Saxons. He says, "After many years' consideration of the question, I am inclined to believe, that the Anglo-Saxon Wittenagemot very much resembled our present parliament in the orders and persons that composed it; and that the members, who attended as representatives, were chosen by classes analogous to those who now possess the elective franchise."

"We have an expressive outline of the general construction of all the German national councils, in these words of Tacitus: 'On the minor affairs the chiefs consult: on the greater, all; yet so that those things, of which the decision rests with the people, are treated of among the chiefs.' This passage shows that, by the general principle of the most ancient German gemots, the people made an essential part of the assembly. Both chiefs and people deliberated, and the people decided. This being the primeval principle of the national councils of ancient Germany, before the Angles and Saxons left it, it becomes incumbent on the historical antiquary to show, not when the people acceded to the Wittenagemots, but when, if ever, they were divested of the right of attending them. Of such a divestment there is no trace either in our historical or legal records."

It is certain, that whatever we may determine concerning the constituent members of the Wittenagemot, in whom, with the king, the legislature resided, the Anglo-Saxon government, in the period preceding the Norman conquest, was become extremely aristocratical: the royal authority was very limited; the people, even if admitted to that assembly, were of little or no weight and consideration. We have hints given us in historians, of the great power and riches of particular noblemen; and it could not but happen, after the abolition of the heptarchy, when the king lived at a distance from the provinces, that those great proprietors, who resided on their estates, would much augment their authority over their vassals and retainers, and over all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Hence the immeasurable power assumed by Harold, Godwin, Leofric, Siward, Morecar, Edwin, Eadric, and Alfric, who controlled the authority of the kings, and rendered themselves quite necessary in the government. The two latter, though detested by the people, on account of their joining a foreign enemy, still preserved their power and influence; and we may therefore conclude, that their authority was founded, not on popularity, but on family rights and possessions. There is one Athelstan mentioned in the reign of the king of that name, who is called alderman of all England, and is said to be half-king; though the monarch himself was a prince of valour and abilities. And we find, that in the latter Saxon times, and in these alone, the great of-

fices went from father to son, and became in a manner hereditary in the families.

The circumstances attending the invasions of the Danes would also serve much to increase the power of the principal nobility. Those freebooters made unexpected inroads on all quarters; and there was a necessity that each county should resist them by its own force, and under the conduct of its own nobility and its own magistrates. For the same reason that a general war, managed by the united efforts of the whole state, commonly augments the power of the crown; those private wars and inroads turned to the advantage of the aldermen and nobles.

Among that military and turbulent people, so averse to commerce and the arts, and so little inured to industry, justice was commonly very ill administered, and great oppression and violence seem to have prevailed. These disorders would be increased by the exorbitant power of the aristocracy; and would, in their turn, contribute to increase it. Men, not daring to rely on the guardianship of the laws, were obliged to devote themselves to the service of some chieftain, whose orders they followed, even to the disturbance of the government, or the injury of their fellow-citizens and who afforded them in return protection from any insult or injustice by strangers. Hence we find by the extracts which Dr. Brady has given us from Domesday-book, that almost all the inhabitants, even of towns, had placed themselves under the clientship of some particular nobleman, whose patronage they purchased by annual payments, and whom they were obliged to consider as their sovereign, more than the king himself, or even the legislature. A client, though a freeman, was supposed so much to belong to his patron, that his murderer was obliged by law to pay a fine to the latter, as a compensation for his loss; in like manner as he paid a fine to the master for the murder of his slave. Men who were of a more considerable rank, but not powerful enough, each to support himself by his own independent authority, entered into formal confederacies with each other, and composed a kind of separate community, which rendered itself formidable to all aggressors. Dr. Hickes has preserved a curious Saxon bond of this kind, which he calls a Sodalitium, and which contains many particulars characteristic of the manners and customs of the times. All the associates are there said to be gentlemen of Cambridgeshire; and they swear before the holy relics to observe their confederacy, and to be faithful to each other: they promise to bury any one of the associates who dies, in whatever place he had appointed; to contribute to his funeral charges; and to attend at his interment; and whoever is wanting in this last duty, binds himself to pay a measure of honey. When any of the associates is in danger, and calls for the assistance of his fellows, they promise, besides flying to his succour, to give information to the sheriff; and if he be negligent in protecting the person exposed to danger, they engage to levy a fine of one pound upon him: if the president of the society himself be wanting in this particular, he binds himself to pay one pound; unless he has the reasonable excuse of sickness, or of duty to his superior. When any of the associates is murdered, they are to exact eight pounds from the murderer; and if he refuse to pay it, they are to prosecute him for the sum at their joint expense. If any of the associates who happens to be poor kill a



man, the society are to contribute, in a certain proportion, to pay his fine: a mark a-piece if the fine be 700 shillings; less if the person killed be a clown or ceorle; the half of that sum again if he be a Welshman. But where any of the associates kills a man, wilfully and without provocation, he must himself pay the fine. If any of the associates kill any of his fellows in a like criminal manner, besides paying the usual fine to the relations of the deceased, he must pay eight pounds to the society, or renounce the benefit of it: in which case, they bind themselves, under the penalty of one pound, never to eat or drink with him, except in the presence of the king, bishop, or alderman. There are other regulations to protect themselves and their servants from all injuries, to revenge such as are committed, and to prevent their giving abusive language to each other; and the fine, which they engage to pay for this last offence, is a measure of honey.

It is not to be doubted but a confederacy of this kind must have been a great source of friendship and attachment; when men lived in perpetual danger from enemies, robbers, and oppressors, and received protection chiefly from their personal valour, and from the assistance of their friends or patrons. As animosities were then more violent, connexions were also more intimate, whether voluntary, or derived from blood: the most remote degree of propinquity was regarded: an indelible memory of benefits was preserved: severe vengeance was taken for injuries, both from a point of honour, and as the best means of future security; and the civil union being weak, many private engagements were contracted in order to supply its place, and to procure men that safety which the laws and their own innocence were not alone able to insure to them.

On the whole, notwithstanding the seeming liberty, or rather licentiousness of the Anglo-Saxons, the great body even of the free citizens, in those ages, really enjoyed much less true liberty than where the execution of the laws is the most severe, and where subjects are reduced to the strictest subordination and dependence on the civil magistrate. The reason is derived from the excess itself of that liberty. Men must guard themselves at any price against insults and injuries; and where they receive not protection from the laws and magistrates, they will seek it by submission to superiors, and by herding in some private confederacy which acts under the direction of a powerful leader. And thus all anarchy is the immediate cause of tyranny, if not over the state, at least over many of the individuals.

Security was provided by the Saxon laws to all members of the Wittenagemot, both in going and returning, except they were notorious thieves and robbers.

The German-Saxons, as the other nations of that continent, were divided into three ranks of men, the noble, the free, and the slaves. This distinction they brought over with them into Britain.

The nobles were called thanes; and were of two kinds, the king's thanes and lesser thanes. The latter seem to have been dependent on the former; and to have received lands, for which they paid rent, services, or attendance in peace or war. We know of no title which raised any one to the rank ofthane, except noble birth and the possession of land. The former was always much regarded by

all the German nations, even in their most barbarous state; and as the Saxon nobility, having little credit, could scarcely burden their estates with much debt, and as the commons had little trade or industry by which they could accumulate riches, these two ranks of men, even though they were not separated by positive laws, might remain long distinct, and the noble families continue many ages in opulence and splendour. There were no middle ranks of men, that could gradually mix with their superiors, and insensibly procure to themselves honour and distinction. If by any extraordinary accident, a mean person acquired riches, a circumstance so singular made him be known and remarked; he became the object of envy, as well as of indignation, to all the nobles; he would have great difficulty to defend what he had acquired; and he would find it impossible to protect himself from oppression, except by courting the patronage of some great chieftain, and paying a large price for his safety.

There are two statutes among the Saxon laws, which seem calculated to confound those different ranks of men; that of Athelstan, by which a merchant, who had made three long sea-voyages on his own account, was entitled to the quality ofthane; and that of the same prince, by which a ceorle or husbandman, who had been able to purchase five hides of land, and had a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell, was raised to the same distinction. But the opportunities were so few, by which a merchant or ceorle could thus exalt himself above his rank, that the law could never overcome the reigning prejudices; the distinction between noble and base blood would still be indelible; and the well-born thanes would entertain the highest contempt for those legal and factitious ones. Though we are not informed of any of these circumstances by ancient historians, they are so much founded on the nature of things, that we may admit them as a necessary and infallible consequence of the situation of the kingdom during those ages.

The cities appear by Domesday-book to have been at the conquest little better than villages.\* York itself, though it was always the second, at least the third† city in England, and was the capital of a great province, which never was thoroughly united with the rest, contained then but 1418 families.‡ Malmesbury tells us, that the great distinction between the Anglo-Saxon nobility, and the French or Norman, was, that the latter built magnificent and stately castles; whereas the former consumed their immense fortunes in riot and hospitality, and in mean houses. We may thence infer, that the arts in general were much less advanced in England than in France; a greater number of idle servants and retainers lived about the great families; and as these, even in France, were powerful enough to disturb the execution of the laws, we may judge of the authority acquired by the aristocracy in

\* Winchester, being the capital of the West Saxon monarchy, was anciently a considerable city.

† Norwich contained 738 houses, Exeter 315, Ipswich 538, Northampton 60, Hertford 146, Canterbury 262, Bath 64, Southampton 84, Warwick 225. These are the most considerable he mentions. The account of them is extracted from Domesday-book.

‡ There were six wards, besides the archbishop's palace; and five of these wards contained the number of families here mentioned, which, at the rate of five persons to a family, makes about 7000 souls. The sixth ward was laid waste.

England. When Earl Godwin besieged the confessor in London, he summoned from all parts his huscarles, or housecarles and retainers, and thereby constrained his sovereign to accept of the conditions which he was pleased to impose upon him.

The lower ranks of freemen were denominated ceorles among the Anglo-Saxons; and where they were industrious, they were chiefly employed in husbandry: whence a ceorle and a husbandman became in a manner synonymous terms. They cultivated the farms of the nobility or thanes, for which they paid rent; and they seem to have been removable at pleasure. For there is little mention of leases among the Anglo-Saxons: the pride of the nobility, together with the general ignorance of writing, must have rendered those contracts very rare, and must have kept the husbandmen in a dependent condition. The rents of farms were then chiefly paid in kind.

But the most numerous rank by far in the community seems to have been the slaves or villains, who were the property of their lords, and were consequently incapable themselves of possessing any property. Dr. Brady assures us, from a survey of Domesday-book, that, in all the counties of England, the far greater part of the land was occupied by them, and that the husbandmen, and still more the socmen, who were tenants that could not be removed at pleasure, were very few in comparison. This was not the case with the German nations, as far as we can collect from the account given us by Tacitus. The perpetual wars in the heptarchy, and the depredations of the Danes, seem to have been the cause of this great alteration with the Anglo-Saxons. Prisoners taken in battle, or carried off in the frequent inroads, were then reduced to slavery; and became, by right of war, entirely at the disposal of their lords. Great property in the nobles, especially if joined to an irregular administration of justice, naturally favours the power of the aristocracy; but still more so, if the practice of slavery be admitted, and has become very common. The nobility not only possess the influence which always attends riches, but also the power which the laws give them over their slaves and villains. It then becomes difficult, and almost impossible for a private man to remain altogether free and independent.

There were two kinds of slaves among the Anglo-Saxons; household slaves, after the manner of the ancients, and prædial or rustic, after the manner of the Germans. These latter resembled the serfs, which are at present to be met with in Poland, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. The power of a master over his slaves was not unlimited among the Anglo-Saxons, as it was among their ancestors. If a man beat out his slave's eye or teeth, the slave recovered his liberty: if he killed him, he paid a fine to the king; provided the slave died within a day after the wound or blow: otherwise it passed unpunished. The selling of themselves or children to slavery was always the practice among the German nations, and was continued by the Anglo-Saxons.

The great lords and abbots among the Anglo-Saxons possessed a criminal jurisdiction within their territories, and could punish, without appeal, any thieves or robbers whom they caught there. This institution must have had a very contrary effect to that which was intended, and must have procured robbers a sure protection on

the lands of such noblemen as did not sincerely mean to discourage crimes and violence.

But though the general strain of the Anglo-Saxon government seems to have become aristocratical, there were still considerable remains of the ancient democracy, which were not, indeed, sufficient to protect the lowest of the people, without the patronage of some great lord, but might give security, and even some degree of dignity, to the gentry or inferior nobility. The administration of justice, in particular, by the courts of the decennary, the hundred, and the county, was well calculated to defend general liberty, and to restrain the power of the nobles. In the county courts, or shire-motes, all the freeholders were assembled twice a year, and received appeals from the inferior courts. They there decided all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil; and the bishop, together with the alderman or earl, presided over them. The affair was determined in a summary manner, without much pleading, formality, or delay, by a majority of voices; and the bishop and alderman had no further authority than to keep order among the freeholders, and interpose with their opinion. Where justice was denied during three sessions by the hundred, and then by the county court, there lay an appeal to the king's court; but this was not practised on slight occasions. The alderman received a third of the fines levied in those courts; and as most of the punishments were then pecuniary, this perquisite formed a considerable part of the profits belonging to his office. The two-thirds also, which went to the king, made no contemptible part of the public revenue. Any freeholder was fined who absented himself thrice from these courts.

As the extreme ignorance of the age made deeds and writings very rare, the county or hundred court was the place where the most remarkable civil transactions were finished, in order to preserve the memory of them, and prevent all future disputes. Here testaments were promulgated, slaves manumitted, bargains of sale concluded; and sometimes, for greater security, the most considerable of these deeds were inserted in the blank leaves of the parish Bible, which thus became a kind of register too sacred to be falsified. It was not unusual to add to the deed an imprecation on all such as should be guilty of that crime.

Among a people who lived in so simple a manner as the Anglo-Saxons, the judicial power is always of greater importance than the legislative. There were few or no taxes imposed by the states. There were few statutes enacted; and the nation was less governed by laws than by customs, which admitted a great latitude of interpretation. Though it should, therefore, be allowed that the Wittenagemot was altogether composed of the principal nobility, the county-courts, where all the freeholders were admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of life, formed a wide basis for the government, and were no contemptible checks on the aristocracy. But there is another power still more important than either the judicial or legislative; to wit, the power of injuring or serving by immediate force and violence, for which it is difficult to obtain redress in courts of justice. In all extensive governments, where the execution of the laws is feeble, this power naturally falls into the hands of the principal nobility; and the



degree of it which prevails, cannot be determined so much by the public statutes, as by small incidents in history, by particular customs, and sometimes by the reason and nature of things.

The powers of all the members of the Anglo-Saxon government are disputed among historians and antiquaries: the extreme obscurity of the subject, even though faction had never entered into the question, would naturally have begotten those controversies. But the great influence of the lords over their slaves and tenants, the clientship of the burghers, the total want of a middling rank of men, the extent of the monarchy, the loose execution of the laws, the continued disorders and convulsions of the state; all these circumstances evince that the Anglo-Saxon government became at last extremely aristocratical; and the events, during the period immediately preceding the conquest, confirm this inference or conjecture.

Both the punishments inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon courts of judicature, and the methods of proof employed in all causes, appear somewhat singular, and are very different from those which prevail at present among all civilized nations.

We must conceive that the ancient Germans were little removed from the original state of nature: the social confederacy among them was more martial than civil: they had chiefly in view the means of attack or defence against public enemies, not those of protection against their fellow-citizens. Their possessions were so slender and so equal, that they were not exposed to great danger; and the natural bravery of the people made every man trust to himself, and to his particular friends, for his defence or vengeance. This defect in the political union drew much closer the knot of particular confederacies: an insult upon any man was regarded by all his relations and associates as a common injury: they were bound by honour, as well as by a sense of common interest, to revenge his death, or any violence which he had suffered: they retaliated on the aggressor by like acts of violence; and if he were protected, as was natural and usual, by his own clan, the quarrel was spread still wider, and bred endless disorders in the nation.

The Frisians, a tribe of the Germans, had never advanced beyond this wild and imperfect state of society; and the right of private revenge still remained among them unlimited and uncontrolled. But the other German nations, in the age of Tacitus, had made one step further towards completing the political or civil union. Though it still continued to be an indispensable point of honour for every clan to revenge the death or injury of a member, the magistrate had acquired a right of interposing in the quarrel, and of accommodating the difference. He obliged the person maimed or injured, and the relations of one killed, to accept of a present from the aggressor and his relations, as a compensation for the injury,\* and to drop all further prosecution of revenge. That the accommodation of one quarrel might not be the source of more, this present was fixed and certain, according to the rank of the person killed or injured, and was commonly paid in cattle, the chief property of those rude and uncivilized nations. A present of this kind gratified the revenge of the injured family, by the loss which the aggressor suffered: it satis-

fied their pride, by the submission which it expressed: it diminished their regret for the loss or injury of a kinsman, by their acquisition of new property; and thus general peace was for a moment restored to the society.\*

But when the German nations had been settled some time in the provinces of the Roman empire, they made still another step towards a more cultivated life, and their criminal justice gradually improved and refined itself. The magistrate, whose office it was to guard public peace, and to suppress private animosities, conceived himself to be injured by every injury done to any of his people; and besides the compensation to the person who suffered, or to his family, he thought himself entitled to exact a fine called the *Fridwit*, as an atonement for the breach of peace, and as a reward for the pains which he had taken in accommodating the quarrel. When this idea, which is so natural, was once suggested, it was willingly received both by sovereign and people. The numerous fines which were levied, augmented the revenue of the king: and the people were sensible that he would be more vigilant in interposing with his good offices, when he reaped such immediate advantage from them; and that injuries would be less frequent, when, besides compensation to the person injured, they were exposed to this additional penalty.†

This short abstract contains the history of the criminal jurisprudence of the northern nations for several centuries. The state of England, in this particular, during the period of the Anglo-Saxons, may be judged of by the collection of ancient laws, published by Lambard and Wilkins. The chief purport of these laws is not to prevent or entirely suppress private quarrels, which the legislator knew to be impossible, but only to regulate and moderate them. The laws of Alfred enjoin, that if any one know that his enemy or aggressor, after doing him an injury, resolves to keep within his own house and his own lands,‡ he shall not fight him till he require compensation for the injury. If he be strong enough to besiege him in his house, he may do it for seven days without attacking him; and if the aggressor be willing, during that time, to surrender himself and his arms, his adversary may detain him thirty days; but is afterwards obliged to restore him safe to his kindred, and be content with the compensation. If the criminal fly to the temple, that sanctuary must not be violated. Where the assailant has not force sufficient to besiege the criminal in his house, he must apply to the alderman for assistance; and if the alderman refuse aid, the assailant must have recourse to the king: and he is not allowed to assault the house, till after this supreme magistrate has refused assistance. If any one meet with his enemy, and be ignorant that he was resolved to keep within his own lands, he must, before he attack him, require him to surrender himself prisoner, and deliver up his arms; in which case he may detain him thirty days: but if he refuse to deliver up his arms, it is then law-

\* The author says, that the price of the composition was fixed: which must have been by the laws and the interposition of the magistrates.

† Besides paying money to the relations of the deceased and to the king, the murderer was also obliged to pay the master of a slave, or vassal, a sum as the compensation for his loss. This was called the *Manbote*.

‡ The addition of these last words in italics appears necessary from what follows in the same law.

\* Called by the Saxons *mingbota*.

ful to fight him. A slave may fight in his master's quarrel: a father may fight in his son's with any one, except with his master.

It was enacted by King Ina, that no man should take revenge for an injury till he had first demanded compensation, and had been refused it.

King Edmund, in the preamble to his laws, mentions the general misery occasioned by the multiplicity of private feuds and battles; and he established several expedients for remedying this grievance. He ordains, that if any one commit murder, he may, with the assistance of his kindred, pay within a twelvemonth the fine of his crime; and if they abandon him, he shall alone sustain the deadly feud or quarrel with the kindred of the murdered person: his own kindred are free from the feud, but on condition that they neither converse with the criminal, nor supply him with meat or other necessities: if any of them, after renouncing him, receive him into their house, or give him assistance, they are finable to the king, and are involved in the feud. If the kindred of the murdered person take revenge on any but the criminal himself after he is abandoned by his kindred, all their property is forfeited, and they are declared to be enemies to the king and all his friends. It is also ordained, that the fine for murder shall never be remitted by the king; and that no criminal shall be killed, who flies to the church, or any of the king's towns; and the king himself declares, that his house shall give no protection to murderers, till they have satisfied the church by their penance, and the kindred of the deceased, by making compensation. The method appointed for transacting this composition is founded in the same law.

These attempts of Edmund, to contract and diminish the feuds, were contrary to the ancient spirit of the northern barbarians, and were a step towards a more regular administration of justice. By the Salic law, any man might, by a public declaration, exempt himself from his family quarrels: but then he was considered by the law as no longer belonging to the family, and he was deprived of all right of succession, as the punishment of his cowardice.

The price of the king's head, or his weregild,\* as it was then called, was by law 30,000 thrismas, near 1300 pounds of present money. The price of the prince's head was 15,000 thrismas; that of a bishop's, or alderman's, 8000; a sheriff's, 4000; a thane's, or clergyman's, 2000; a ceorle's, 266. These prices were fixed by the laws of the Angles. By the Mercian law, the price of a ceorle's head was 200 shillings; that of a thane's, six times as much; that of a king's six times more. By the laws of Kent, the price of the archbishop's head was higher than that of the king's. Such respect was then paid to the ecclesiastics! It must be understood, that where a person was unable, or unwilling, to pay the fine, he was put out of the protection of the law, and the kindred of the deceased had liberty to punish him as they thought proper.

Some antiquarians have thought that these compensations were only given for manslaughter, not for wilful murder: but no such distinction appears in the laws; and it is contradicted by the practice of all the other barbarous nations, by that of the ancient Germans, and by that curious monument above mentioned of Saxon antiquity, preserved by

Hickes. There is indeed a law of Alfred's, which makes wilful murder capital;\* but this seems only to have been an attempt of that great legislator towards establishing a better police in the kingdom, and it probably remained without execution. By the laws of the same prince, a conspiracy against the life of the king might be redeemed by a fine.

The price of all kinds of wounds was likewise fixed by the Saxon laws: a wound of an inch long under the hair, was paid with one shilling: one of a like size in the face two shillings: thirty shillings for the loss of an ear; and so forth. There seems not to have been any difference made, according to the dignity of the person. By the laws of Ethelbert, any one who committed adultery with his neighbour's wife was obliged to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife.

These institutions are not peculiar to the ancient Germans. They seem to be the necessary progress of criminal jurisprudence among every free people, where the will of the sovereign is not implicitly obeyed. We find them among the ancient Greeks during the time of the Trojan war. Compositions for murder are mentioned in Nestor's speech to Achilles in the ninth Iliad. The Irish, who never had any connexions with the German nations, adopted the same practice till very lately; and the price of a man's head was called among them his *eric*; as we learn from Sir John Davis. The same custom seems also to have prevailed among the Jews.

Theft and robbery were frequent among the Anglo-Saxons. In order to impose some check upon these crimes, it was ordained that no man should sell or buy any thing above twenty-pence value, except in open market; and every bargain of sale must be executed before witnesses. Gangs of robbers much disturbed the peace of the country; and the law determined, that a tribe of banditti, consisting of between seven and thirty-five persons, was to be called a *turma* or troop: any greater company was denominated an army. The punishments for this crime were various, but none of them capital. If any man could track his stolen cattle into another's ground, the latter was obliged to show the tracks out of it, to pay their value.

Rebellion, to whatever excess it was carried, was not capital, but might be redeemed by a sum of money. The legislators, knowing it impossible to prevent all disorders, only imposed a higher fine on breaches of the peace committed in the king's court, or before an alderman, or bishop. An alehouse too seems to have been considered as a privileged place; and any quarrels that arose there were more severely punished than elsewhere.

If the manner of punishing crimes among the Anglo-Saxons appear singular, the proofs were not less so; and were also the natural result of the situation of those people. Whatever we may imagine concerning the usual truth and sincerity of men who live in a rude and barbarous state, there is much more falsehood, and even perjury, among them, than among civilized nations: virtue, which is nothing but a more enlarged and more cultivated reason, never flourishes to any degree, nor is founded on steady principles of honour,

\* It is probable, that by a wilful murder Alfred means a treacherous murder, committed by one who has no declared feud with another

\* The weregild was the legal valuation of an individual.



except where a good education becomes general; and where men are taught the pernicious consequences of vice, treachery, and immorality. Even superstition, though more prevalent among ignorant nations, is but a poor supply for the defects in knowledge and education: our European ancestors, who employed every moment the expedient of swearing on extraordinary crosses and relics, were less honourable in all engagements than their posterity, who, from experience, have omitted those ineffectual securities. This general proneness to perjury was much increased by the usual want of discernment in judges, who could not discuss an intricate evidence, and were obliged to number, not weigh, the testimony of the witnesses.\* Hence the ridiculous practice of obliging men to bring compurgators, who, as they did not pretend to know any thing of the fact, expressed upon oath, that they believed the person spoke true; and these compurgators were in some cases multiplied to the number of three hundred. The practice also of single combat was employed by most nations on the continent as a remedy against false evidence; and though it was frequently dropped, from the opposition of the clergy, it was continually revived from experience of the falsehood attending the testimony of witnesses. It became at last a species of jurisprudence: the cases were determined by law, in which the party might challenge his adversary, or the witnesses, or the judge himself; and though these customs were absurd, they were rather an improvement on the methods of trial which had formerly been practised among these barbarous nations, and which still prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons.

When any controversy about a fact became too intricate for those ignorant judges to unravel, they had recourse to what they called the judgment of God, that is, to fortune: their methods of consulting this oracle were various. One of them was the decision by the cross: it was practised in this manner. When a person was accused of any crime, he first cleared himself by oath, and he was attended by eleven compurgators. He next took two pieces of wood, one of which was marked with the sign of the cross, and wrapping both up in wool, he placed them on the altar, or on some celebrated relic. After solemn prayers for the success of the experiment, a priest, or in his stead, some inexperienced youth, took up one of the pieces of wood, and if he fixed upon that which was marked with the figure of a cross, the person was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty. This practice, as it arose from superstition, was abolished by it in France. The Emperor Louis the Debonnaire prohibited that method of trial, not because it was uncertain, but lest that sacred figure, says he, of the cross, should be prostituted in common disputes and controversies.

The ordeal was another established method of trial among the Anglo-Saxons. It was practised either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The former was appropriated to the common people; the latter to the nobility. The water, or iron, was consecrated by many prayers, masses, fastings, and exorcisms; after which the person accused either took up a stone sunk in the water to a certain depth, or car-

ried the iron to a certain distance; and his hand being wrapped up, and the covering sealed for three days, if there appeared, on examining it, no marks of burning, he was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty. The trial by cold water was different: the person was thrown into consecrated water; if he swam, he was guilty; if he sunk, innocent. It is difficult for us to conceive how any innocent person could ever escape by the one trial, or any criminal be convicted by the other. But there was another usage admirably calculated for allowing every criminal to escape who had confidence enough to try it. A consecrated cake, called a *cornded*, was produced; which if the person could swallow and digest, he was pronounced innocent.

The feudal law, if it had place at all among the Anglo-Saxons, which is doubtful, was not certainly extended over all the landed property, and was not attended with those consequences of homage, relief,\* worship, marriage, and other burdens, which were inseparable from it in the kingdoms of the continent. As the Saxons expelled, or almost entirely destroyed the ancient Britons, they planted themselves in this island on the same footing with their ancestors in Germany, and found no occasion for the feudal institutions, which were calculated to maintain a kind of standing army, always in readiness to suppress any insurrection among the conquered people. The trouble and expense of defending the state in England lay equally upon all the land; and it was usual for every five hides to equip a man for the service. The *trinoda necessitas*, as it was called, or the burden of military expeditions, of repairing highways, and of building and supporting bridges, was inseparable from landed property, even though it belonged to the church, or monasteries, unless exempted by a particular charter. The ceorles, or husbandmen, were provided with arms, and were obliged to take their turn in military duty. There were computed to be 243,600 hides in England; consequently, the ordinary military force of the kingdom consisted of 48,720 men; though, no doubt, on extraordinary occasions, a greater number might be assembled. The king and nobility had some military tenants, who were called *Sithcunmen*. And there were some lands annexed to the office of alderman, and to other offices; but these probably were not of great extent, and were possessed only during pleasure, as in the commencement of the feudal law in other countries of Europe.

The revenue of the king seems to have consisted chiefly in his demesnes, which were large; and in the tolls and imposts which he probably levied at discretion on the boroughs and seaports that lay within his demesnes. He could not alienate any part of the crown lands, even to religious uses, without the consent of the states. Danegelt was a land-tax of a shilling a hide, imposed by the states, either for payment of the sums exacted by the Danes, or for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence against those invaders.

The Saxon pound, as likewise that which was coined for some centuries after the conquest, was near three times the weight of our present money.

\* Sometimes the laws fixed easy general rules for weighing the credibility of witnesses. A man whose life is estimated at 12 shillings, counterbalances six courtes, each of whose lives are estimated at 4 shillings; three ages, and an oath was esteemed equivalent to that of 40,000 men.

\* On the death of an alderman, a greater or lesser thane, there was a payment made to the king of his best arms; and this was called his *heriot*: but this was not of the nature of a relief. The value of this heriot was fixed by Canute's laws.

there were forty-eight shillings in the pound, and five pence in a shilling; consequently a Saxon shilling was near a fifth heavier than ours, and a Saxon penny near three times as heavy. As to the value of money in those times, compared to commodities, there are some, though not very certain means of computation. A sheep, by the laws of Athelstan, was estimated at a shilling; that is, fifteen-pence of our money. The fleece was two-fifths of the value of the whole sheep, much above its present estimation; and the reason probably was, that the Saxons, like the ancients, were little acquainted with any clothing but what was made of wool. Cotton was quite unknown: and linen was not generally used. An ox was computed at six times the value of a sheep; a cow at four. If we suppose that the cattle in that age, from the defects in husbandry, were not so large as they are at present in England, we may compute that money was then near ten times of greater value. A horse was valued at about thirty-six shillings of our present money, or thirty Saxon shillings; a mare a third less. A man at three pounds. The board wages of a child the first year were eight shillings, together with a cow's pasture in summer, and an ox's in winter. William of Malmesbury mentions it as a remarkably high price, that William Rufus gave fifteen marks for a horse, or about thirty pounds of our present money. Between the years 900 and 1000, Ednoth bought a hide of land for about 118 shillings of our present money. This was little more than a shilling an acre, which indeed appears to have been the usual price, as we may learn from other accounts. A palfrey was sold for twelve shillings about the year 966. The value of an ox in King Ethelred's time, was between seven and eight shillings; a cow about six shillings. Gervas of Tilbury says, that in Henry the First's time, bread, which would suffice a hundred men for a day, was rated at three shillings, or a shilling of that age; for it is thought that, soon after the conquest, a pound sterling was divided into twenty shillings: a sheep was rated at a shilling, and so of other things in proportion. In Athelstan's time, a ram was valued at a shilling, or four-pence Saxon. The tenants of Shireburn were obliged, at their choice, to pay either six-pence, or four hens. About 1232, the abbot of St. Alban's, going on a journey, hired seven handsome stout horses; and agreed, if any of them died on the road, to pay the owner thirty shillings a-piece of our present money. It is to be remarked, that in all ancient times the raising of corn, especially wheat, being a species of manufacture, that commodity always bore a higher price, compared with cattle, than it does in our times. The Saxon Chronicle tells us, that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, there was the most terrible famine ever known; inasmuch that a quarter of wheat rose to sixty pennies, or fifteen shillings of our present money. Consequently it was as dear as if it now cost seven pounds ten shillings. This much exceeds the great famine in the end of Queen Elizabeth; when a quarter of wheat was sold for four pounds. Money in this last period was nearly of the same value as in our time. These severe famines are a certain proof of bad husbandry.

On the whole, there are three things to be considered, wherever a sum of money is mentioned in ancient times. First, the change of denomination, by which a pound has been reduced to the third

part of its ancient weight in silver. Secondly, the change in value by the greater plenty of money, which has reduced the same weight of silver to ten times less value, compared with commodities; and consequently a pound sterling to the thirtieth part of the ancient value. Thirdly, the fewer people, and less industry, which were then to be found in every European kingdom. This circumstance made even the thirtieth part of the sum more difficult to levy, and caused any sum to have more than thirty times greater weight and influence, both abroad and at home, than in our times; in the same manner that a sum, a hundred thousand pounds, for instance, is at present more difficult to levy in a small state, such as Bavaria, and can produce greater effects on such a small community, than on England. This last difference is not easy to be calculated; but allowing that England has now six times more industry, and three times more people, than it had at the conquest, and for some reigns after that period, we are upon that supposition to conceive, taking all circumstances together, every sum of money mentioned by historians, as if it were multiplied more than a hundred fold above a sum of the same denomination at present.

In the Saxon times, land was divided equally among all the male children of the deceased, according to the custom of gavelkind. The practice of entails is to be found in those times. Land was chiefly of two kinds, *bockland*, or land held by book or charter, which was regarded as full property, and descended to the heirs of the possessor; and *folkland*, or the land held by the *ceorles* and common people, who were removable at pleasure, and were indeed only tenants during the will of their lords.

The first attempt which we find in England to separate the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction, was that law of Edgar, by which all disputes among the clergy were ordered to be carried before the bishop. The penances were then very severe; but as a man could buy them off with money, or might substitute others to perform them, they lay easy upon the rich.

The following brief particulars of the manners of the Anglo-Saxons, are taken from the third volume of Turner's History. Their earliest years were passed under the guidance of females, for whom the Gothic nations had a peculiar respect. On the death of the father, the family was intrusted to the guardianship of the mother.

The crime of abandoning their children by exposing them, prevailed amongst them. The period of infancy closed with the seventh year, and childhood commenced at the eighth, when their governance and education were committed to men, who were generally ecclesiastics.

Their names were expressive of valued qualities or some particular circumstances; for instance, *Æthulwulph*, the noble wolf. The power of the father was limited, but if compelled by necessity, he might deliver up his son to a state of servitude, that is, slavery, without the child's consent; but a child above fifteen might evade this power by choosing a religious life. Up to the age of fifteen, a father might marry his daughter as he pleased, but not after.

The clergy being the only persons possessing any learning, were the general preceptors of youth.

The Saxon youth seem to have been accustomed to habits of docility and obedience.



The food of the Anglo-Saxons was a mixture of animal and vegetable diet. They reared various sorts of corn in enclosed and cultivated lands, and they domesticated cattle. They had oxen, sheep, and great abundance of swine. They used likewise fowls, deer, goats, and hares. They also ate fish, more particularly eels, which they nourished in the artificial receptacles of dikes and meres. In very early times they used horse-flesh. Wheaten-bread was eaten mostly by the wealthier persons. Barley-bread was the common food, as were also milk, cheese, butter, and eggs. Honey was in great repute. Orchards were cultivated, and figs, grapes, nuts, almonds, and pears, are mentioned. Soups and broths were every-day dishes. Ale and mead were their favourite drinks; wine was used as an occasional luxury. Other liquors are incidentally mentioned, viz., Pigment, which was a sweet and odoriferous liquor made of honey, wine, and spices of various kinds; and Morat, also made of honey diluted with the juice of mulberries. Cider was also known.

They were intemperate. We have a glance of their customs in a passage of an old chronicler, who says, "When all were satisfied with their dinner, and their tables were removed, they continued drinking till the evening."

They seem to have had places like taverns or ale-houses, where liquor was sold.

They broiled, baked, and boiled their food. Men and women mingled indiscriminately at the dining-table. They used cloths for the table, and had knives (but not forks), dishes, spoons, and bowls. They drank out of gold and silver cups and horns, which were variously ornamented.

They had variety and vanity in dress. Women of rank wore necklaces, bracelets, and rings with gems. Their hair was artificially dressed with hot irons: fine hair was a great desideratum in their value of personal beauty. Rouge was also known, which is no proof of refinement of manners, as many barbarous nations use it. Mantles, kirtles, and gowns were in use. In the drawings on the manuscripts of these times, the women appear with a long loose robe, reaching down to the ground, and large loose sleeves. Upon the head is a hood or veil, which, falling down before, was wrapped round the neck and breast. Their heads have no other covering than the hood.

In the dress of the men a feminine taste prevailed. They had sometimes gold and precious stones round the neck, and the wealthy wore costly bracelets and rings. They had silk, linen, and woollen garments: silk, from its costliness, was only used by the wealthy. The fashion of their garments of course varied. They had large mantles, which were ornamented with gold and gems. Close coats or tunics, girded with a belt, which Strutt represents as having been put on over the head like a shirt. Many persons having supposed the smockfrock of the husbandmen of our own day is a pure piece of Saxon costume; and if it was well made, tightened with a broad belt, and on a man of good carriage, it would form a much handsomer drapery than the unmeaning stiff-cut coats of our time. Socks and stockings, and other covering for the legs, are mentioned by their writers.

In the Bayeux tapestry the Saxons are represented, both males and females, in caps or bonnets. Close coats, with sleeves to the wrists, which are girded round them with a belt, and have loose

skirts like kelts, but not reaching quite to the knee. Breeches covering the knees. Short cloaks buttoned on the right shoulder. Shoes which seem close round the ankle.

The delineations of the Saxon manuscripts almost universally represent the hair of the men as divided from the crown to the forehead, and combed down the sides of the head in waving ringlets. Their beards were continuations of their whiskers on each side, meeting the hair from the chin, but there dividing, and ending in two forked points. Young men usually, and sometimes servants, are represented without beards. The clergy were forbidden to wear beards; and in Harold the Second's time, the laity only had a mustachio on the upper lip.

They were partial to vivid and glaring colours, and much ornament.

The clergy were compelled to wear plain dresses. Furs, as lining, were in use with all classes.

In their ecclesiastical buildings the Anglo-Saxons were expensive and magnificent; their dwelling-houses seem to have been small and inconvenient.

Their furniture was most probably heavy, rude, and ill-fashioned. Whatever invention in this kind of luxuries they possessed was gained from the clergy, whose communication with Rome gave them the means of introducing many of the mechanical arts.

Hangings for rooms to supply the defects of their coarse carpentry were amongst the first of their articles of furniture. Benches and stools with coverings, are mentioned as their seats. These appear to have been much ornamented with devices of animals and flowers as at present. Their tables were occasionally very costly, being sometimes of silver and gold, but generally of wood; they were sometimes inlaid with gold, silver, and gems. Candelsticks of various sorts were used, as also bells, both large and small. Mirrors of silver; beds and bed-hangings, and coverlets of bear and other skins.

Gold and silver, of which they seem to have possessed a great deal, was used for cups and bowls and other utensils, and also to adorn their sword-hilts, saddles, bridles, and banners. Their gold rings contained gems; and even their garments, saddles, and bridles, were sometimes jewelled.

Spices were a great luxury, and came from India through Italy. Four ounces of cinnamon were sent from one church dignitary to another as a rare present.

Hot baths were much used, but not cold, except as a penitentiary punishment.

Their amusements were very convivial, they delighted in minstrelsy, and, like most uncultivated minds, in tricks of agility and sleight of hand. The chief amusements were hunting and hawking.

Tournaments appear to have been used in the age of the Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxons were very superstitious. They had many pretenders to witchcraft. They believed in the powers of philtres and spells, and invoked spirits. They confided in prognostics, and believed in the influence of particular times and seasons.

The northern nations, at one period, burnt their dead. But the custom of interring the body ha

become established among the Anglo-Saxons, at the era when their history began to be recorded by their Christian clergy, and was never discontinued.

Their common coffins were wood, the more costly were stone. Thus a nun, who had been buried in a wooden coffin, was afterwards placed in one of stone. Their kings were interred in stone coffins; they were buried in linen, and the clergy in their vestments. Friends are described as attending in illness round the bed of the dying, and on their death, tearing their clothes and hair. At first, none but the very pious were buried in the church. Every free person who died was expected to have previously provided a handsome present for the church.

The population at the time of the Norman conquest may be estimated at about two millions of souls. There can be no doubt that nearly three-fourths of the Anglo-Saxon population were in a state of slavery.

The Anglo-Saxon scholars formed themselves on the Roman writers. Few even among the ecclesiastics had any pretensions to originality. Their poetry even seems formed on a classical model; the wild songs of the northern bards having given way to the Christian poets, who appear to have been close imitators of the worst writers of the lower empire, turgid and inflated. Their scientific knowledge was as limited as the rest of Europe, and abounded with the grossest absurdities. They practised medicine, but had no scientific knowledge of it, depending more on charms and exorcisms, than on their own knowledge.

They had the musical instruments of chords, and wind instruments.

The progress of the Anglo-Saxons in the art of design and painting was very limited. The talents of the artists varied, but none bear the impress of genius, or even correctness; such as it was, it was chiefly employed in illuminating manuscripts. Of their sculpture and carving we know but little. Their rings and ornamented horns, and the jewel of Alfred, found in the Isle of Athelney, show that they had the art of engraving on metals and other substances with much neatness of mechanical execution, though with little taste or design.

The first Saxon churches were all built of wood. Greensted church, in Essex, is a curious and perhaps unique specimen of this kind of architecture. They were ultimately constructed of stone, and their highest characteristic is vastness. They are heavy, and seem to be the result of a gloomy imagination. In 676, Benedict sought for masons to complete a church in the Roman manner, which he loved; and for the first time procured glass-makers from Gaul to make latticed windows.

The Anglo-Saxons cultivated the art of husbandry with some attention. They used hedges and ditches to separate their fields and lands. They had ploughs, rakes, sickles, scythes, forks, and flails, very like those that are now commonly used. They had also carts or waggons. Their windmills and watermills are frequently mentioned in every period of their history.

The hide was the common measure of land; it seems to have denominated about one hundred and twenty acres.

The more ancient Saxons are described by the Roman writers as having a curved sword, or rather scimitar, a buckler, and dagger; but on their arrival in Britain, and afterwards, their swords were

double-edged, straight, broad, and pointed. The infantry were more various in their implements than the cavalry: the former used either spears, battle-axes, or clubs. Their shields were of a moderate size, oval and convex, and with a spike in the centre. It is said, they had not defensive armour for the body until the eighth century; but this seems scarcely credible, as they found the Britons using the Roman, and its utility would strike them before three hundred years. The Danes varied but little in their weapons from the Saxons; their spears and swords were longer, and they fought more with the battle-axe. The bow was not in use as a military weapon, though used occasionally in hunting. The cavalry are uniformly represented with a long spear in the right-hand, and a sword on the left side.

We cannot leave the Anglo-Saxons, the nation that may be considered as the main stock from which we are derived, without a glance at their character. They seem to have been, on their first arrival, a generous race of savages, totally, of course, uncultivated in mind, but still of a free, brave, and enterprising disposition. The vices recorded of them are not of a base nature; their intemperance was palliated by hospitality, and their love of war by valour and spirit. They had not the cold-blooded selfishness of the Normans. They were guided by impulses, which were more frequently tending to good than evil, though deteriorated and perverted by ignorance, and false views of right and wrong. That they were ready to do right when they were shown, is proved by their ready conversion to the benevolent doctrines of Christianity. They respected women, and were careful in the education of youth. Their laws betray a spirit of natural equity, and very often of most generous and amiable feelings. Their institutions were founded on notions of freedom and justice, and permitted the exercise of individual will, which gave variety, manliness, and force, to their character. They flourished in a dark age, and were shrouded in the errors of the time; but still we must look back on them as the wild but noble founders of whatever is liberal in our institutions, and regard them as the firm and resolute maintainers of the rational equality of mankind, and as the fathers of those precepts of freedom which the Norman despotism was never able entirely to eradicate. Their love of liberty might not be the offspring of cultivated reason nor of elevated benevolence, but it was engendered by an indomitable hatred of oppression, and an intrepid sense of their own personal rights. This has descended in many instances to our time, and, aided by the advance of knowledge, may lead us to the desired state of liberty without lawlessness, and public spirit without faction.



## CHAPTER VII.

## WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

*Consequences of the battle of Hastings—Submission of the English—Settlement of the government—King's return to Normandy—Discontents of the English—Their insurrections—Rigours of the Norman government—New insurrections—New rigours of the government—Introduction of the feudal law—Innovation in ecclesiastical government—Insurrection of the Norman barons—Dispute about investitures—Revolt of Prince Robert—Domesday-book—The New Forest—War with France—Death and Character of William the Conqueror.*

Nothing could exceed the consternation which seized the English when they received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Hastings, the death of their king, the slaughter of their principal nobility, and of their bravest warriors, and the rout and dispersion of the remainder. But though the loss which they had sustained in that fatal action was considerable, it might have been repaired by a great nation, where the people were generally armed, and where there resided so many powerful noblemen in every province, who could have assembled their retainers, and have obliged the duke of Normandy to divide his army, and probably to waste it in a variety of actions and rencounters. It was thus that the kingdom had formerly resisted for many years its invaders, and had been gradually subdued by the continued efforts of the Romans, Saxons, and Danes; and equal difficulties might have been apprehended by William in this bold and hazardous enterprise. But there were several vices in the Anglo-Saxon constitution, which rendered it difficult for the English to defend their liberties in so critical an emergency. The people had in a great measure lost all national pride and spirit, by their recent and long subjection to the Danes: and as Canute had, in the course of his administration, much abated the rigours of conquest, and had governed them equitably by their own laws, they regarded with the less terror the ignominy of a foreign yoke, and deemed the inconveniences of submission less formidable, than those of bloodshed, war, and resistance. Their attachment also to the ancient royal family had been much weakened, by their habits of submission to the Danish princes, and by their late election of Harold, or their acquiescence in his usurpation. And as they had long been accustomed to regard Edgar Atheling, the only heir of the Saxon line, as unfit to govern them even in times of order and tranquillity, they could entertain small hopes of his being able to repair such great losses as they had sustained, or to withstand the victorious arms of the duke of Normandy.

That they might not, however, be altogether wanting to themselves in this extreme necessity, the English took some steps towards adjusting their disjointed government, and uniting themselves against the common enemy. The two potent earls, Edwin and Morcar, who had fled to London with the remains of the broken army, took the lead on this occasion, in concert with Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, a man possessed of great authority and ample revenues, they proclaimed Edgar, and endeavoured to put the people in a posture of defence, and encourage

them to resist the Normans. But the terror of the late defeat, and the near neighbourhood of the invaders, increased the confusion inseparable from great revolutions; and every resolution proposed was hasty, fluctuating, tumultuary; disconcerted by fear or faction, ill-planned, and worse executed.

William, that his enemies might have no time to recover from their consternation, or unite their counsels, immediately put himself in motion after his victory, and resolved to prosecute an enterprise, which nothing but celerity and vigour could render finally successful. His first attempt was against Romney, whose inhabitants he severely punished, on account of their cruel treatment of some Norman seamen and soldiers who had been carried thither by stress of weather, or by a mistake in their course: and foreseeing that his conquest of England might still be attended with many difficulties and much opposition, he deemed it necessary, before he should advance further into the country, to make himself master of Dover, which would both secure him a retreat in case of adverse fortune, and afford him a safe landing-place for such supplies as might be requisite for pushing his advantages. The terror diffused by his victory at Hastings was so great, that the garrison of Dover, though numerous and well-provided, immediately capitulated; and as the Normans, rushing in to take possession of the town, hastily set fire to some of the houses, William, desirous to conciliate the minds of the English by an appearance of lenity and justice, made compensation to the inhabitants for their losses.

The Norman army, being much distressed with a dysentery, was obliged to remain here eight days; but the duke, on their recovery, advanced with quick marches towards London, and by his approach increased the confusions which were already so prevalent in the English counsels. The ecclesiastics in particular, whose influence was great over the people, began to declare in his favour; and as most of the bishops and dignified clergymen were even then Frenchmen or Normans, the pope's bull, by which his enterprise was avowed and hallowed, was now openly insisted on as a reason for general submission. The superior learning of those prelates, which, during the Confessor's reign, had raised them above the ignorant Saxons, made their opinions be received with implicit faith; and a young prince like Edgar, whose capacity was deemed so mean, was but ill-qualified to resist the impression which they made on the minds of the people. A repulse which a body of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horse, renewed in the city the terror of the great defeat at Hastings; the easy submission of all the inhabitants of Kent was an additional discouragement to them; the burning of Southwark before their eyes, made them dread a like fate to their own city; and no man any longer entertained thoughts but of immediate safety and of self-preservation. Even the Earls Edwin and Morcar, in despair of making effectual resistance, retired with their troops to their own provinces; and the people thenceforth disposed themselves unanimously to yield to the victor. As soon as he passed the Thames at Wallingford, and reached Berkhamstead, Stigand, the primate, made submissions to him. Before he came within sight of the city, all the chief nobility, and Edgar Atheling himself, the new-elected king, came



Romney sculp

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR





into his camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. They requested him to mount their throne, which they now considered as vacant; and declared to him, that as they had always been ruled by regal power, they desired to follow, in this particular, the example of their ancestors, and knew of no one more worthy than himself to hold the reins of government.

Though this was the great object to which the duke's enterprise tended, he feigned to deliberate on the offer; and, being desirous, at first, of preserving the appearance of a legal administration, he wished to obtain a more explicit and formal consent of the English nation: but Aimar of Aquitain, a man equally respected for valour in the field and for prudence in council, remonstrating with him on the danger of delay in so critical a conjuncture, he laid aside all further scruples, and accepted of the crown which was tendered him. Orders were immediately issued to prepare everything for the ceremony of his coronation; but as he was yet afraid to place entire confidence in the Londoners, who were numerous and warlike, he meanwhile commanded fortresses to be erected, in order to curb the inhabitants, and to secure his person and government.

Stigand was not much in the duke's favour, both because he had intruded into the see on the expulsion of Robert the Norman, and because he possessed such influence and authority over the English as might be dangerous to a new-established monarch. William, therefore, pretending that the primate had obtained his pall in an irregular manner from Pope Benedict IX., who was himself a usurper, refused to be consecrated by him, and conferred this honour on Aldred, archbishop of York. Westminster-abbey was the place appointed for that magnificent ceremony; the most considerable of the nobility, both English and Norman, attended the duke on this occasion; Aldred, in a short speech, asked the former whether they agreed to accept of William as their king; the bishop of Constance put the same question to the latter; and both being answered with acclamations, Aldred administered to the duke the usual coronation-oath, by which he bound himself to protect the church, to administer justice, and to repress violence: he then anointed him, and put the crown upon his head.\* There appeared nothing but joy in the countenances of the spectators: but in that very moment there burst forth the strongest symptoms of the jealousy and animosity which prevailed between the nations, and which continually increased during the reign of this prince. The Norman soldiers, who were placed without, in order to guard the church, hearing the shouts within, fancied that the English were offering violence to their duke; and they immediately assaulted the populace, and set fire to the neighbouring houses. The alarm was conveyed to the nobility who surrounded the prince; both the English and Normans, full of apprehensions, rushed out to secure themselves from the present danger; and it was with difficulty that William himself was able to appease the tumult.

The king, thus possessed of the throne by a pretended destination of King Edward, and by an irregular election of the people, but still more by

force of arms, retired from London to Barking in Essex; and there received the submissions of all the nobility who had not attended his coronation. Edric, surnamed the Forester, grand-nephew to that Edric so noted for his repeated acts of perfidy during the reigns of Ethelred and Edmund; Earl Coxo, a man famous for bravery; even Edwin and Morcar, earls of Mercia and Northumberland; with the other principal noblemen of England, came and swore fealty to him; were received into favour, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates and dignities. Everything bore the appearance of peace and tranquillity; and William had no other occupation than to give contentment to the foreigners who had assisted him to mount the throne, and to his new subjects, who had so readily submitted to him.

He had got possession of all the treasure of Harold, which was considerable; and being also supplied with rich presents from the opulent men in all parts of England, who were solicitous to gain the favour of their new sovereign, he distributed great sums among his troops, and by this liberality gave them hopes of obtaining at length those more durable establishments which they had expected from his enterprise. Their ecclesiastics, both at home and abroad, had much forwarded his success; and he failed not in return, to express his gratitude and devotion in the manner which was most acceptable to them: he sent Harold's standard to the pope, accompanied with many valuable presents. All the considerable monasteries and churches in France, where prayers had been put up for his success, now tasted of his bounty. The English monks found him well disposed to favour their order; and he built a new convent near Hastings, which he called Battle Abbey, and which, on pretence of supporting monks to pray for his own soul, and for that of Harold, served as a lasting memorial of his victory.

He introduced into England that strict execution of justice for which his administration had been much celebrated in Normandy; and even during this violent revolution, every disorder or oppression met with rigorous punishment. His army, in particular, was governed with severe discipline; and notwithstanding the insolence of victory, care was taken to give as little offence as possible to the jealousy of the vanquished. The king appeared solicitous to unite in an amicable manner the Normans and the English, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his new subjects who approached his person, were received with affability and regard. No signs of suspicion appeared, not even towards Edgar Atheling, the heir of the ancient royal family, whom William confirmed in the honours of earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold, and whom he affected to treat with the highest kindness, as nephew to the Confessor, his great friend and benefactor. Though he confiscated the estates of Harold, and of those who had fought in the battle of Hastings on the side of that prince, whom he represented as a usurper, he seemed willing to admit of every plausible excuse for past opposition to his pretensions, and he received many into favour who had carried arms against him. He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London and the other cities of England; and appeared desirous of replacing everything on ancient establishments. In his whole administration he bore the resemblance of the law-

\* Malmesbury says, that he also promised to govern the Normans and English by equal laws; and this addition to the usual oath seems not improbable, considering the circumstances of the times.



ful prince, not of the conqueror; and the English began to flatter themselves that they had changed, not the form of their government, but the succession only of their sovereigns, a matter which gave them small concern. The better to reconcile his new subjects to his authority, William made a progress through some parts of England; and besides a splendid court and majestic presence, which overawed the people, already struck with his military fame, the appearance of his clemency and justice gained the approbation of the wise, attentive to the first steps of their new sovereign.

But amidst this confidence and friendship which he expressed for the English, the king took care to place all real power in the hands of his Normans, and still to keep possession of the sword, to which he was sensible he had owed his advancement to sovereign authority. He disarmed the city of London and other places, which appeared most warlike and populous; and building citadels in that capital, as well as in Winchester, Hereford, and the cities best situated for commanding the kingdom, he quartered Norman soldiers in all of them, and left nowhere any power able to resist or oppose him. He bestowed the forfeited estates on the most eminent of his captains, and established funds for the payment of his soldiers. And thus, while his civil administration carried the face of a legal magistrate, his military institutions were those of a master and tyrant; at least, one who reserved to himself, whenever he pleased, the power of assuming that character.

By this mixture, however, of vigour and lenity, he had soothed the minds of the English, that he thought he might safely revisit his native country, and enjoy the triumph and congratulation of his ancient subjects. He left the administration in the hands of his uterine brother, Odo, bishop of Baieux, and of William Fitz Osborne. That their authority might be exposed to less danger, he carried over with him all the most considerable nobility of England, who, while they served to grace his court by their presence and magnificent retinues, were in reality hostages for the fidelity of the nation. Among these were Edgar Atheling, Stigand, the primate, the Earls Edwin and Morcar, Walthof, the son of the brave Earl Siward, with others, eminent for the greatness of their fortunes and families, or for their ecclesiastical and civil dignities. He was visited at the abbey of Fescamp, where he resided during some time, by Rodolph, uncle to the king of France, and by many powerful princes and nobles, who, having contributed to his enterprise, were desirous of participating in the joy and advantages of its success. His English courtiers, willing to ingratiate themselves with their new sovereign, outdid each other in equipages and entertainments; and made a display of riches, which struck the foreigners with astonishment. William of Poitiers, a Norman historian, who was present, speaks with admiration of the beauty of their persons, the size and workmanship of their silver plate, the costliness of their embroideries, an art in which the English then excelled; and he expresses himself in such terms, as tend much to exalt our idea of the opulence and cultivation of the people.\* But though everything

bore the face of joy and festivity, and William himself treated his new courtiers with great appearance of kindness, it was impossible altogether to prevent the insolence of the Normans; and the English nobles derived little satisfaction from those entertainments, where they considered themselves as led in triumph by their ostentatious conqueror.

In England, affairs took still a worse turn during the absence of the sovereign. Discontents and complaints multiplied everywhere; secret conspiracies were entered into against the government; hostilities were already begun in many places; and everything seemed to menace a revolution, as rapid as that which had placed William on the throne. The historian above mentioned, who is a panegyrist of his master, throws the blame entirely on the fickle and mutinous disposition of the English, and highly celebrates the justice and lenity of Odo's and Fitz Osborne's administration. But other historians, with more probability, impute the cause chiefly to the Normans, who, despising a people that had so easily submitted to the yoke, envying their riches, and grudging the restraints imposed upon their own rapine, were desirous of provoking them to a rebellion, by which they expected to acquire new confiscations and forfeitures, and to gratify those unbounded hopes which they had formed in entering on this enterprise.

It is evident, that the chief reason of this alteration in the sentiments of the English, must be ascribed to the departure of William, who was alone able to curb the violence of his captains, and to overawe the mutinies of the people. Nothing indeed appears more strange, than that this prince, in less than three months after the conquest of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation, should absent himself, in order to revisit his own country, which remained in profound tranquillity, and was not menaced by any of its neighbours; and should so long leave his jealous subjects at the mercy of an insolent and licentious army. Were we not assured of the solidity of his genius and the good sense displayed in all other circumstances of his conduct, we might ascribe this measure to a vain ostentation, which rendered him impatient to display his pomp and magnificence among his ancient subjects. It is therefore more natural to believe, that in so extraordinary a step he was guided by a concealed policy; and that though he had thought proper at first to allure the people to submission by the semblance of a legal administration, he found that he could neither satisfy his rapacious captains, nor secure his unstable government, without further exerting the rights of conquest, and seizing the possessions of the English. In order to have a pretext for this violence, he endeavoured, without discovering his intentions, to provoke and allure them into insurrections, which, he thought, could never prove dangerous; while he detained all the principal nobility in Normandy, while a great and victorious army was quartered in England, and while he himself was so near to suppress any tumult or rebellion. But as no ancient writer has ascribed this tyrannical purpose to William, it

\* The Norman Chronicle, according to Lingard's translation, says, speaking of England, "That land far surpasses the Gauls in abundance of the precious metals. If nobility it may be termed the granary of Ceres, in riches it should be

called the treasury of Arabia. The English women excel in the use of the needle, and in the embroidery of gold. The men in every species of elegant workmanship. Moreover, the best artists of Germany reside among them; and merchants import into the island the most valuable specimens of foreign manufacture."

scarcely seems allowable, from conjecture alone, to throw such an imputation upon him.

But whether we are to account for that measure from the king's vanity or from his policy, it was the immediate cause of all the calamities which the English endured during this and the subsequent reigns, and gave rise to those mutual jealousies and animosities between them and the Normans, which were never appeased till a long tract of time had gradually united the two nations, and made them one people. The inhabitants of Kent who had first submitted to the conqueror, were the first that attempted to throw off the yoke; and in confederacy with Eustace, count of Boulogne, who had also been disgusted by the Normans, they made an attempt, though without success, on the garrison of Dover. Edric, the Forester, whose possessions lay on the bank of the Severn, being provoked at the depredations of some Norman captains in his neighbourhood, formed an alliance with Bleythan and Rowallan, two Welsh princes; and endeavoured, with their assistance, to repel force by force. But though these open hostilities were not very considerable, the disaffection was general among the English, who had become sensible, though too late, of their defenceless condition, and began already to experience those insults and injuries which a nation must always expect, that allows itself to be reduced to that abject situation. A secret conspiracy was entered into to perpetrate in one day a general massacre of the Normans, like that which had formerly been executed upon the Danes; and the quarrel was become so general and national, that the vassals of Earl Coxo, having desired him to head them in an insurrection, and finding him resolute in maintaining his fidelity to William, put him to death as a traitor to his country.

With regard to Coxo (or Copsi, as he is variously named), the fact appears to be, that he was a renegade to the Saxon interest. In Edward's time (according to Lingard), he was deputy to Tostig, in Northumbria, but subsequently on the appointment of Morcar, athane of the name of Osulf, had taken his office and continued in it, until the Norman conquest, when he was deprived of it, and the pliant Coxo was reinstated. Osulf, aided by private resentment, employed the indignant hatred of his countrymen against the foreign tyrants, and surprised his competitor at Newburn. Coxo sought shelter in the church, which was set on fire. The flames drove him to the door, and Osulf gratified his private hatred under the semblance of patriotism, and cut down his rival.

The king, informed of these dangerous discontents, hastened back to England; and by his presence, and the vigorous measures which he pursued, disconcerted all the schemes of the conspirators. Such of them as had been more violent in their mutiny, betrayed their guilt by flying, or concealing themselves; and the confiscation of their estates, while it increased the number of malcontents, both enabled William to gratify further the rapacity of his Norman captains, and gave them the prospect of new forfeitures and attainders. The king began to regard all his English subjects as inveterate and irreclaimable enemies; and thenceforth either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in the resolution of seizing their possessions, and of reducing them to the most abject slavery. Though the natural violence and severity of his temper made him incapable of feeling any remorse in the execu-

tion of this tyrannical purpose, he had art enough to conceal his intention, and to preserve still some appearance of justice in his oppressions. He ordered all the English who had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans during his absence, to be restored to their estates;\* but at the same time he imposed a general tax on the people, that of Danegelt, which had been abolished by the confessor, and which had always been extremely odious to the nation.

As the vigilance of William overawed the malcontents, their insurrections were more the result of an impatient humour in the people, than of any regular conspiracy, which could give them a rational hope of success against the established power of the Normans. The inhabitants of Exeter, instigated by Githa, mother to King Harold, refused to admit a Norman garrison, and betaking themselves to arms, were strengthened by the accession of the neighbouring inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall. The king hastened with his forces to chastise this revolt; and on his approach, the wiser and more considerable citizens, sensible of the unequal contest, persuaded the people to submit, and to deliver hostages for their obedience. A sudden mutiny of the populace broke this agreement; and William appearing before the walls, ordered the eyes of one of the hostages to be put out, as an earnest of that severity which the rebels must expect if they persevered in their revolt. The inhabitants were anew seized with terror, and surrendering at discretion, threw themselves at the king's feet, and supplicated his clemency and forgiveness. William was not destitute of generosity, when his temper was not hardened either by policy or passion: he was prevailed on to pardon the rebels, and he set guards on all the gates, in order to prevent the rapacity and insolence of his soldiery. Githa escaped with her treasures to Flanders. The malcontents of Cornwall imitated the example of Exeter, and met with like treatment: and the king, having built a citadel in that city, which he put under the command of Baldwin, son of Earl Gilbert, returned to Winchester, and dispersed his army into their quarters. He was here joined by his wife Matilda, who had not before visited England, and whom he now ordered to be crowned by Archbishop Aldred. Soon after, she brought him an accession to his family by the birth of a fourth son, whom he named Henry. His three elder sons, Robert, Richard, and William, still resided in Normandy.

But though the king appeared thus fortunate, both in public and domestic life, the discontents of his English subjects augmented daily; and the injuries committed and suffered on both sides, rendered the quarrel between them and the Normans absolutely incurable. The insolence of victorious masters, dispersed throughout the kingdom, seemed intolerable to the natives; and wherever they found the Normans, separate or assembled in small bodies, they secretly set upon them, and gratified their vengeance by the slaughter of their enemies. But an insurrection in the north drew thither the general attention, and seemed to threaten more important consequences. Edwin and Morcar appeared at the head of this rebellion; and

\* This fact is a full proof that the Normans had committed great injustice, and were the real cause of the insurrections of the English.



these potent noblemen, before they took arms, stipulated for foreign succours, from their nephew Bleythan, prince of North Wales, from Malcolm, king of Scotland, and from Sweyn, king of Denmark. Besides the general discontent which had seized the English, the two earls were incited to this revolt by private injuries. William, in order to insure them to his interests, had, on his accession, promised his daughter in marriage to Edwin; but either he had never seriously intended to perform this engagement, or, having changed his plan of administration in England from clemency to rigour, he thought it was to little purpose, if he gained one family, while he enraged the whole nation. When Edwin, therefore, renewed his applications, he gave him an absolute denial; and this disappointment, added to so many other reasons of disgust, induced that nobleman and his brother to concur with their incensed countrymen, and to make one general effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. William knew the importance of celerity in quelling an insurrection, supported by such powerful leaders, and so agreeable to the wishes of the people; and having his troops always in readiness, he advanced by great journeys to the north. On his march, he gave orders to fortify the castle of Warwick, of which he left Henry de Beaumont governor, and that of Nottingham, which he committed to the custody of William Peverell, another Norman captain. He reached York before the rebels were in any condition for resistance, or were joined by any of the foreign succours which they expected, except a small reinforcement from Wales; and the two earls found no means of safety, but by having recourse to the clemency of the victor. Archil, a potent nobleman in those parts, imitated their example, and delivered his son as a hostage for his fidelity; nor were the people, thus deserted by their leaders, able to make any further resistance. But the treatment which William gave the chiefs, was very different from that which fell to the share of their followers. He observed religiously the terms which he had granted to the former, and allowed them for the present to keep possession of their estates; but he extended the rigours of his confiscations over the latter, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers. These planted throughout the whole country, and in possession of the military power, left Edwin and Morear, whom he pretended to spare, destitute of all support, and ready to fall, whenever he should think proper to command their ruin. A peace which he made with Malcolm, who did him homage for Cumberland, seemed at the same time to deprive them of all prospect of foreign assistance.

The English were now sensible that their final destruction was intended; and that instead of a sovereign, whom they had hoped to gain by their submissions, they had tamely surrendered themselves, without resistance, to a tyrant and a conqueror. Though the early confiscation of Harold's followers might seem iniquitous, being inflicted on men who had never sworn fealty to the duke of Normandy, who were ignorant of his pretensions, and who only fought in defence of the government which they themselves had established in their own country; yet were these rigours, however contrary to the ancient Saxon laws, excused on account of the urgent necessities of the prince; and those who were not involved in the present ruin, hoped that they should henceforth

enjoy, without molestation, their possessions and their dignities. But the successive destruction of so many other families convinced them, that the king intended to rely entirely on the support and affections of foreigners; and they foresaw new forfeitures, attainders, and acts of violence, as the necessary result of this destructive plan of administration. They observed, that no Englishman possessed his confidence, or was intrusted with any command or authority; and that the strangers, whom a rigorous discipline could have but ill restrained, were encouraged in their insolence and tyranny against them. The easy submission of the kingdom on its first invasion, had exposed the natives to contempt; the subsequent proofs of their animosity and resentment had made them the object of hatred; and they were now deprived of every expedient by which they could hope to make themselves either regarded or beloved by their sovereign. Impressed with the sense of this dismal situation, many Englishmen fled into foreign countries, with an intention of passing their lives abroad free from oppression, or of returning on a favourable opportunity to assist their friends in the recovery of their native liberties. Edgar Atheling himself, dreading the insidious caresses of William, was persuaded by Cospatic, a powerful Northumbrian, to escape with him into Scotland; and he carried thither his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. They were well received by Malcolm, who soon after espoused Margaret, the elder sister; and partly with a view of strengthening his kingdom by the accession of so many strangers, partly in hopes of employing them against the growing power of William, he gave great countenance to all the English exiles. Many of them settled there, and laid the foundation of families which afterwards became celebrated.

While the English suffered under these oppressions, even the foreigners were not much at their ease; but finding themselves surrounded on all hands by enraged enemies, who took every advantage against them, and menaced them with still more bloody effects of the public resentment, they began to wish again for the tranquillity and security of their native country. Hugh de Gretnesnil and Humphrey de Teliol, though intrusted with great commands, desired to be dismissed the service; and some others imitated their example: a desertion which was highly resented by the king, and which he punished by the confiscation of all their possessions in England. But William's bounty to his followers could not fail of alluring many new adventurers into his service; and the rage of the vanquished English served only to excite the attention of the king and those warlike chiefs, and keep them in readiness to suppress every commencement of domestic rebellion or foreign invasion.

It was not long before they found occupation for their prowess and military conduct. Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, three sons of Harold, had, immediately after the defeat at Hastings, sought a retreat in Ireland; where, having met with a kind reception from Dermot and other princes of that country, they projected an invasion of England, and they hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, assisted by forces from these several countries, would at once commence hostilities, and rouse the indignation of the English against their haughty conquerors.

They landed in Devonshire; but found Brian, son of the count of Brittany, at the head of some foreign troops, ready to oppose them; and being defeated in several actions, they were obliged to retreat to their ships, and to return with great loss to Ireland. The efforts of the Normans were now directed to the north, where affairs had fallen into the utmost confusion. The more impatient of the Northumbrians had attacked Robert de Comyn, who was appointed governor of Durham; and gaining the advantage over him from his negligence, they put him to death in that city, with seven hundred of his followers. This success animated the inhabitants of York, who, rising in arms, slew Robert Fitz-Richard their governor; and besieged in the castle William Mallet, on whom the command was now devolved. A little after, the Danish troops landed from three hundred vessels: Osberne, brother to King Sweyn, was intrusted with the command of these forces, and he was accompanied by Harold and Canute, two sons of that monarch. Edgar Atheling appeared from Scotland, and brought along with him Cospatric, Waltheof, Siward, Bearne, Merleswain, Adelin, and other leaders, who, partly from the hopes which they gave of Scottish succours, partly from their authority in those parts, easily persuaded the warlike and discontented Northumbrians to join the insurrection. Mallet, that he might better provide for the defence of the citadel of York, set fire to some houses which lay contiguous; but this expedient proved the immediate cause of his destruction. The flames, spreading into the neighbouring streets, reduced the whole city to ashes: the enraged inhabitants, aided by the Danes, took advantage of the confusion to attack the castle, which they carried by assault; and the garrison, to the number of three thousand men, was put to the sword without mercy.

This success proved a signal to many other parts of England, and gave the people an opportunity of showing their detestation of the Normans. Hereward, a nobleman in East-Anglia, celebrated for valour, assembled his followers, and taking shelter in the Isle of Ely, made inroads on all the neighbouring country. The English in the counties of Somerset and Dorset rose in arms, and assaulted Montacute the Norman governor, while the inhabitants of Cornwall and Devon invested Exeter, which from the memory of William's clemency still remained faithful to him. Eddric the Forester, calling in the assistance of the Welsh, laid siege to Shrewsbury, and made head against Earl Brient and Fitz Osberne, who commanded in those quarters. The English, everywhere repenting their former easy submission, seemed determined to make by concert one great effort for the recovery of their liberties, and for the expulsion of their oppressors.

William, undismayed amidst this scene of confusion, assembled his forces, and animating them with the prospect of new confiscations and forfeitures, he marched against the rebels in the north, whom he regarded as the most formidable, and whose defeat he knew would strike a terror into all the other malcontents. Joining policy to force, he tried before his approach to weaken the enemy, by detaching the Danes from them; and he engaged Osberne, by large presents, and by offering him the liberty of plundering the sea-coast, to retire, without committing further hostilities, into Denmark. Cospatric also, in despair of suc-

cess, made his peace with the king, and paying a sum of money as an atonement for his insurrection, was received into favour, and even invested with the earldom of Northumberland. Waltheof, who long defended York with great courage, was allured with this appearance of clemency; and as William knew how to esteem valour, even in an enemy, that nobleman had no reason to repent of this confidence. Even Eddric, compelled by necessity, submitted to the conqueror, and received forgiveness, which was soon after followed by some degree of trust and favour. Malcolm, coming too late to support his confederates, was constrained to retire; and all the English rebels in other parts, except Hereward, who still kept in his fastnesses, dispersed themselves, and left the Normans undisputed masters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling, with his followers, sought again a retreat in Scotland from the pursuit of his enemies.

But the seeming clemency of William towards the English leaders, proceeded only from artifice, or from his esteem of individuals: his heart was hardened against all compassion towards the people; and he scrupled at no measure, however violent or severe, which seemed requisite to support his plan of tyrannical administration. Sensible of the restless disposition of the Northumbrians, he determined to incapacitate them ever after from giving disturbance, and he issued orders for laying entirely waste that fertile country, which for the extent of sixty miles lies between the Humber and the Tees. The houses were reduced to ashes by the merciless Normans; the cattle seized and driven away; the instruments of husbandry destroyed; and the inhabitants compelled either to seek for a subsistence in the southern parts of Scotland, or if they lingered in England, from a reluctance to abandon their ancient habitations, they perished miserably in the woods from cold and hunger. The lives of a hundred thousand persons are computed to have been sacrificed to this stroke of barbarous policy, which, by seeking a remedy for a temporary evil, thus inflicted a lasting wound on the power and populousness of the nation.

But William, finding himself entirely master of a people who had given him such sensible proofs of their impotent rage and animosity, now resolved to proceed to extremities against all the natives of England, and to reduce them to a condition in which they should no longer be formidable to his government. The insurrections and conspiracies in so many parts of the kingdom, had involved the bulk of the landed proprietors, more or less, in the guilt of treason; and the king took advantage of executing against them, with the utmost rigour, the laws of forfeiture and attainder. Their lives were indeed commonly spared; but their estates were confiscated, and either annexed to the royal demesnes, or conferred with the most profuse bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. While the king's declared intention was to depress, or rather, entirely extirpate, the English gentry, it is easy to believe that scarcely the form of justice would be observed in these violent proceedings; and that any suspicions served as the most undoubted proofs of guilt against a people thus devoted to destruction. It was crime sufficient in an Englishman to be opulent, or noble, or powerful; and the policy of the king, concurring with the rapacity of foreign adventurers, produced almost a total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and



honourable families were reduced to beggary; the nobles themselves were everywhere treated with ignominy and contempt; they had the mortification of seeing their castles and manors possessed by Normans of the meanest birth and lowest stations; and they found themselves carefully excluded from every road which led either to riches or preferment.\*

As power naturally follows property, this revolution alone gave great security to the foreigners; but William, by the new institutions which he established, took also care to retain for ever the military authority in those hands which had enabled him to subdue the kingdom. He introduced into England the feudal law, which he found established in France and Normandy, and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the stability and of the disorders in most of the monarchical governments of Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with very few exceptions, besides the royal demesnes, into baronies; and he conferred these, with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his adventurers. These great barons, who held immediately of the crown, shared out a great part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights, or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty and submission in peace and war, which he himself owed to his sovereign. The whole kingdom contained about 700 chief tenants, and 60,215 knights'-fees; and as none of the native English were admitted into the first rank, the few who retained their landed property were glad to be received into the second, and under the protection of some powerful Norman, to load themselves and their posterity with this grievous burden, for estates which they had received free from their ancestors. The small mixture of English which entered into this civil or military fabric (for it partook of both species), was so restrained by subordination under the foreigners, that the Norman dominion seemed now to be fixed on the most durable basis, and to defy all the efforts of its enemies.

The better to unite the parts of the government, and to bind them into one system, which might serve both for defence against foreigners, and for the support of domestic tranquillity, William reduced the ecclesiastical revenues under the same feudal law; and though he had courted the church on his invasion and accession, he now subjected it to services which the clergy regarded as a grievous slavery, and as totally unbefitting their profession. The bishops and abbots were obliged, when required, to furnish to the king, during war, a number of knights, or military tenants, proportioned to the extent of property possessed by each see or abbey; and they were liable, in case of failure, to the same penalties which were exacted from the laity. The pope and the ecclesiastics exclaimed against this tyranny, as they called it; but the king's authority was so well established over the army, who held everything from his bounty, that superstition itself, even in that age, when it was most prevalent, was constrained to bend under his superior influence.

But as the great body of the clergy were still natives, the king had much reason to dread the effects of their resentment: he therefore used the precaution of expelling the English from all the considerable dignities, and of advancing foreigners in their place. The partiality of the Confessor towards the Normans had been so great, that, aided by their superior learning, it had promoted them to many of the sees in England; and even before the period of the conquest, scarcely more than six or seven of the prelates were natives of the country. But among these was Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, a man who, by his address and vigour, by the greatness of his family and alliances, by the extent of his possessions, as well as by the dignity of his office, and his authority among the English, gave jealousy to the king. Though William had on his accession affronted this prelate, by employing the archbishop of York to officiate at his consecration, he was careful on other occasions to load him with honours and caresses, and to avoid giving him further offence till the opportunity should offer of effecting his final destruction. The suppression of the late rebellions, and the total subjection of the English, made him hope that an attempt against Stigand, however violent, would be covered by his great successes, and be overlooked amidst the other important revolutions which affected so deeply the property and liberty of the kingdom. Yet, notwithstanding these great advantages, he did not think it safe to violate the reverence usually paid to the primate but under cover of a new superstition, which he was the great instrument of introducing into England.

The doctrine which exalted the papacy above all human power, had gradually diffused itself from the city and court of Rome; and was, during that age, much more prevalent in the southern than in the northern kingdoms of Europe. Pope Alexander, who had assisted William in his conquests, naturally expected that the French and Normans would import into England the same reverence for his sacred character with which they were impressed in their own country; and would break the spiritual as well as civil independency of the Saxons, who had hitherto conducted their ecclesiastical government with an acknowledgment indeed of primacy in the see of Rome, but without much idea of its title to dominion or authority. As soon, therefore, as the Norman prince seemed fully established on the throne, the pope dispatched Ermenfroy, bishop of Sion, as his legate into England; and this prelate was the first that had ever appeared with that character in any part of the British islands. The king, though he was probably led by principle to pay this submission to Rome, determined, as is usual, to employ the incident as a means of serving his political purposes, and of degrading those English prelates who were become obnoxious to him. The legate submitted to become the instrument of his tyranny; and thought that the more violent the exertion of power, the more certainly did it confirm the authority of that court from which he derived his commission. He summoned, therefore, a council of the prelates and abbots at Winchester; and being assisted by two cardinals, Peter and John, he cited before him Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, to answer for his conduct. The primate was accused of three crimes; the holding of the see of Winchester together with that of Canterbury; the officiating in the pall of Robert his

\* The obliging of all the inhabitants to put out the fires and lights at certain hours, upon the sounding of a bell called the curfew, is represented by *Polydore Virgil*, lib. 9, as a mark of the servitude of the English. But this was a law of peace, which William had previously established in Normandy.

predecessor; and the having received his own pall from Benedict IX., who was afterwards deposed for simony, and for intrusion into the papacy. These crimes of Stigand were mere pretences; since the first had been a practice not unusual in England, and was never anywhere subjected to a higher penalty than a resignation of one of the sees; the second was a pure ceremonial; and as Benedict was the only pope who then officiated, and his acts were never repealed, all the prelates of the church, especially those who lay at a distance, were excusable for making their applications to him. Stigand's ruin, however, was resolved on, and was prosecuted with great severity. The legate degraded him from his dignity; the king confiscated his estate, and cast him into prison, where he continued in poverty and want during the remainder of his life. Like rigour was exercised against the other English prelates: Agelric, bishop of Selesey, and Agelmare of Elmham, were deposed by the legate, and imprisoned by the king. Many considerable abbots shared the same fate: Egelwin, bishop of Durham, fled the kingdom: Wulstan of Worcester, a man of an inoffensive character, was the only English prelate that escaped this general proscription,\* and remained in possession of his dignity. Aldred, archbishop of York, who had set the crown on William's head, had died a little before of grief and vexation, and had left his malediction to that prince, on account of the breach of his coronation-oath, and of the extreme tyranny with which he saw he was determined to treat his English subjects.

It was a fixed maxim in this reign, as well as in some of the subsequent, that no native of the island should ever be advanced to any dignity, ecclesiastical, civil, or military. The king, therefore, upon Stigand's deposition, promoted Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, celebrated for his learning and piety, to the vacant see. This prelate was rigid in defending the prerogatives of his station; and after a long process before the pope, he obliged Thomas, a Norman monk, who had been appointed to the see of York, to acknowledge the primacy of the archbishop of Canterbury. Where ambition can be so happy as to cover its enterprises, even to the person himself, under the appearance of principle, it is the most incurable and inflexible of all human passions. Hence Lanfranc's zeal in promoting the interests of the papacy, by which he himself augmented his own authority, was indefatigable; and met with proportionable success. The devoted attachment to Rome continually increased in England; and being favoured by the sentiments of the conquerors, as well as by the monastic establishments formerly introduced by Edred and by Edgar, it soon reached the same height at which it had, during some time, stood in France and Italy. It afterwards went much further; being favoured by that very remote situation which had at first obstructed its progress; and being less checked by knowledge and a liberal education, which were still somewhat more common in the southern countries.

The prevalence of this superstitious spirit be-

\* Brompton relates, that Wulstan was also deprived by the synod; but refusing to deliver his pastoral staff and ring to any but the person from whom he first received it, he went immediately to King Edward's tomb, and struck the staff so deeply into the stone, that none but himself was able to pull it out: upon which he was allowed to keep his bishopric. This instance may serve, instead of many, as a specimen of the monkish miracles.

came dangerous to some of William's successors, and incommodious to most of them. But the arbitrary sway of this king over the English, and his extensive authority over the foreigners, kept him from feeling any immediate inconveniences from it. He retained the church in great subjection, as well as his lay subjects; and would allow none, of whatever character, to dispute his sovereign will and pleasure. He prohibited his subjects from acknowledging any one for pope whom he himself had not previously received. He required that all the ecclesiastical canons, voted in any synod, should first be laid before him, and be ratified by his authority; even bulls or letters from Rome could not legally be produced till they received the same sanction; and none of his ministers or barons, whatever offences they were guilty of, could be subjected to spiritual censures till he himself had given his consent to their excommunication. These regulations were worthy of a sovereign, and kept united the civil and ecclesiastical powers, which the principles introduced by this prince himself had an immediate tendency to separate.

But the English had the cruel mortification to find that their king's authority, however acquired, or however extended, was all employed in their oppression; and that the scheme of their subjection, attended with every circumstance of insult and indignity, was deliberately formed by the prince, and wantonly prosecuted by his followers. William had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing the English language; and for that purpose, he ordered that in all schools throughout the kingdom, the youth should be instructed in the French tongue; a practice which was continued from custom till after the reign of Edward III., and was never, indeed, totally discontinued in England. The pleadings in the supreme courts of judicature were in French: the deeds were often drawn in the same language: the laws were composed in that idiom: no other tongue was used at court: it became the language of all fashionable company; and the English themselves, ashamed of their own country, affected to excel in that foreign dialect. From this attention of William, and from the extensive foreign dominions long annexed to the crown of England, proceeded that mixture of French which is at present to be found in the English tongue, and which composes so large a portion of our language. But amidst those endeavours to depress the English nation, the king, moved by the remonstrances of some of his prelates, and by the earnest desires of the people, restored a few of the laws of King Edward; which, though seemingly of no great importance towards the protection of general liberty, gave them extreme satisfaction, as a memorial of their ancient government, and an unusual mark of compliance in their imperious conquerors.\*

\* What these laws were of Edward the Confessor, which the English, every reign during a century and a half, desired so passionately to have restored, is much disputed by antiquaries; and our ignorance of them seems one of the greatest defects in the ancient English history. The collection of laws in Wilkins, which pass under the name of Edward, are plainly a posterior, and an ignorant compilation. Those to be found in Ingulf are genuine; but so imperfect, and contain so few clauses favourable to the subject, that we see no great reason for their contending for them so vehemently. It is probable that the English meant the common law, as it prevailed during the reign of Edward; which we may conjecture to have been more indulgent to liberty than the Norman institutions. The most material articles of it were afterwards comprehended in Magna Charta.



The situation of the two great earls, Morcar and Edwin, became now very disagreeable. Though they had retained their allegiance during this general insurrection of their countrymen, they had not gained the king's confidence, and they found themselves exposed to the malignity of the courtiers, who envied them on account of their opulence and greatness, and at the same time involved them in that general contempt which they entertained for the English. Sensible that they had entirely lost their dignity, and could not even hope to remain long in safety, they determined, though too late to share the same fate with their countrymen. While Edwin retired to his estate in the north, with a view of commencing an insurrection, Morcar took shelter in the Isle of Ely with the brave Hereward, who, secured by the inaccessible situation of the place, still defended himself against the Normans. But this attempt served only to accelerate the ruin of the few English who had hitherto been able to preserve their rank or fortune during the past convulsions. William employed all his endeavours to subdue the Isle of Ely; and having surrounded it with flat-bottomed boats, and made a causeway through the morasses to the extent of two miles, he obliged the rebels to surrender at discretion. Hereward alone forced his way, sword in hand, through the enemy; and still continued his hostilities by sea against the Normans, till at last, William, charmed with his bravery, received him into favour, and restored him to his estate. Earl Morcar, and Egelwin, bishop of Durham, who had joined the malcontents, were thrown into prison, and the latter soon after died in confinement. Edwin, attempting to make his escape into Scotland, was betrayed by some of his followers, and was killed by a party of Normans, to the great affliction of the English, and even to that of William, who paid a tribute of generous tears to the memory of this gallant and beautiful youth. The king of Scotland, in hopes of profiting by these convulsions, had fallen upon the northern counties; but on the approach of William he retired; and when the king entered his country, he was glad to make peace, and to pay the usual homage to the English crown. To complete the king's prosperity, Edgar Atheling himself, despairing of success, and weary of a fugitive life, submitted to his enemy; and receiving a decent pension for his subsistence, was permitted to live in England unmolested. But these acts of generosity towards the leaders were disgraced, as usual, by William's rigour against the inferior malcontents. He ordered the hands to be lopt off, and the eyes to be put out, of many of the prisoners whom he had taken in the Isle of Ely; and he dispersed them in that miserable condition throughout the country, as monuments of his severity.

The province of Maine, in France, had, by the will of Herbert, the last count, fallen under the dominion of William some years before his conquest of England; but the inhabitants, dissatisfied with the Norman government, and instigated by Fulk, count of Anjou, who had some pretensions to the succession, now rose in rebellion, and expelled the magistrates whom the king had placed over them. The full settlement of England afforded him leisure to punish this insult on his authority; but being unwilling to remove his Norman forces from this island, he carried over a considerable army, composed almost entirely of English;

and joining them to some troops levied in Normandy, he entered the revolted province. The English appeared ambitious of distinguishing themselves on this occasion, and of retrieving that character of valour which had long been national among them; but which their late easy subjection under the Normans had somewhat degraded and obscured. Perhaps, too, they hoped that, by their zeal and activity, they might recover the confidence of their sovereign, as their ancestors had formerly, by like means, gained the affections of Canute; and might conquer his inveterate prejudices in favour of his own countrymen. The king's military conduct, seconded by these brave troops, soon overcame all opposition in Maine: the inhabitants were obliged to submit, and the count of Anjou relinquished his pretensions.

But during these transactions the government of England was greatly disturbed; and that, too, by those very foreigners who owed everything to the king's bounty, and who were the sole object of his friendship and regard. The Norman barons, who had engaged with their duke in the conquest of England, were men of the most independent spirit; and though they obeyed their leader in the field, they would have regarded with disdain the richest acquisitions, had they been required in return to submit, in their civil government, to the arbitrary will of one man. But the imperious character of William, encouraged by his absolute dominion over the English, and often impelled by the necessity of his affairs, had prompted him to stretch his authority over the Normans themselves beyond what the free genius of that victorious people could easily bear. The discontents were become general among those haughty nobles; and even Roger, earl of Hereford, son and heir of Fitz Osbourne, the king's chief favourite, was strongly infected with them. This nobleman, intending to marry his sister to Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, had thought it his duty to inform the king of his purpose, and to desire the royal consent; but meeting with a refusal, he proceeded, nevertheless, to complete the nuptials, and assembled all his friends, and those of Guader, to attend the solemnity. The two earls, disgusted by the denial of their request, and dreading William's resentment for their disobedience, here prepared measures for a revolt; and during the gaiety of the festival, while the company was heated with wine, they opened the design to their guests. They inveighed against the arbitrary conduct of the king; his tyranny over the English, whom they affected on this occasion to commiserate; his imperious behaviour to his barons of the noblest birth; and his apparent intention of reducing the victors and the vanquished to a like ignominious servitude. Amidst their complaints, the indignity of submitting to a bastard\* was not forgotten; the certain prospect of success in a revolt, by the assistance of the Danes and the discontented English, was insisted on; and the whole company, inflamed with the same sentiments, and warmed by the jollity of the entertainment, entered, by a solemn engagement, into the design of shaking off the royal authority. Even Earl Walthef, who was present, inconsiderately expressed his approbation of the conspi-

\* William was so little ashamed of his birth, that he assumed the appellation of Bastard in some of his letters and charters.

racy, and promised his concurrence towards its success.

This nobleman, the last of the English who had been permitted to possess any power or authority, had, after his capitulation at York, been received into favour by the Conqueror; had even married Judith, niece to that prince; and had been promoted to the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton. Cospatric, earl of Northumberland, having, on some new disgust from William, retired into Scotland, where he received the earldom of Dunbar from the bounty of Malcolm, Waltheof was appointed his successor in that important command, and seemed still to possess the confidence and friendship of his sovereign. But as he was a man of generous principles, and loved his country, it is probable that the tyranny exercised over the English lay heavy upon his mind, and destroyed all the satisfaction which he could reap from his own grandeur and advancement. When a prospect, therefore, was opened of retrieving their liberty, he hastily embraced it; while the fumes of the liquor, and the ardour of the company, prevented him from reflecting on the consequences of that rash attempt. But after his cool judgment returned, he foresaw that the conspiracy of those discontented barons was not likely to prove successful against the established power of William; or if it did, that the slavery of the English, instead of being alleviated by that event, would become more grievous under a multitude of foreign leaders, factious and ambitious, whose union and whose discord would be equally oppressive to the people. Tormented with these reflections, he opened his mind to his wife Judith, of whose fidelity he entertained no suspicion; but who, having secretly fixed her affections on another, took this opportunity of ruining her easy and credulous husband. She conveyed intelligence of the conspiracy to the king, and aggravated every circumstance, which, she believed would tend to incense him against Waltheof, and render him absolutely implacable. Meanwhile the earl, still dubious with regard to the part which he should act, discovered the secret in confession to Lanfranc, on whose probity and judgment he had a great reliance: he was persuaded by the prelate, that he owed no fidelity to those rebellious barons, who had by surprise gained his consent to a crime; that his first duty was to his sovereign and benefactor, his next to himself and his family; and that if he seized not the opportunity of making atonement for his guilt by revealing it, the temerity of the conspirators was so great, that they would give some other person the means of acquiring the merit of the discovery. Waltheof, convinced by these arguments, went over to Normandy; but though he was well received by the king, and thanked for his fidelity, the account, previously transmitted by Judith, had sunk deep into William's mind, and had destroyed all the merit of her husband's repentance.

The conspirators, hearing of Waltheof's departure, immediately concluded their design to be betrayed; and they flew to arms before their schemes were ripe for execution, and before the arrival of the Danes, in whose aid they placed their chief confidence. The earl of Hereford was checked by Walter de Lacy, a great baron in those parts, who, supported by the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Evesham, raised some forces, and prevented the earl from passing the Severn, or advancing into the heart of the kingdom. The earl

of Norfolk was defeated at Fagadun, near Cambridge, by Odo, the regent, assisted by Richard de Bienfate and William de Warrenne, the two justiciaries. The prisoners taken in this action had their right foot cut off, as a punishment of their treason: the earl himself escaped to Norwich, thence to Denmark; where the Danish fleet, which had made an unsuccessful attempt upon the coast of England, soon after arrived, and brought him intelligence, that all his confederates were either killed, banished, or taken prisoners.\* Ralph retired in despair to Britany, where he possessed a large estate and extensive jurisdictions.

The king, who hastened over to England in order to suppress the insurrection, found that no thing remained but the punishment of the criminals, which he executed with great severity. Many of the rebels were hanged; some had their eyes put out; others their hands cut off. But William, agreeably to his usual maxims, showed more lenity to their leader, the earl of Hereford, who was only condemned to a forfeiture of his estate, and to imprisonment during pleasure. The king seemed even disposed to remit this last part of the punishment; had not Roger, by a fresh insolence, provoked him to render his confinement perpetual. But Waltheof, being an Englishman, was not treated with so much humanity; though his guilt, always much inferior to that of the other conspirators, was atoned for by an early repentance and return to his duty. William, instigated by his niece, as well as by his rapacious courtiers, who longed for so rich a forfeiture, ordered him to be tried, condemned, and executed. The English, who considered this nobleman as the last resource of their nation, grievously lamented his fate, and fancied that miracles were wrought by his relics, as a testimony of his innocence and sanctity. The infamous Judith, falling soon after under the king's displeasure, was abandoned by all the world, and passed the rest of her life in contempt, remorse, and misery.

Nothing remained to complete William's satisfaction, but the punishment of Ralph de Guader; and he hastened over to Normandy, in order to gratify his vengeance on that criminal. But though the contest seemed very unequal between a private nobleman and the king of England, Ralph was so well supported both by the earl of Brittany and the king of France, that William, after besieging him for some time in Dol, was obliged to abandon the enterprise, and make with those powerful princes a peace, in which Ralph himself was included. England, during his absence, remained in tranquillity, and nothing remarkable occurred, except two ecclesiastical synods which were summoned, one at London, another at Winchester. In the former, the precedence among the episcopal sees was settled, and the seat of some of them was removed from small villages to the most considerable town within the diocese. In the second was transacted a business of more importance.

The industry and perseverance are surprising, with which the popes had been treasuring up powers and pretensions during so many ages of ignorance; while each pontiff employed every fraud

\* Many of the fugitive Normans are supposed to have fled into Scotland, where they were protected, as well as the fugitive English, by Malcolm: whence come the many French and Norman families which are found at present in that country.



for advancing purposes of imaginary piety, and cherished all claims which might turn to the advantage of his successors, though he himself could not expect ever to reap any benefit from them. All this immense store of spiritual and civil authority was now devolved on Gregory VII., of the name of Hildebrand, the most enterprising pontiff that had ever filled the chair, and the least restrained by fear, decency, or moderation. Not content with shaking off the yoke of the emperors, who had hitherto exercised the power of appointing the pope on every vacancy, at least of ratifying his election, he undertook the arduous task of entirely disjoining the ecclesiastical from the civil power, and of excluding profane laymen from the right which they had assumed, of filling the vacancies of bishoprics, abbeys, and other spiritual dignities. The sovereigns, who had long exercised this power, and who had acquired it, not by encroachments on the church, but on the people, to whom it originally belonged, made great opposition to this claim of the court of Rome; and Henry IV., the reigning emperor, defended this prerogative of his crown with a vigour and resolution suitable to its importance. The few offices, either civil or military, which the feudal institutions left the sovereign the power of bestowing, made the prerogative of conferring the pastoral ring and staff the most valuable jewel of the royal diadem; especially as the general ignorance of the age bestowed a consequence on the ecclesiastical offices, even beyond the great extent of power and property which belonged to them. Superstition, the child of ignorance, invested the clergy with an authority almost sacred; and as they engrossed the little learning of the age, their interposition became requisite in all civil business, and a real usefulness in common life was thus superadded to the spiritual sanctity of their character.

When the usurpations, therefore, of the church had come to such maturity as to embolden her to attempt extorting the right of investitures from the temporal power, Europe, especially Italy and Germany, was thrown into the most violent convulsions, and the pope and the emperor waged implacable war on each other. Gregory dared to fulminate the sentence of excommunication against Henry and his adherents, to pronounce him rightfully deposed, to free his subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and, instead of shocking mankind by this gross encroachment on the civil authority, he found the stupid people ready to second his most exorbitant pretensions. Every minister, servant, or vassal of the emperor, who received any disgust, covered his rebellion under the pretence of principle; and even the mother of this monarch, forgetting all the ties of nature, was seduced to countenance the insolence of his enemies. Princes themselves, not attentive to the pernicious consequences of those papal claims, employed them for their present purposes: and the controversy, spreading into every city of Italy, engendered the parties of Guelf and Ghibelin; the most durable and most inveterate factions that ever arose from the mixture of ambition and religious zeal. Besides numberless assassinations, tumults, and convulsions, to which they gave rise, it is computed that the quarrel occasioned no less than sixty battles in the reign of Henry IV., and eighteen in that of his successor, Henry V., when the claims of the sovereign pontiff finally prevailed.

But the bold spirit of Gregory, not dismayed

with the vigorous opposition which he met with from the emperor, extended his usurpations all over Europe; and well knowing the nature of mankind, whose blind astonishment ever inclines them to yield to the most impudent pretensions, he seemed determined to set no bounds to the spiritual, or rather temporal, monarchy which he had undertaken to erect. He pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Nicephorus, emperor of the East; Robert Guiscard, the adventurous Norman who had acquired the dominion of Naples, was attacked by the same dangerous weapon: he degraded Boleslas, king of Poland, from the rank of king; and even deprived Poland of the title of a kingdom: he attempted to treat Philip, king of France, with the same rigour which he had employed against the emperor: he pretended to the entire property and dominion of Spain; and he parcelled it out amongst adventurers, who undertook to conquer it from the Saracens, and to hold it in vassalage under the see of Rome. Even the Christian bishops, on whose aid he relied for subduing the temporal princes, saw that he was determined to reduce them to servitude; and by assuming the whole legislative and judicial power of the church, to centre all authority in the sovereign pontiff.

William the Conqueror, the most potent, the most haughty, and the most vigorous prince in Europe, was not, amidst all his splendid successes, secure from the attacks of this enterprising pontiff. Gregory wrote him a letter, requiring him to fulfil his promise in doing homage for the kingdom of England to the see of Rome, and to send him over that tribute, which all his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the vicar of Christ. By the tribute, he meant Peter's-pence; which, though at first a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, was interpreted, according to the usual practice of the Romish court, to be a badge of subjection acknowledged by the kingdom. William replied, that the money should be remitted as usual; but that neither had he promised to do homage to Rome, nor was it in the least his purpose to impose that servitude on his state. And the better to show Gregory his independence, he ventured, notwithstanding the frequent complaints of the pope, to refuse to the English bishops the liberty of attending a general council which that pontiff had summoned against his enemies.

But though the king displayed this vigour in supporting the royal dignity, he was infected with the general superstition of the age, and he did not perceive the ambitious scope of those institutions, which under colour of strictness in religion, were introduced or promoted by the court of Rome. Gregory, while he was throwing all Europe into combustion by his violence and impositions, affected an anxious care for the purity of manners; and even the chaste pleasures of the marriage-bed were inconsistent, in his opinion, with the sanctity of the sacerdotal character. He had issued a decree prohibiting the marriage of priests, excommunicating all clergymen who retained their wives, declaring such unlawful commerce to be fornication, and rendering it criminal in the laity to attend divine worship when such profane priests officiated at the altar. This point was a great object in the politics of the Roman pontiffs; and it cost them infinitely more pains to establish it, than the propagation of any spe-

culative absurdity which they had ever attempted to introduce. Many synods were summoned in different parts of Europe, before it was finally settled; and it was there constantly remarked, that the younger clergymen complied cheerfully with the pope's decrees in this particular, and that the chief reluctance appeared in those who were more advanced in years: an event so little consonant to men's natural expectations, that it could not fail to be glossed on, even in that blind and superstitious age. William allowed the pope's legate to assemble, in his absence, a synod at Winchester, in order to establish the celibacy of the clergy; but the church of England could not yet be carried the whole length expected. The synod was content with decreeing, that the bishops should not thenceforth ordain any priests or deacons without exacting from them a promise of celibacy; but they enacted, that none, except those who belonged to collegiate or cathedral churches, should be obliged to separate from their wives.

The king passed some years in Normandy; but his long residence there was not entirely owing to his declared preference to that duchy: his presence was also necessary for composing those disturbances which had arisen in that favourite territory, and which had even originally proceeded from his own family. Robert, his eldest son, surnamed Gambaron, or Courthose, from his short legs, was a prince who inherited all the bravery of his family and nation; but without that policy and dissimulation by which his father was so much distinguished, and which, no less than his military valour, had contributed to his great successes. Greedy of fame, impatient of contradiction, without reserve in his friendships, candid in his enmities, this prince could endure no control even from his imperious father, and openly aspired to that independence, to which his temper, as well as some circumstances in his situation, strongly invited him. When William first received the submissions of the province of Maine, he had promised the inhabitants that Robert should be their prince; and before he undertook the expedition against England, he had, on the application of the French court, declared him his successor in Normandy, and had obliged the barons of that duchy to do him homage as their future sovereign. By this artifice, he had endeavoured to appease the jealousy of his neighbours, as affording them a prospect of separating England from his dominions on the continent; but when Robert demanded of him the execution of those engagements, he gave him an absolute refusal, and told him, according to the homely saying, that he never intended to throw off his clothes till he went to bed. Robert openly declared his discontent; and was suspected of secretly instigating the king of France and the earl of Brittany to the opposition which they made to William, and which had formerly frustrated his attempts upon the town of Dol. And as the quarrel still augmented, Robert proceeded to entertain a strong jealousy of his two surviving brothers, William and Henry (for Richard was killed in hunting, by a stag), who, by greater submission and complaisance, had acquired the affections of their father. In this disposition on both sides, the greatest trifle sufficed to produce a rupture between them.

The three princes, residing with their father in the castle of l'Aigle in Normandy, were one day

engaged in sport together; and after some mirth and jollity, the two younger took a fancy of throwing over some water on Robert as he passed through the court on leaving their apartment; a frolic which he would naturally have regarded as innocent, had it not been for the suggestions of Alberic de Grentmesnil, son of that Hugh de Grentmesnil whom William had formerly deprived of his fortunes, when that baron deserted him during his greatest difficulties in England. The young man, mindful of the injury, persuaded the prince that this action was meant as a public affront, which it behoved him in honour to resent; and the choleric Robert, drawing his sword, ran up stairs, with an intention of taking revenge on his brothers. The whole castle was filled with tumult, which the king himself, who hastened from his apartment, found some difficulty to appease. But he could by no means appease the resentment of his eldest son, who complaining of his partiality, and fancying that no proper atonement had been made him for the insult, left the court that very evening, and hastened to Rouen, with an intention of seizing the citadel of that place. But being disappointed in this view by the precaution and vigilance of Roger de Ivery, the governor, he fled to Hugh Neufchatel, a powerful Norman baron, who gave him protection in his castles; and he openly levied war against his father. The popular character of the prince, and a similarity of manners, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Brittany, to take part with him; and it was suspected that Matilda, his mother, whose favourite he was, supported him in his rebellion by secret remittances of money, and by the encouragement which she gave his partisans.

All the hereditary provinces of William, as well as his family, were, during several years, thrown into convulsions by this war; and he was at last obliged to have recourse to England, where that species of military government which he had established, gave him greater authority than the ancient feudal institutions permitted him to exercise in Normandy. He called over an army of English under his ancient captains, who soon expelled Robert and his adherents from their retreats, and restored the authority of the sovereign in all his dominions. The young prince was obliged to take shelter in the castle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoisis, which the king of France, who secretly fomented all these dissensions, had provided for him. In this fortress he was closely besieged by his father, against whom, having a strong garrison, he made an obstinate defence. There passed under the walls of this place many encounters, which resembled more the single combats of chivalry, than the military actions of armies; but one of them was remarkable for its circumstances and its event. Robert happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet; and both of them being valiant, a fierce combat ensued, till at last the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and unhorsed him. On his calling out for assistance, his voice discovered him to his son, who, struck with remorse for his past guilt, and astonished with the apprehensions of one much greater, which he had so nearly incurred, instantly threw himself at his father's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and offered to purchase forgiveness by any atonement. The resentment harboured by William was so implacable, that he did not immediately correspond to this dutiful submission of



his son with like tenderness: but giving him his malediction, departed for his own camp on Robert's horse, which that prince had assisted him to mount. He soon after raised the siege, and marched with his army to Normandy; where the interposition of the queen, and other common friends, brought about a reconciliation, which was probably not a little forwarded by the generosity of the son's behaviour in this action, and by the returning sense of his past misconduct. The king seemed so fully appeased, that he even took Robert with him into England; where he intrusted him with the command of an army, in order to repel an inroad of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and to retaliate by a like inroad into that country. The Welsh, unable to resist William's power, were, about the same time, necessitated to pay a compensation for their incursions, and everything was reduced to full tranquillity in this island.

This state of affairs gave William leisure to begin and finish an undertaking, which proves his extensive genius, and does honour to his memory: it was a general survey of all the lands in the kingdom, their extent in each district, their proprietors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in some counties the number of tenants, cottagers, and slaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. He appointed commissioners for this purpose, who entered every particular in their register by the verdict of juries; and after a labour of six years (for the work was so long in finishing), brought him an exact account of all the landed property of his kingdom.\* Perhaps the more northern counties were not comprehended in this survey, on account of their wild uncultivated state. This monument, called Domesday-book, the most valuable piece of antiquity possessed by any nation, is still preserved in the Exchequer; and though only some extracts of it have hitherto been published, it serves to illustrate to us, in many particulars, the ancient state of England. The great Alfred had finished a like survey of the kingdom in his time, which was long kept at Winchester, and which probably served as a model to William in this undertaking.

The king was naturally a great economist; and though no prince had ever been more bountiful to his officers and servants, it was merely because he had rendered himself universal proprietor of England, and had a whole kingdom to bestow. He reserved an ample revenue for the crown; and in the general distribution of land among his followers, he kept possession of no less than 1422 manors in different parts of England, which paid him rent, either in money, or in corn, cattle, and the usual produce of the soil. An ancient historian computes, that his annual fixed income, besides escheats, fines, reliefs, and other casual profits to a great value, amounted to near 400,000 pounds

a-year;\* a sum which, if all circumstances be attended to, will appear wholly incredible. A pound in that age, as we have already observed, contained three times the weight of silver that it does at present; and the same weight of silver, by the most probable computation, would purchase near ten times more of the necessaries of life, though not in the same proportion of the finer manufactures. This revenue, therefore, of William, would be equal to at least nine or ten millions at present; and as that prince had neither fleet nor army to support, the former being only an occasional expense, and the latter being maintained, without any charge to him, by his military vassals, we must thence conclude, that no emperor or prince, in any age or nation, can be compared to the Conqueror for opulence and riches. This leads us to suspect a great mistake in the computation of the historian; though, if we consider that avarice is always imputed to William, as one of his vices, and that having by the sword rendered himself master of all the lands in the kingdom, he would certainly in the partition retain a great proportion for his own share, we can scarcely be guilty of any error in asserting, that perhaps no king of England was ever more opulent, or more able to support, by his revenue, the splendour and magnificence of a court, or could bestow more on his pleasures, or in liberalities to his servants and favourites.

There was one pleasure to which William, as well as all the Normans and ancient Saxons, was extremely addicted, and that was hunting; but this pleasure he indulged more at the expense of his unhappy subjects, whose interests he always disregarded, than to the loss or diminution of his own revenue. Not content with those large forests, which former kings possessed in all parts of England, he resolved to make a new forest near Winchester, the usual place of his residence: and for that purpose, he laid waste the country in Hampshire for an extent of thirty miles, expelled the inhabitants from their houses, seized their property, even demolished churches and convents, and made the sufferers no compensation for the injury. At the same time, he enacted new laws, by which he prohibited all his subjects from hunting in any of his forests, and rendered the penalties more severe than ever had been inflicted for such offences. The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes; and that at a time, when the killing of a man could be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or composition.

The transactions recorded during the remainder of this reign, may be considered more as domestic occurrences, which concern the prince, than as national events, which regard England. Odo, bishop of Baieux, the king's uterine brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and intrusted with a great share of power during his whole reign, had amassed immense riches; and agreeably to the usual progress of human wishes, he began to regard his present acquisitions but as a step to further grandeur. He had formed the chimerical project of buying the papacy; and though Gregory, the reigning pope, was not of advanced years, the prelate had confided so much in the predictions of an astrologer,

\* Dr. Lingard says, "the first volume, a large folio of volume, and in 382 double pages, written in a small character, contains thirty-one counties, beginning with Kent and ending with Lancashire." The other is a quarto volume of 140 double pages, in a large character, but contains only ten counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Sussex. There is no description of the four northern counties: but the West Riding of Yorkshire is made to comprehend that part of Lancashire which lies to the north of the Ribbles, with some districts in Westmoreland and Cumberland; while the southern portion of Lancashire is included in Cheshire. Rutland is similarly divided between Nottinghamshire and Lancashire."

\* He says, 1060 pounds and some odd shillings and pence a day.

that he reckoned upon the pontiff's death, and upon attaining, by his own intrigues and money, that envied state of greatness. Resolving, therefore, to remit all his riches to Italy, he had persuaded many considerable barons, and, among the rest, Hugh, earl of Chester, to take the same course; in hopes that, when he should mount the papal throne, he would bestow on them more considerable establishments in that country. The king, from whom all these projects had been carefully concealed, at last got intelligence of the design, and ordered Odo to be arrested. His officers, from respect to the immunities which the ecclesiastics now assumed, scrupled to execute the command, till the king himself was obliged in person to seize him; and when Odo insisted that he was a prelate, and exempt from all temporal jurisdiction, William replied, that he arrested him not as bishop of Baieux, but as earl of Kent. He was sent prisoner to Normandy; and notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of Gregory, was detained in custody during the remainder of this reign.

Another domestic event gave the king much more concern: it was the death of Matilda, his consort, whom he tenderly loved, and for whom he had ever preserved the most sincere friendship. Three years afterwards he passed into Normandy, and carried with him Edgar Atheling, to whom he willingly granted permission to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was detained on the continent by a misunderstanding, which broke out between him and the king of France, and which was occasioned by inroads made into Normandy by some French barons on the frontiers. It was little in the power of princes at that time to restrain their licentious nobility; but William suspected that these barons durst not have provoked his indignation, had they not been assured of the countenance and protection of Philip. His displeasure was increased by the account he received of some raileries which that monarch had thrown out against him. As the king advanced in years, to use Lingard's words, "he grew excessively corpulent; and to reduce his bulk, submitted by the advice of his physicians to a long course of medicine. Philip of France, in allusion to this circumstance, said in a conversation with his courtiers, that the king of England was *lying in* at Rouen. When this insipid jest, which cost the lives of hundreds who never heard it, was reported to William, he burst into a paroxysm of rage, his martial spirit could not brook the indignity of being compared to a woman; and he swore that at his *churching* he would set all France in a blaze." To understand the force of the repartee, it must be recollected that it was the custom for women to present lights to the church on that occasion."

Immediately on his recovery, he led an army into L'Isle de France, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. He took the town of Mante, which he reduced to ashes. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident, which soon after put an end to William's life. His horse starting aside of a sudden, he bruised his belly on the pommel of the saddle; and being in a bad habit of body, as well as somewhat advanced in years, he began to apprehend the consequences, and ordered himself to be carried in a litter to the monastery of St. Gervas. Finding his illness increase, and being sensible of the approach of death, he discovered at last the vanity of all hu-

man grandeur, and was struck with remorse for those horrible cruelties and acts of violence, which, in the attainment and defence of it, he had committed during the course of his reign over England. He endeavoured to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries; and he issued orders that Earl Morcar, Siward, Bearne, and other English prisoners should be set at liberty. He was even prevailed on, though not without reluctance, to consent, with his dying breath, to release his brother Odo, against whom he was extremely incensed. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert: he wrote to Lanfranc, desiring him to crown William king of England: he bequeathed to Henry nothing but the possessions of his mother Matilda: but foretold, that he would one day surpass both his brothers in power and opulence. He expired in the sixty-third year of his age, in the twenty-first year of his reign over England, and in the fifty-fourth of that over Normandy.

Few princes have been more fortunate than this great monarch, or were better entitled to grandeur and prosperity, from the abilities and the vigour of mind which he displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence: his ambition, which was exorbitant, and lay little under the restraints of justice, still less under those of humanity, never submitted to the dictates of sound policy. Born in an age when the minds of men were intractable and unacquainted with submission, he was yet able to direct them to his purposes; and partly from the ascendancy of his vehement character, partly from art and dissimulation, to establish an unlimited authority. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion; and he seemed equally ostentatious and equally ambitious of show and parade in his clemency and in his severity. The maxims of his administration were austere; but might have been useful, had they been solely employed to preserve order in an established government: they were ill calculated for softening the rigours, which, under the most gentle management, are inseparable from conquest. His attempt against England was the last great enterprise of the kind, which, during the course of seven hundred years, has fully succeeded in Europe; and the force of his genius broke through those limits, which first the feudal institutions, and then the refined policy of princes, have fixed to the several states of Christendom. Though he rendered himself infinitely odious to his English subjects, he transmitted his power to his posterity, and the throne is still filled by his descendants: a proof that the foundations which he laid were firm and solid, and that, amidst all his violence, while he seemed only to gratify the present passion, he had still an eye towards futurity.

Dr. Lingard gives the following more circumstantial account of his death and character: he says, "early in the morning of the 9th September, 1087, the king heard the sound of a bell, and eagerly inquired what it meant. He was informed that it tolled the hour of prime, in the church of St. Mary. 'Then,' said he, stretching out his arms, 'I commend my soul to my lady, the mother of God, that by her holy prayers she may reconcile me to her son my Lord Jesus Christ:' and immediately expired. From the events which followed his death, the reader may judge of the unsettled state of society at the time. The knights and pro-



lates hastened to their respective homes to secure their property; the citizens of Rouen began to conceal their most valuable effects: the servants rifled the palace, and hurried away with the booty; and the royal corpse for three hours lay almost in a state of nudity on the ground. At length the archbishop ordered the body to be interred at Caen: and Herluin, a neighbouring knight, out of compassion, conveyed it at his own expense to that city.

"At the day appointed for the interment, Prince Henry, the Norman prelates, and a multitude of clergy and people assembled in the church of St. Stephen, which the conqueror had founded. The mass had been performed, the corpse was placed on the bier, and the bishop of Evreux had pronounced the panegyric of the deceased, when a voice from the crowd exclaimed, "He whom you have praised, was a robber. The very land on which you stand is mine. By violence he took it from my father; and in the name of God I forbid you to bury him in it." The speaker was Asceline Fitz-Arthur, who had often, but fruitlessly, sought reparation from the justice of William. After some debate the prelates called him to them, paid him sixty shillings for the grave, and promised that he should receive the full value of his land. The ceremony was then continued, and the body of the king deposited in a coffin of stone.\* William's character has been drawn with apparent impartiality in the Saxon chronicle, by a contemporary and an Englishman. That the reader may learn the opinion of one who possessed the means of forming an accurate judgment, I shall transcribe the passage, retaining, as far as it may be intelligible, the very phraseology of the original.

"If any one wish to know what manner of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he were the lord, we will describe him as we have known him: for we looked on him, and some time lived in his herd. King William was a very wise man, and very rich, more worshipful and strong than any of his fore-gangers. He was mild to good men, who loved God: and stark beyond all bounds to those who withstood his will. On the very stede, where God gave him to win England, he reared a noble monastery and set monks therein, and endowed it well. He was very worshipful. Thrice he bore his king-helmet every year when he was in England; at Easter he bore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and in mid-winter at Gloucester: and then were with him all the rich men all over England: archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. Moreover he was a very stark man, and very savage: so that no man durst do any thing against his will. He had earls in his bonds, who had done against his will: bishops he set off their bishoprics, abbots off their abbotries, and thanes in prisons: and at last he did not spare his own brother Odo. Him he set in prison. Yet among other things we must not forget the good friith† which he made in this land: so that a man, that was good for aught, might travel over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold without molestation: and no man durst slay another man, though he had suffered never so mickle evil from the other. He

ruled over England: and by his cunning he was so thoroughly acquainted with it, that there is not a hide of land of which he did not know both who had it, and what was its worth: and that he set down in his writings. Wales was under his weald, and therein he wrought castles: and he wielded the Isle of Man withal: and moreover, he subdued Scotland by his mickle strength. Normandy was his by kinn: and over the earldom called Mans he ruled: and if he might have lived yet two years, he would have won Ireland by the fame of his power, and without any armament. Yet truly in his time men had mickle suffering, and very many hardships. Castles he caused to be wrought, and poor men to be oppressed. He was so very stark. He took from his subjects many marks of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver: and that he took, some by right, and some by mickle might, for very little need. He had fallen into avarice, and greediness he loved withal. He let his lands to fine as dear as he could; then came some other and bade more than the first had given, and the king let it to him who bade more. Then came a third, and bid yet more, and the king let it into the hands of the man who bade the most. Nor did he reckon how sinfully his reeves got money of poor men, or how many unlawful things they did. For the more men talked of right law, the more they did against the law. He also set many deer friths: and he made laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind, him man should blind. As he forbade the slaying of harts, so also did he of boars. So much he loved the high deer, as if he had been their father. He also decreed about hares, that they should go free. His rich men moaned, and the poor men murmured: but he was so hard, that he recked not the hatred of them all. For it was need they should follow the king's will withal, if they wished to live, or have lands or goods, or his favour. Alas, that any man should be so moody, and should so puff up himself and think himself above all other men! May Almighty God have mercy on his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins."

"To this account may be added a few particulars gleaned from other historians. The king was of ordinary stature, but inclined to corpulency. His countenance wore an air of ferocity, which, when he was agitated by passion, struck terror into every beholder. The story told of his strength at one period of his life, almost exceeds belief. It is said, that sitting on horseback, he could draw the string of a bow which no other man could bend even on foot. Hunting formed his favourite amusement. The reader has seen the censure passed upon him for his deer friths and game laws; nor will he think it undeserved, if he attend to the following instance. Though the king possessed sixty-eight forests, besides parks and chases in different parts of England, he was not satisfied; but for the occasional accommodation of his court, afforested an extensive tract of country lying between the city of Winchester and the sea-coast. The inhabitants were expelled: the cottages and the churches were burnt; and more than thirty square miles of a rich and populous district were withdrawn from cultivation, and converted into a wilderness, to afford sufficient range for the deer, and ample space for the royal diversion. The memory of this act of despotism has been perpetuated in the name of the New Forest, which it retains at the

\* In 1562, when Coligny took the city of Caen, his tomb was rifled by the soldiers, and some of his bones were brought to England.

† *Friith* is the king's peace or protection.







ALFRED THE GREAT

ALFRED THE GREAT

present day, after the lapse of seven hundred and fifty years.

"William's education had left on his mind religious impressions which were never effaced. When, indeed, his power or interest was concerned, he listened to no suggestions but those of ambition or avarice, but on other occasions he displayed a strong sense of religion, and a profound respect for its institutions."

Dr. Lingard concludes this reign with the following paragraph:—

"During William's reign the people of England were exposed to calamities of every description. It commenced with years of carnage and devastation: its progress was marked by a regular system of confiscation and oppression, and this succession of evils was closed with famine and pestilence. In 1086, a summer more rainy and tempestuous than had been experienced in the memory of man, occasioned a total failure of the harvest; and the winter introduced a malignant disease, which attacked one-half of the inhabitants, and is said to have proved fatal to many thousands. Even of those who escaped the infection, or recovered from the disease, numbers perished afterwards from want or unwholesome nourishment. 'Alas!' exclaims an eye-witness 'how miserable, how rueful a time was that! The wretched victims had nearly perished by the fever; then came the sharp hunger, and destroyed them outright. Who is so hard-hearted as not to weep over such calamities?'"

Some writers have been desirous of refusing to this prince the title of conqueror, in the sense which that term commonly bears; and, on pretence that the word is sometimes in old books applied to such as make an acquisition of territory by any means, they are willing to reject William's title, by right of war, to the crown of England. It is needless to enter into a controversy, which, by the terms of it, must necessarily degenerate into a dispute of words. It suffices to say, that the duke of Normandy's first invasion of the island was hostile; that his subsequent administration was entirely supported by arms; that in the very frame of his laws he made a distinction between the Normans and the English, to the advantage of the former; that he acted in everything as absolute master over the natives, whose interest and affections he totally disregarded; and that if there was an interval when he assumed the appearance of a legal sovereign, the period was very short, and was nothing but a temporary sacrifice, which he, as has been the case with most conquerors, was obliged to make, of his inclination to his present policy. Scarce any of those revolutions which in history and in common language have always been denominated conquests, appear equally violent, or were attended with so sudden an alteration both of power and property. The Roman state, which spread its dominion over Europe, left the rights of individuals in a great measure untouched; and those civilized conquerors, while they made their own country the seat of empire, found that they could draw most advantage from the subjected provinces, by securing to the natives the free enjoyment of their own laws, and of their private possessions. The barbarians, who subdued the Roman empire, though they settled in the conquered countries, yet being accustomed to a rude uncultivated life, found a part only of the land sufficient to supply all their wants; and they were not tempted to seize extensive possessions, which they knew neither how to cultivate nor enjoy. But the Normans

and other foreigners, who followed the standard of William, while they made the vanquished kingdom the seat of government, were yet so far advanced in arts as to be acquainted with the advantages of a large property; and having totally subdued the natives, they pushed the rights of conquest (very extensive in the eyes of avarice and ambition, however narrow in those of reason) to the utmost extremity against them. Except the former conquest of England by the Saxons themselves, who were induced, by peculiar circumstances, to proceed even to the extermination of the natives, it would be difficult to find in all history a revolution more destructive, or attended with a more complete subjection of the ancient inhabitants. Contumely seems even to have been wantonly added to oppression; and the natives were universally reduced to such a state of meanness and poverty, that the English name became a term of reproach; and several generations elapsed before one family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any considerable honours, or could so much as attain the rank of baron of the realm. These facts are so apparent from the whole tenour of the English history, that none would have been tempted to deny or elude them, were they not heated by the controversies of faction; while one party was absurdly afraid of those absurd consequences which they saw the other party inclined to draw from this event. But it is evident that the present rights and privileges of the people, who are a mixture of English and Normans, can never be affected by a transaction which passed seven hundred years ago; and as all ancient authors, who lived nearest the time, and best knew the state of the country, unanimously speak of the Norman dominion as a conquest by war and arms, no reasonable man, from the fear of imaginary consequences, will ever be tempted to reject their concurring and undoubted testimony.

King William had issue, besides his three sons who survived him, five daughters, to wit,—Cicily, a nun in the monastery of Feschamp, afterwards abbess in the Holy Trinity at Caen, where she died in 1127. Constantia, married to Alan Fergent, earl of Brittany: she died without issue. Alice, contracted to Harold. Adela, married to Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom she had four sons, William, Theobald, Henry, and Stephen; of whom the elder was neglected on account of the imbecility of his understanding. Agatha, who died a virgin, but was betrothed to the king of Galicia. She died on her journey thither, before she joined her bridegroom.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### WILLIAM RUFUS.

*Accession of William Rufus—Conspiracy against the king—Invasion of Normandy—The Crusades—Acquisition of Normandy—Quarrel with Anselm, the primate—Death, and character of William Rufus.*

WILLIAM, surnamed Rufus, or the Red (from the colour of his hair, as some assert), had no sooner procured his father's recommendatory letter to Lanfranc, the primate, than he hastened to take



measures for securing to himself the government of England. Sensible that a deed so informal, and so little prepared, which violated Robert's right of primogeniture, might meet with great opposition, he trusted entirely for success to his own celerity; and having left St. Gervas, while William was breathing his last, he arrived in England before intelligence of his father's death had reached that kingdom. Pretending orders from the king, he secured the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings, whose situation rendered them of the greatest importance; and he got possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to the sum of sixty thousand pounds, by which he hoped to encourage and increase his partisans. The primate, whose rank and reputation in the kingdom gave him great authority, had been intrusted with the care of his education, and had conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and being connected with him by these ties, and probably deeming his pretensions just, declared that he would pay a willing obedience to the last will of the Conqueror, his friend and benefactor. Having assembled some bishops, and some of the principal nobility, he instantly proceeded to the ceremony of crowning the new king; and by this dispatch endeavoured to prevent all faction and resistance. At the same time, Robert, who had been already acknowledged successor to Normandy, took peaceable possession of that duchy.

But though this partition appeared to have been made without any violence or opposition, there remained in England many causes of discontent, which seemed to menace that kingdom with a sudden revolution. The barons, who generally possessed large estates both in England and in Normandy, were uneasy at the separation of those territories; and foresaw, that as it would be impossible for them to preserve long their allegiance to two masters, they must necessarily resign either their ancient patrimony or their new acquisitions. Robert's title to the duchy they esteemed incontestable; his claim to the kingdom plausible; and they all desired that this prince, who alone had any pretensions to unite these states, should be put in possession of both. A comparison also of the personal qualities of the two brothers, led them to give the preference to the elder. The duke was brave, open, sincere, generous: even his predominant faults, his extreme indolence and facility, were not disagreeable to those haughty barons who affected independence, and submitted with reluctance to a vigorous administration in their sovereign. The king, though equally brave, was violent, haughty, tyrannical, and seemed disposed to govern more by the fear than by the love of his subjects. Odo, bishop of Baieux, and Robert, earl of Mortaigne, maternal brothers of the Conqueror, envying the great credit of Lanfranc, which was increased by his late services, enforced all these motives with their partisans, and engaged them in a formal conspiracy to dethrone the king. They communicated their design to Eustace, count of Boulogne, Roger, earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, Robert de Belesme, his eldest son, William, bishop of Durham, Robert de Moubray, Roger Bigod, Hugh de Grentmesnil; and they easily procured the assent of these potent noblemen. The conspirators, retiring to their castles, hastened to put themselves in a military posture; and expecting to be soon supported by a powerful army from Nor-

mandy, they had already begun hostilities in many places.

The king, sensible of his perilous situation, endeavoured to engage the affections of the native English. As that people were now so thoroughly subdued that they no longer aspired to the recovery of their ancient liberties, and were content with the prospect of some mitigation in the tyranny of the Norman princes, they zealously embraced William's cause, upon receiving general promises of good treatment, and of enjoying the licence of hunting in the royal forests. The king was soon in a situation to take the field; and as he knew the danger of delay, he suddenly marched into Kent; where his uncles had already seized the fortresses of Pevensey and Rochester. These places he successively reduced by famine; and though he was prevailed on by the earl of Chester, William de Warrenne, and Robert Fitz Hammon, who had embraced his cause, to spare the lives of the rebels, he confiscated all their estates, and banished them the kingdom. This success gave authority to his negotiations with Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, whom he detached from the confederates: and as his powerful fleet, joined to the indolent conduct of Robert, prevented the arrival of the Norman succours, all the other rebels found no resource but in flight or submission. Some of them received a pardon; but the greater part were attainted; and the king bestowed their estates on the Norman barons who had remained faithful to him.

William, freed from the danger of these insurrections, took little care of fulfilling his promises to the English, who still found themselves exposed to the same oppressions which they had undergone during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were rather augmented by the violent impetuous temper of the present monarch. The death of Lanfranc, who retained great influence over him, gave soon after a full career to his tyranny; and all orders of men found reason to complain of an arbitrary and illegal administration. Even the privileges of the church, held sacred in those days, were a feeble rampart against his usurpations. He seized the temporalities of all the vacant bishoprics and abbeys; he delayed the appointing of successors to those dignities, that he might the longer enjoy the profits of their revenue; he bestowed some of the church lands and property on his captains and favourites; and he openly set to sale such sees and abbeys as he thought proper to dispose of. Though the murmurs of the ecclesiastics, which were quickly propagated to the nation, rose high against this grievance, the terror of William's authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late insurrections, retained every one in subjection, and preserved general tranquillity in England.

The king even thought himself enabled to disturb his brother in the possession of Normandy. The loose and negligent administration of that prince had emboldened the Norman barons to affect a great independency; and their mutual quarrels and devastations had rendered that whole territory a scene of violence and outrage. Two of them, Walter and Odo, were bribed by William to deliver the fortresses of St. Valori and Albe-marle into his hands: others soon after imitated the example of revolt; while Philip, king of France, who ought to have protected his vassal in the possession of his fief, was, after making some efforts in his favour, engaged by large presents to

remain neuter. The duke had also reason to apprehend danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry. This young prince, who had inherited nothing of his father's great possessions, but some of his money, had furnished Robert, while he was making his preparations against England, with the sum of three thousand marks; and, in return for so slender a supply, had been put in possession of the Cotentin, which comprehended near a third of the duchy of Normandy. Robert afterwards, upon some suspicion, threw him into prison; but finding himself exposed to invasion from the king of England, and dreading the conjunction of the two brothers against him, he now gave Henry his liberty, and even made use of his assistance in suppressing the insurrections of his rebellious subjects. Conan, a rich Burgess of Rouen, had entered into a conspiracy to deliver that city to William; but Henry, on the detection of his guilt, invited the traitor up to a high tower, and with his own hands flung him from the battlements.

The king appeared in Normandy at the head of an army; and affairs seem to have come to extremity between the brothers; when the nobility on both sides, strongly connected by interest and alliances, interposed and mediated an accommodation. The chief advantage of this treaty accrued to William, who obtained possession of the territory of Eu, the towns of Aumale, Fescamp, and other places: but in return he promised that he would assist his brother in subduing Maine, which had rebelled; and that the Norman barons, attainted in Robert's cause, should be restored to their estates in England. The two brothers also stipulated, that on the demise of either without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions; and twelve of the most powerful barons on each side swore, that they would employ their power to ensure the effectual execution of the whole treaty; a strong proof of the great independence and authority of the nobles in those ages.

Prince Henry, disgusted that so little care had been taken of his interests in this accommodation, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong fortress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbourhood with his incursions. Robert and William, with their joint forces, besieged him in this place, and had nearly reduced him by the scarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his distress, granted him permission to supply himself, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for this ill-timed generosity; he replied, "What, shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" The king also, during this siege, performed an act of generosity, which was less suitable to his character. Riding out one day alone, to take a survey of the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers, and dismounted. One of them drew his sword in order to dispatch him; when the king exclaimed, "Hold, knave! I am the king of England." The soldier suspended his blow; and raising the king from the ground, with expressions of respect, received a handsome reward, and was taken into his service. Prince Henry was soon after obliged to capitulate; and being despoiled of all his patrimony, wandered about for some time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty.

The continued intestine discord among the barons was alone in that age destructive; the public

wars were commonly short and feeble, produced little bloodshed, and were attended with no memorable event. To this Norman war, which was so soon concluded, there succeeded hostilities with Scotland, which were not of longer duration, Robert here commanded his brother's army, and obliged Malcolm to accept of peace, and do homage to the crown of England. This peace was not more durable. Malcolm, two years after, levying an army, invaded England; and after ravaging Northumberland, he laid siege to Alnwick, where a party of Earl Moubray's troops falling upon him by surprise, a sharp action ensued, in which Malcolm was slain. This incident interrupted for some years the regular succession to the Scottish crown. Though Malcolm left illegitimate sons, his brother Donald, on account of the youth of these princes, was advanced to the throne; but kept no long possession of it. Duncan, natural son of Malcolm, formed a conspiracy against him; and being assisted by William with a small force, made himself master of the kingdom. New broils ensued with Normandy. The frank, open, remiss temper of Robert was ill fitted to withstand the interested rapacious character of William, who, supported by greater power, was still encroaching on his brother's possessions, and instigating his turbulent barons to rebellion against him. The king, having gone over to Normandy to support his partisans, ordered an army of twenty thousand men to be levied in England, and to be conducted to the sea-coast, as if they were instantly to be embarked. Here Ralph Flambard, the king's minister, and the chief instrument of his extortions, exacted ten shillings a-piece (the sum provided for their support during the campaign) from them, in lieu of their service, and then dismissed them into their several counties. This money was so skillfully employed by William, that it rendered him better service than he could have expected from the army. He engaged the French king by new presents to depart from the protection of Robert; and he daily bribed the Norman barons to desert his service; but was prevented from pushing his advantages by an incursion of the Welsh, which obliged him to return to England. He found no difficulty in repelling the enemy; but was not able to make any considerable impression on a country guarded by its mountainous situation. A conspiracy of his own barons, which was detected at this time, appeared a more serious concern, and engrossed all his attention. Robert Moubray, earl of Northumberland, was at the head of this combination; and he engaged in it the Count d'Eu, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacey, and many others. The purpose of the conspirators was to dethrone the king, and to advance in his stead Stephen, count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. William's dispatch prevented the design from taking effect, and disconcerted the conspirators. Moubray made some resistance; but being taken prisoner, was attainted, and thrown into confinement, where he died about thirty years after. The Count d'Eu denied his concurrence in the plot; and to justify himself fought, in the presence of the court at Windsor, a duel with Geoffrey Bainsard, who accused him. But being worsted in the combat, he was condemned to be castrated, and to have his eyes put out. William de Alder, another conspirator, was supposed to be treated with more rigour when he was sentenced to be hanged.



But the noise of these petty wars and commotions was quite sunk in the tumult of the crusades, which now engrossed the attention of Europe, and have ever since engaged the curiosity of mankind, as the most signal and most durable monument of human folly that has yet appeared in any age or nation. After Mahomet had, by means of his pretended revelations, united the dispersed Arabians under one head, they issued forth from their deserts in great multitudes; and being animated with zeal for their new religion, and supported by the vigour of their new government, they made deep impression on the eastern empire, which was far in the decline, with regard both to military discipline and to civil policy. Jerusalem, by its situation, became one of their most early conquests; and the Christians had the mortification to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places, consecrated by the presence of their religious founder, fallen into the possession of infidels. But the Arabians, or Saracens, were so employed in military enterprises, by which they spread their empire in a few years from the banks of the Ganges to the Straits of Gibraltar, that they had no leisure for theological controversy: and though the Alcoran, the original monument of their faith, seems to contain some violent precepts, they were much less infected with the spirit of bigotry and persecution, than the indolent and speculative Greeks, who were continually refining on the several articles of their religious system. They gave little disturbance to those zealous pilgrims who daily flocked to Jerusalem; and they allowed every man, after paying a moderate tribute, to visit the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and to return in peace. But the Turcomans, or Turks, a tribe of Tartars who had embraced Mahometanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, and having, in the year 1065, made themselves masters of Jerusalem, rendered the pilgrimage much more difficult and dangerous to the Christians. The barbarity of their manners, and the confusions attending their unsettled government, exposed the pilgrims to many insults, robberies, and extortions; and these zealots, returning from their meritorious fatigues and sufferings, filled all Christendom with indignation against the infidels, who profaned the holy city by their presence, and decried the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion. Gregory VII., among the other vast ideas which he entertained, had formed the design of uniting all the western Christians against the Mahometans; but the egregious and violent invasions of that pontiff on the civil power of princes, had created him so many enemies, and had rendered his schemes so suspicious, that he was not able to make great progress in this undertaking. The work was reserved for a meaner instrument, whose low condition in life exposed him to no jealousy, and whose folly was well calculated to coincide with the prevailing principles of the times.

Peter, commonly called the hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Being deeply affected with the dangers to which that act of piety now exposed the pilgrims, as well as with the instances of oppression under which the eastern Christians laboured, he entertained the bold, and in all appearance impracticable project of leading into Asia, from the furthest extremities of the west, armies sufficient to subvert those potent and warlike nations which now

held the holy city in subjection. He proposed his views to Martin II., who filled the papal chair, and who, though sensible of the advantages which the head of the Christian religion must reap from a religious war, and though he esteemed the blind zeal of Peter a proper means for effecting the purpose, resolved not to interpose his authority till he saw a greater probability of success. He summoned a council at Placentia, which consisted of four thousand ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand seculars; and which was so numerous that no hall could contain the multitude, and it was necessary to hold the assembly in a plain. The harangues of the pope, and of Peter himself, representing the dismal situation of their brethren in the east, and the indignity suffered by the Christian name, in allowing the holy city to remain in the hands of infidels, here found the minds of men so well prepared, that the whole multitude suddenly and violently declared for the war, and solemnly devoted themselves to perform this service, so meritorious, as they believed it, to God and religion.

But though Italy seemed thus to have zealously embraced the enterprise, Martin knew that in order to ensure success it was necessary to enlist the greater and more warlike nations in the same engagement; and having previously exhorted Peter to visit the chief cities and sovereigns of Christendom, he summoned another council at Claremont in Auvergne. The fame of this great and pious design, being now universally diffused, procured the attendance of the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes; and when the pope and the hermit renewed their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, not moved by their preceding impressions, exclaimed with one voice, "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" Words deemed so memorable, and so much the result of a divine influence, that they were employed as the signal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of those adventurers. Men of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardour; and an exterior symbol too, a circumstance of chief moment, was here chosen by the devoted combatants. The sign of the cross, which had been hitherto so much revered among Christians, and which, the more it was an object of reproach, among the Pagan world, was the more passionately cherished by them, became the badge of union, and was affixed to their right shoulder, by all who enlisted themselves in this sacred warfare.

Europe was at this time sunk into profound ignorance and superstition: the ecclesiastics had acquired the greatest ascendancy over the human mind: the people, who, being little restrained by honour, and less by law, abandoned themselves to the worst crimes and disorders, knew of no other expiation than the observances imposed on them by their spiritual pastors: and it was easy to represent the holy war as an equivalent for all penances, and an atonement for every violation of justice and humanity. But amidst the abject superstition which now prevailed, the military spirit also had universally diffused itself; and though not supported by art or discipline, was become the general passion of the nations governed by the feudal law. All the great lords possessed the right of peace and war: they were engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other: the open country was become a scene of outrage

and disorder: the cities, still mean and poor, were neither guarded by walls nor protected by privileges, and were exposed to every insult: individuals were obliged to depend for safety on their own force, or their private alliances: and valour was the only excellence which was held in esteem, or gave one man the pre-eminence above another. When all the particular superstitions, therefore, were here united in one great object, the ardour for military enterprises took the same direction; and Europe, impelled by its two ruling passions, was loosened, as it were, from its foundations, and seemed to precipitate itself in one united body upon the east.

All orders of men deeming the crusades the only road to heaven, enlisted themselves under these sacred banners, and were impatient to open the way with their sword to the holy city. Nobles, artisans, peasants, even priests, enrolled their names; and to decline this meritorious service was branded with the reproach of impiety, or what perhaps was esteemed still more disgraceful, of cowardice and pusillanimity. The infirm and aged contributed to the expedition by presents and money; and many of them, not satisfied with the merit of this atonement, attended it in person, and were determined, if possible, to breathe their last in sight of that city where their Saviour had died for them. Women themselves, concealing their sex under the disguise of armour, attended the camp; and commonly forgot still more the duty of the sex, by prostituting themselves without reserve to the army. The greatest criminals were forward in a service which they regarded as a propitiation for all crimes; and the most enormous disorders were, during the course of those expeditions, committed by men inured to wickedness, encouraged by example, and impelled by necessity. The multitude of the adventurers soon became so great, that their more sagacious leaders, Hugh, count of Vermondois, brother to the French king, Raymond, count of Toulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen, count of Blois, became apprehensive lest the greatness itself of the armament should disappoint its purpose; and they permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at 300,000 men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Moneyless. These men took the road towards Constantinople, through Hungary and Bulgaria; and trusting that Heaven, by supernatural assistance, would supply all their necessities, they made no provision for subsistence on their march. They soon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder what they had vainly expected from miracles; and the enraged inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, gathering together in arms, attacked the disorderly multitude, and put them to slaughter without resistance. The more disciplined armies followed after; and passing the straits of Constantinople, they were mustered in the plains of Asia, and amounted in the whole to the number of 700,000 combatants.

Amidst this universal frenzy which spread itself by contagion throughout Europe, especially in France and Germany, men were not entirely forgetful of their present interests; and both those who went on this expedition, and those who staid behind, entertained schemes of gratifying, by its means, their avarice or their ambition. The nobles who enlisted themselves were moved from the romantic spirit of the age, to hope for opulent esta-

blishments in the east, the chief seat of arts and commerce during those ages; and in pursuit of these chimerical projects, they sold at the lowest price their ancient castles and inheritances, which had now lost all value in their eyes. The greater princes, who remained at home, besides establishing peace in their dominions, by giving occupation abroad to the inquietude and martial disposition of their subjects, took the opportunity of annexing to their crown many considerable fiefs, either by purchase or by the extinction of heirs. The pope frequently turned the zeal of the crusaders from the infidels against his own enemies, whom he represented as equally criminal with the enemies of Christ. The convents and other religious societies bought the possessions of the adventurers; and as the contributions of the faithful were commonly intrusted to their management, they often diverted to this purpose what was intended to be employed against the infidels. But no one was a more immediate gainer by this epidemic fury than the king of England, who kept aloof from all connexions with those fanatical and romantic warriors.

Robert, duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early enlisted himself in the crusade; but being always unprovided with money, he found that it would be impracticable for him to appear in a manner suitable to his rank and station at the head of his numerous vassals and subjects, who, transported with the general rage, were determined to follow him into Asia. He resolved, therefore, to mortgage, or rather to sell his dominions, which he had not talents to govern; and he offered them to his brother William, for the very unequal sum of ten thousand marks. The bargain was soon concluded: the king raised the money by violent extortions on his subjects of all ranks, even on the convents, who were obliged to melt their plate in order to furnish the quota demanded of them; he was put in possession of Normandy and Maine, and Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the Holy Land in pursuit of glory, and in full confidence of securing his eternal salvation.

The smallness of this sum, with the difficulty which William found in raising it, suffices alone to refute the account which is heedlessly adopted by historians, of the enormous revenue of the Conqueror. Is it credible that Robert would consign to the rapacious hands of his brother such considerable dominions for a sum which, according to that account, made not a week's income of his father's English revenue alone? Or that the king of England could not on demand, without oppressing his subjects, have been able to pay him the money? The Conqueror, it is agreed, was frugal as well as rapacious; yet his treasure, at his death, exceeded not sixty thousand pounds, which hardly amounted to his income for two months: another certain refutation of that exaggerated account.

The fury of the crusades, during this age, less infected England than the neighbouring kingdoms; probably because the Norman conquerors, finding their settlement in that kingdom still some what precarious, durst not abandon their homes in quest of distant adventures. The selfish interested spirit also of the king, which kept him from kindling in the general flame, checked its progress among its subjects; and as he is accused of open profaneness, and was endued with a sharp wit, it is likely that he made the romantic chivalry



of the crusaders the object of his perpetual railery. As an instance of his irreligion, we are told, that he once accepted of sixty marks from a Jew, whose son had been converted to Christianity, and who engaged him by that present to assist him in bringing back the youth to Judaism. William employed both menaces and persuasion for that purpose; but finding the convert obstinate in his new faith, he sent for the father, and told him, that as he had not succeeded, it was not just that he should keep the present; but as he had done his utmost, it was but equitable that he should be paid for his pains; and he would therefore retain only thirty marks of the money. At another time, it is said, he sent for some learned Christian theologians and some rabbis, and bade them fairly dispute the question of their religion in his presence: he was perfectly indifferent between them; had his ears open to reason and conviction; and would embrace that doctrine which, upon comparison, should be found supported by the most solid arguments. If this story be true, it is probable that he meant only to amuse himself by turning both into ridicule: but we must be cautious of admitting everything related by the monkish historians to the disadvantage of this prince: he had the misfortune to be engaged in quarrels with the ecclesiastics, particularly with Anselm, commonly called St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury; and it is no wonder his memory should be blackened by the historians of that order.

After the death of Lanfranc, the king for several years retained in his own hands the revenues of Canterbury, as he did those of many other vacant bishoprics; but falling into a dangerous sickness, he was seized with remorse, and the clergy represented to him, that he was in danger of eternal perdition, if before his death he did not make atonement for those multiplied impieties and sacrileges of which he had been guilty. He resolved, therefore, to supply instantly the vacancy of Canterbury; and for that purpose he sent for Anselm, a Piedmontese by birth, abbot of Bec, in Normandy, who was much celebrated for his learning and piety. The abbot earnestly refused the dignity, fell on his knees, wept, and entreated the king to change his purpose; and when he found the prince obstinate in forcing the pastoral staff upon him, he kept his fist so fast clenched, that it required the utmost violence of the bystanders to open it, and force him to receive that ensign of spiritual dignity. William soon after recovered; and his passions regaining their wonted vigour, he returned to his former violence and rapine. He detained in prison several persons whom he had ordered to be freed during the time of his penitence; he still preyed upon the ecclesiastical benefices; the sale of spiritual dignities continued as open as ever; and he kept possession of a considerable part of the revenues belonging to the see of Canterbury. But he found in Anselm that persevering opposition which he had reason to expect from the ostentatious humility which that prelate had displayed in refusing his promotion.

The opposition made by Anselm was the more dangerous on account of the character of piety which he soon acquired in England, by his great zeal against all abuses, particularly those in dress and ornament. There was a mode, which, in that age, prevailed throughout Europe, both among

men and women, to give an enormous length to their shoes, to draw the toe to a sharp point, and to affix to it the figure of a bird's bill, or some such ornament, which was turned upwards, and which was often sustained by gold or silver chains tied to the knee. The ecclesiastics took exception at this ornament, which they said was an attempt to belie the Scripture, where it is affirmed, that no man can add a cubit to his stature; and they declaimed against it with great vehemence, nay, assembled some synods, who absolutely condemned it. But, such are the strange contradictions in human nature! though the clergy, at that time, could overturn thrones, and had authority sufficient to send above a million of men on their errand to the deserts of Asia, they could never prevail against these long-pointed shoes: on the contrary, that caprice, contrary to all other modes, maintained its ground during several centuries; and if the clergy had not at last desisted from their persecution of it, it might still have been the prevailing fashion in Europe.

But Anselm was more fortunate in decrying the particular mode which was the object of his aversion, and which probably had not taken such fast hold of the affections of the people. He preached zealously against the long hair and curled locks which were then fashionable among the courtiers; he refused the ashes on Ash-Wednesday to those who were so accoutred; and his authority and eloquence had such influence, that the young men universally abandoned that ornament, and appeared in the cropt hair, which was recommended to them by the sermons of the primate. The noted historian of Anselm, who was also his companion and secretary, celebrates highly this effort of his zeal and piety.

When William's profaneness, therefore, returned to him with his health, he was soon engaged in controversies with this austere prelate. There was at that time a schism in the church between Urban and Clement, who both pretended to the papacy; and Anselm, who was abbot of Bec, and had already acknowledged the former, was determined, without the king's consent, to introduce his authority into England. William, who imitating his father's example, had prohibited his subjects from recognising any pope whom he had not previously received, was enraged at this attempt; and summoned a synod at Rockingham, with an intention of deposing Anselm: but the prelate's suffragans declared, that, without the papal authority, they knew of no expedient for inflicting that punishment on their primate. The king was at last engaged by other motives to give the preference to Urban's title; Anselm received the pall from that pontiff; and matters seemed to be accommodated between the king and the primate, when the quarrel broke out afresh from a new cause. William had undertaken an expedition against Wales, and required the archbishop to furnish his quota of soldiers for that service; but Anselm, who regarded the demand as an oppression on the church, and yet durst not refuse compliance, sent them so miserably accoutred, that the king was extremely displeased, and threatened him with a prosecution. Anselm, on the other hand, demanded positively that all the revenues of his see should be restored to him; appealed to Rome against the king's injustice; and affairs came to such extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom

desired and obtained the king's permission to retire beyond sea. All his temporalities were seized; but he was received with great respect by Urban, who considered him as a martyr in the cause of religion, and even menaced the king, on account of his proceedings against the primate and the church, with the sentence of excommunication. Anselm assisted at the council of Bari, where, besides fixing the controversy between the Greek and Latin churches, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, the right of election to church preferments was declared to belong to the clergy alone, and spiritual censures were denounced against all ecclesiastics, who did homage to laymen for their sees or benefices, and against all laymen who exacted it. The right of homage, by the feudal customs, was, that the vassal should throw himself on his knees, should put his joined hands between those of his superior, and should in that posture swear fealty to him. But the council declared it execrable, that pure hands, which could create God, and could offer him up as a sacrifice for the salvation of mankind, should be put, after this humiliating manner, between profane hands, which, besides being inured to rapine and bloodshed, were employed day and night in impure purposes, and obscene contacts. Such were the reasons prevalent in that age; reasonings which, though they cannot be passed over in silence, without omitting the most curious, and perhaps, not the least instructive part of history, can scarcely be delivered with the requisite decency and gravity.

The cession of Normandy and Maine by Duke Robert increased the king's territories; but brought him no great increase of power, because of the unsettled state of those countries, the mutinous disposition of the barons, and the vicinity of the French king, who supported them in all their insurrections. Even Helie, lord of la Fleche, a small town in Anjou, was able to give him inquietude; and this great monarch was obliged to make several expeditions abroad, without being able to prevail over so petty a baron, who had acquired the confidence and affections of the inhabitants of Maine. He was, however, so fortunate as at last to take him prisoner in a rencounter; but having released him, at the intercession of the French king and the count of Anjou, he found the province of Maine still exposed to his intrigues and incursions. Helie, being introduced by the citizens into the town of Mans, besieged the garrison in the citadel: William, who was hunting in the New Forest, when he received intelligence of this hostile attempt, was so provoked, that he immediately turned his horse, and galloped to the sea-shore at Dartmouth; declaring, that he would not stop a moment till he had taken vengeance for the offence. He found the weather so cloudy and tempestuous, that the mariners thought it dangerous to put to sea: but the king hurried on board, and ordered them to set sail instantly, exclaiming, "Kings are never drowned!" By this vigour and celerity, he delivered the citadel of Mans from its present danger; and pursuing Helie into his own territories, he laid siege to Majol, a small castle in those parts: but a wound, which he received before this place, obliged him to raise the siege, and he returned to England.

The weakness of the greatest monarchs, during this age, in their military expeditions against their nearest neighbours, appears the more surprising, when we consider the prodigious numbers which

even petty princes, seconding the enthusiastic rage of the people, were able to assemble, and to conduct in dangerous enterprises to the remote provinces of Asia. William, earl of Poitiers and duke of Guienne, inflamed with the glory, and not discouraged by the misfortunes, which had attended the former adventurers in the crusades, had put himself at the head of an immense multitude, computed by some historians to amount to sixty thousand horse, and a much greater number of foot,\* and he purposed to lead them into the Holy Land against the infidels. He wanted money to forward the preparations requisite for this expedition, and he offered to mortgage all his dominions to William, without entertaining any scruple on account of that rapacious and iniquitous hand, to which he resolved to consign them. The king accepted the offer; and had prepared a fleet and an army, in order to escort the money, and take possession of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poitou; when an accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting, the sole amusement, and indeed the chief occupation of princes in those rude times, when society was little cultivated, and the arts afforded, few objects worthy of attention. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the New Forest was the scene; and as William had dismounted after a chase, Tyrrel, impatient to show his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag, which suddenly started before him. The arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and instantly slew him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem; a penance which he imposed on himself for this involuntary crime. The body of William was found in the forest by the country-people, and was buried without any pomp or ceremony at Winchester. His courtiers were negligent in performing the last duties to a master who was so little beloved; and every one was too much occupied in the interesting object of fixing his successor, to attend the funeral of a dead sovereign.

The memory of this monarch is transmitted to us with little advantage by the churchmen, whom he had offended; and though we may suspect, in general, that their account of his vices is somewhat exaggerated, his conduct affords little reason for contradicting the character which they have assigned him, or for attributing to him any very estimable qualities. He seems to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind and ungenerous relation. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treasury; and if he possessed abilities, he lay so much under the government of impetuous passions, that he made little use of them in his administration; and he indulged, without reserve, that domineering policy, which suited his temper, and which, if supported, as it was in him, with courage and vigour, proves often more successful in disorderly times, than the deepest foresight and most refined artifice.

Such is Hume's statement. The following more minute details are from Lingard:—

\* The whole is said to have amounted to three hundred thousand men.



"At the death of the Conqueror the royal treasury at Winchester contained sixty thousand pounds of silver, besides gold and precious stones; and if to this sum we add the annual revenue of the crown, we may safely pronounce William to have been at his succession a most opulent monarch. But no accumulation of wealth however large, no supply however abundant, could equal the waste of his prodigality. He spurned at restraints; and in his dress and table, in his pleasures and presents, left far behind him the most extravagant of his contemporaries.

"Malmesbury narrates, as a proof of his senseless extravagance, that he refused a pair of hose because they only cost three shillings, and put on a worse pair, when his chamberlain assured him that they had cost a mark.

"Immense sums were lavished in purchasing or rewarding the services of foreigners, who, whatever might be their country or their character, were assured of receiving a gracious welcome from the king of England.

"His favourite instrument of extortion, Ralf, afterwards surnamed Flambard, or devouring torch, was a Norman clergyman of obscure birth, ready wit, dissolute morals, and insatiable ambition. He had followed the court of the Conqueror, and first attracted notice in the capacity of a public informer. From the service of Maurice, bishop of London, he passed to that of William; and the king soon discovered his qualifications, and gradually raised him to the highest distinction in the kingdom, by appointing him to the offices of royal chaplain, treasurer, and justiciary. The minister was sensible that to retain the favour, it was necessary to flatter the vices of his master: and his ingenuity was successfully employed in devising new methods of raising money. The liberty of hunting was circumscribed by additional penalties: to multiply fines, new offences were created: capital punishments were commuted for pecuniary mulcts: and another survey of the kingdom was ordered to raise the land-tax of those estates which had been under-rated in the record of Domesday. By these acts Flambard earned the eulogium which was pronounced on him by the king, that he was the only man, who, to please a master, was willing to brave the vengeance of the rest of mankind.

"William's court was a constant scene of debauchery. In order that he might indulge his passions with less restraint, he refused to marry: the young nobility courted the favour of their sovereign by imitating his example: and in the society of flatterers and prostitutes, the decencies of life and prohibitions of religion were equally exposed to outrage and derision."

The following narration of his death is given also by Lingard from the chroniclers:—

"For some time predictions of his approaching fate had been circulated among the people, and were readily believed by those, whose piety he had shocked by his debaucheries, or whose hatred he had provoked by his rapacity. Nor was he without apprehension himself. On the first of August, 1100, he passed a restless night; and his imagination was so disturbed by dreams, that he sent for servants to watch near his bed. Before sunrise Fitz-Hamond entered the chamber, and related to him the vision of a foreign monk, which was interpreted to presage some calamity to the king. 'The man,' he exclaimed, with a

forced smile, 'dreams like a monk. Give him a hundred shillings.' He was, however, unable to conceal the impression which these portents had made on his mind; and, at the request of his friends, devoted the morning to business. At dinner he ate and drank more copiously than usual: his spirits revived, and shortly afterwards he rode out into the forest. There most of his attendants successively left him, separating in pursuit of game; and about sunset he was discovered by some countrymen, lying on the ground and weltering in blood. An arrow, the shaft of which was broken, had entered his breast. The body was conveyed in a cart to Winchester, where it was hastily buried the next morning. Out of respect to his rank a grave was allotted him in the cathedral; but it was deemed indecent to honour with religious rites the obsequies of a prince whose life had been so impious, and whose death was too sudden to encourage a hope that he had found time to repent."

We must digress a moment to remind the reader that Lingard is a strict Roman Catholic, and as such, shields the church in every instance. The natural inference here is, that churchmen are as vindictive as any other set of men, and wreaked on the corpse that disrespect they could only feel without displaying during his life. It is a strange but lamentable truth, that churchmen alone carry vengeance beyond the grave.

But to return to his pleasing narrative. "By whose hand the king fell, and whether the arrow was directed against him by accident or design, are questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered. The report which obtained credit at that time was, that William following a wounded deer with his eyes, held his hand near his face to intercept the rays of the sun, and at the same moment an arrow from the bow of Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, glancing from a tree, struck him in the breast. It was added, that the unintentional homicide, spurring his horse to the shore, immediately crossed to the continent; and a pilgrimage which he afterwards made to the Holy Land, was attributed to remorse, and construed into a proof of his guilt. But Tyrrel always denied the charge; and after his return, when he had nothing to hope or fear, deposed upon oath in the presence of Suger, abbot of St. Denis, that he never saw the king on the day of his death, nor entered that part of the forest where he fell. If William perished by treason (a supposition not very improbable), it was politic in the assassin to fix the guilt on one who was no longer in the kingdom. This at least is certain, that no inquiry was made into the cause or the manner of his death: whence we may infer that his successor, if he were not convinced that it would not bear investigation, was too well pleased with an event which raised him to the throne, to trouble himself about the means by which it was effected."

"William was short in person, with *flaxen* hair, and a ruddy complexion; from which last circumstance (and not from the colour of his hair), he derived the name of Rufus, or the Red. In ordinary conversation his utterance was slow and embarrassed: in the hurry of passion precipitate and unintelligible. He assumed in public a haughty port, rolling his eyes with fierceness on the spectators, and endeavouring by the tone of his voice, and the tenour of his answers, to intimi-







HENRY I

date those who addressed him. But in private he descended to an equality with his companions, amusing them with his wit, which was chiefly pointed against himself, and seeking to lessen the odium of his excesses, by making them the subjects of laughter.

"He built, at the expense of the neighbouring counties, a wall round the Tower, a bridge over the Thames, and the great hall at Westminster. The latter was finished the year before his death; and when he first visited it after his return from Normandy, he replied to his flatterers, that there was nothing in its dimensions to excite their wonder: it was only the vestibule to the palace which he intended to raise. But in this respect he seems to have followed, not to have created, the taste of the age. During his reign, structures of unusual magnificence arose in every part of the kingdom; and the most opulent proprietors sought to distinguish themselves by the castles which they built, and the monasteries which they founded."

The most laudable foreign enterprise which William undertook, was the sending of Edgar Atheling, three years before his death, into Scotland with a small army, to restore Prince Edgar, the true heir of that kingdom, son of Malcolm, and of Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling; and the enterprise proved successful. It was remarked in that age, that Richard, an elder brother of William's, perished by an accident in the New Forest; Richard, his nephew, natural son of Duke Robert, lost his life in the same place, after the same manner: and all men, upon the king's fate, exclaimed, that as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence, impelling all the inhabitants of that large district to make room for his game, the just vengeance of Heaven was signalized, in the same place, by the slaughter of his posterity. William was killed in the thirteenth year of his reign, and about the fortieth year of his age. As he was never married, he left no legitimate issue.

In the eleventh year of this reign, Magnus, king of Norway, made a descent on the Isle of Anglesea, but was repulsed by Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury. This is the last attempt made by the northern nations upon England. That restless people seem about this time to have learned the practice of tillage, which thenceforth kept them at home, and freed the other nations of Europe from the devastations spread over them by those piratical invaders. This proved one great cause of the subsequent settlement and improvement of the southern nations.

## CHAPTER IX.

### HENRY I.

*The Crusades—Accession of Henry—Marriage of the king—Invasion by Duke Robert—Accommodation with Robert—Attack of Normandy—Conquest of Normandy—Continuation of the quarrel with Anselm, the primate—Compromise with him—Wars abroad—Death of Prince William—King's second marriage—Death and character of Henry—State of Learning.*

AFTER the adventurers in the holy war were assembled on the banks of the Bosphorus, oppo-

site to Constantinople, they proceeded on their enterprise; but immediately experienced those difficulties which their zeal had hitherto concealed from them, and for which, even if they had foreseen them, it would have been almost impossible to provide a remedy. The Greek emperor, Alexis Comnenus, who had applied to the Western Christians for succour against the Turks, entertained hopes, and those but feeble ones, of obtaining such a moderate supply, as, acting under his command, might enable him to repulse the enemy; but he was extremely astonished to see his dominions overwhelmed, on a sudden, by such an inundation of licentious barbarians, who, though they pretended friendship, despised his subjects as unwarlike, and detested them as heretical. By all the arts of policy, in which he excelled, he endeavoured to divert the torrent; but while he employed professions, caresses, civilities, and seeming services towards the leaders of the crusade, he secretly regarded those imperious allies as more dangerous than the open enemies by whom his empire had been formerly invaded. Having effected that difficult point of disembarking them safely in Asia, he entered into a private correspondence with Soliman, emperor of the Turks; and practised every insidious art, which his genius, his power, or his situation, enabled him to employ, for disappointing the enterprise, and discouraging the Latins from making thenceforward any such prodigious migrations. His dangerous policy was seconded by the disorders inseparable from so vast a multitude, who were not united under one head, and were conducted by leaders of the most independent, intractable spirit, unacquainted with military discipline, and determined enemies to civil authority and submission. The scarcity of provisions, the excesses of fatigue, the influence of unknown climates, joined to the want of concert in their operations, and to the sword of a warlike enemy, destroyed the adventurers by thousands, and would have abated the ardour of men impelled to war by less powerful motives. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irresistible force, still carried them forward, and continually advanced them to the great end of their enterprise. After an obstinate siege, they took Nice, the seat of the Turkish empire; they defeated Soliman in two great battles; they made themselves masters of Antioch; and entirely broke the force of the Turks, who had so long retained those countries in subjection. The sultan of Egypt, whose alliance they had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkish power, his former authority in Jerusalem; and he informed them by his ambassadors, that if they came disarmed to that city, they might now perform their religious vows, and that all Christian pilgrims, who should thenceforth visit the holy sepulchre, might expect the same good treatment which they had ever received from his predecessors. The offer was rejected; the sultan was required to yield up the city to the Christians; and on his refusal, the champions of the cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, which they regarded as the consummation of their labours. By the detachments which they had made, and the disasters which they had undergone, they were diminished to the number of twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse; but these were still formidable, from their valour, their experience, and the obedience which, from past calamities, they had learned to pay to their leaders. After a siege of five weeks, they took Jerusalem



oy assault; and, impelled by a mixture of military and religious rage, they put the numerous garrison and inhabitants to the sword without distinction. Neither arms defended the valiant, nor submission the timorous: no age or sex was spared: infants on the breast were pierced by the same blow with their mother, who implored for mercy: even a multitude, to the number of ten thousand persons, who had surrendered themselves prisoners, and were promised quarter, were butchered in cool blood by those ferocious conquerors. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with dead bodies; and the triumphant warriors, after every enemy was subdued and slaughtered, immediately turned themselves, with the sentiments of humiliation and contrition, towards the holy sepulchre. They threw aside their arms, still streaming with blood: they advanced with reclined bodies, and naked feet and heads to that sacred monument: they sung anthems to their Saviour, who had there purchased their salvation by his death and agony: and their devotion, enlivened by the presence of the place where he had suffered, so overcame their fury, that they dissolved in tears, and bore the appearance of every soft and tender sentiment. So inconsistent is human nature with itself! And so easily does the most effeminate superstition ally, both with the most heroic courage and with the fiercest barbarity!

This great event happened on the 5th of July in the last year of the eleventh century. The Christian princes and nobles, after choosing Godfrey of Bouillon, king of Jerusalem, began to settle themselves in their new conquests; while some of them returned to Europe, in order to enjoy at home that glory which their valour had acquired them in this popular enterprise. Among these was Robert, duke of Normandy, who, as he had relinquished the greatest dominions of any prince that attended the crusade, had all along distinguished himself by the most intrepid courage, as well as by that affable disposition and unbounded generosity which gain the hearts of soldiers, and qualify a prince to shine in a military life. In passing through Italy, he became acquainted with Sybilla, daughter of the count of Conversana, a young lady of great beauty and merit, whom he espoused: indulging himself in this new passion, as well as fond of enjoying ease and pleasure, after the fatigues of so many rough campaigns, he lingered a twelvemonth in that delicious climate; and though his friends in the north looked every moment for his arrival, none of them knew when they could with certainty expect it. By this delay he lost the kingdom of England, which the great fame he had acquired during the crusades, as well as his undoubted title, both by birth and by the preceding agreement with his deceased brother, would, had he been present, have infallibly secured to him.

Prince Henry was hunting with Rufus in the New Forest, when intelligence of that monarch's death was brought him; and being sensible of the advantage attending the conjuncture, he hurried to Winchester, in order to secure the royal treasure, which he knew to be a necessary implement for facilitating his designs on the crown. He had scarcely reached the place when William de Breteuil, keeper of the treasure, arrived, and opposed himself to Henry's pretensions. This nobleman, who had been engaged in the same

party of hunting, had no sooner heard of his master's death, than he hastened to take care of his charge; and he told the prince, that this treasure, as well as the crown, belonged to his elder brother, who was now his sovereign; and that he himself, for his part, was determined, in spite of all other pretensions, to maintain his allegiance to him. But Henry, drawing his sword, threatened him with instant death if he dared to disobey him; and as others of the late king's retinue, who came every moment to Winchester, joined the prince's party, Breteuil was obliged to withdraw his opposition, and to acquiesce in this violence.

Henry, without losing a moment, hastened with the money to London; and having assembled some noblemen and prelates, whom his address, or abilities, or presents, gained to his side, he was suddenly elected, or rather saluted king; and immediately proceeded to the exercise of royal authority. In less than three days after his brother's death, the ceremony of his coronation (which was the same as had been observed in the coronation of the Anglo-Saxon kings) was performed at Westminster by Maurice, bishop of London, who was persuaded to officiate on that occasion; and thus, by his courage and celerity, he intruded himself into the vacant throne. No one had sufficient spirit, or sense of duty, to appear in defence of the absent prince: all men were seduced or intimidated: present possession supplied the apparent defects in Henry's title, which was indeed founded on plain usurpation: and the barons, as well as the people, acquiesced in a claim, which, though it could neither be justified nor comprehended, could now, they found, be opposed through the perils alone of civil war and rebellion.

But as Henry foresaw that a crown, usurped against all rules of justice, would sit unsteady on his head, he resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of all his subjects. Besides taking the usual coronation-oath to maintain the laws and execute justice, he passed a charter, which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppressions which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. He there promised, that, at the death of any bishop or abbot, he never would seize the revenues of the see or abbey during the vacancy, but would leave the whole to be reaped by the successor; and that he would never let to farm any ecclesiastical benefice, nor dispose of it for money. After this concession to the church, whose favour was of so great importance, he proceeded to enumerate the civil grievances which he purposed to redress. He promised that, upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir should be admitted to the possession of his estate, on paying a just and lawful relief; without being exposed to such violent exactions as had been usual during the late reigns: he remitted the wardship of minors, and allowed guardians to be appointed, who should be answerable for the trust: he promised not to dispose of any heiress in marriage, but by the advice of all the barons; and if any baron intended to give his daughter, sister, niece, or kinswoman in marriage, it should only be necessary for him to consult the king, who promised to take no money for his consent, nor ever to refuse permission, unless the person, to whom it was purposed to marry her, should happen to be his enemy: he granted his barons

and military tenants the power of bequeathing, by will, their money or personal estates; and if they neglected, to make a will, he promised that their heirs should succeed to them: he renounced the right of imposing moneyage, and of levying taxes at pleasure on the farms which the barons retained in their own hands: he made some general professions of moderating fines; he offered a pardon for all offences; and he remitted all debts due to the crown; he required that the vassals of the barons should enjoy the same privileges which he granted to his own barons; and he promised a general confirmation and observance of the laws of King Edward. This is the substance of the chief articles contained in that famous charter.

To give greater authenticity to these concessions, Henry lodged a copy of his charter in some abbey of each county; as if desirous that it should be exposed to the view of all his subjects, and remain a perpetual rule for the limitation and direction of his government: yet it is certain that, after the present purpose was served, he never once thought, during his reign, of observing one single article of it; and the whole fell so much into neglect and oblivion, that, in the following century, when the barons, who had heard an obscure tradition of it, desired to make it the model of the great charter which they exacted from King John, they could with difficulty find a copy of it in the kingdom. But as to the grievances here meant to be redressed, they were still continued in their full extent; and the royal authority, in all those particulars, lay under no manner of restriction. Reliefs of heirs, so capital an article, were never effectually fixed till the time of Magna Charta;\* and it is evident that the general promise here given, of accepting a just and lawful relief, ought to have been reduced to more precision, in order to give security to the subject. The oppression of wardship and marriage was perpetuated even till the reign of Charles II. And it appears from Glanville,† the famous justiciary of Henry II., that, in his time, where any man died intestate, an accident which must have been very frequent when the art of writing was so little known, the king, or the lord of the fief, pretended to seize all the moveables, and to exclude every heir, even the children of the deceased: a sure mark of a tyrannical and arbitrary government.

The Normans, indeed, who domineered in England, were, during this age, so licentious a people, that they may be pronounced incapable of any true or regular liberty; which requires such improvement in knowledge and morals as can only be the result of reflection and experience, and must grow to perfection during several ages of settled and established government. They had indeed arms in their hands, which prevented the establishment of a total despotism, and left their posterity sufficient power, whenever they should attain a sufficient degree of reason, to assume true liberty: but their turbulent disposition frequently prompted them to make such use of their arms, that they were more fitted to obstruct the

execution of justice, than to stop the career of violence and oppression. The prince, finding that greater opposition was often made to him when he enforced the laws than when he violated them, was apt to render his own will and pleasure the sole rule of government; and on every emergency, to consider more the power of the persons whom he might offend, than the rights of those whom he might injure. The very form of this charter of Henry proves that the Norman barons (for they, rather than the people of England, are chiefly concerned in it) were totally ignorant of the nature of a limited monarchy, and were ill qualified to conduct, in conjunction with their sovereign, the machine of government. It is an act of his sole power, is the result of his free grace, contains some articles which bind others as well as himself, and is therefore unfit to be the deed of any one who possesses not the whole legislative power, and who may not at pleasure revoke all his concessions.

Henry, further to increase his popularity, degraded and committed to prison Ralph Flambard bishop of Durham, who had been the chief instrument of oppression under his brother: but this act was followed by another, which was a direct violation of his own charter, and was a bad prognostic of his sincere intentions to observe it. He kept the see of Durham vacant for five years, and during that time retained possession of all its revenues. Sensible of the great authority which Anselm had acquired by his character of piety, and by the persecutions which he had undergone from William, he sent repeated messages to him at Lyons, where he resided, and invited him to return and take possession of his dignities. On the arrival of the prelate, he proposed to him the renewal of that homage which he had done his brother, and which had never been refused by any English bishop: but Anselm had acquired other sentiments by his journey to Rome, and gave the king an absolute refusal. He objected the decrees of the council of Bari, at which he himself had assisted; and he declared, that so far from doing homage for his spiritual dignity, he would not so much as communicate with any ecclesiastic who paid that submission, or who accepted of investitures from lay men. Henry, who expected, in his present delicate situation, to reap great advantages from the authority and popularity of Anselm, durst not insist on his demand: he only desired that the controversy might be suspended; and that messengers might be sent to Rome, in order to accommodate matters with the pope, and obtain his confirmation of the laws and customs of England.

There immediately occurred an important affair, in which the king was obliged to have recourse to the authority of Anselm. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III., king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, had, on her father's death, and the subsequent revolutions in the Scottish government, been brought to England, and educated under her aunt Christina, in the nunnery of Rumsey. This princess Henry purposed to marry; but as she had worn the veil, though never taken the vows, doubts might arise concerning the lawfulness of the act; and it behoved him to be very careful not to shock, in any particular, the religious prejudices of his subjects. The affair was examined by Anselm, in a council of the prelates and nobles which was summoned at Lambeth: Matilda there proved that she had put on the

\* What is called a relief in the Conqueror's laws, preserved by Ingulf, seems to have been the heriot; since reliefs, as well as the other burdens of the feudal law, were unknown in the age of the Confessor, whose laws these originally were.

† This practice was contrary to the laws of King Edward, ratified by the Conqueror, as we learn from Ingulf. But laws had at that time very little influence: power and violence governed everything.



veil, not with a view of entering into a religious life, but merely in consequence of a custom familiar to the English ladies who protected their chastity from the brutal violence of the Normans, by taking shelter under that habit, which, amidst the horrible licentiousness of the times, was yet generally revered. The council, sensible that even a princess had otherwise no security for her honour, admitted this reason as valid: they pronounced that Matilda was still free to marry; and her espousals with Henry were celebrated by Anselm with great pomp and solemnity. No act of the king's reign rendered him equally popular with his English subjects, and tended more to establish him on the throne. Though Matilda, during the life of her uncle and brothers, was not heir of the Saxon line, she was become very dear to the English on account of her connexions with it: and that people, who before the conquest had fallen into a kind of indifference towards their ancient royal family, had felt so severely the tyranny of the Normans, that they reflected with extreme regret on their former liberty, and hoped for a more equal and mild administration, when the blood of their native princes should be mingled with that of their new sovereigns.

But the policy and prudence of Henry, which, if time had been allowed for these virtues to produce their full effect, would have secured him possession of the crown, ran great hazard of being frustrated by the sudden appearance of Robert, who returned to Normandy about a month after the death of his brother William. He took possession, without opposition, of that duchy; and immediately made preparations for recovering England, of which, during his absence, he had by Henry's intrigues been so unjustly defrauded. The great fame which he had acquired in the East forwarded his pretensions; and the Norman barons, sensible of the consequences, expressed the same discontent at the separation of the duchy and kingdom, which had appeared on the accession of William. Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, William de la Warrenne, earl of Surrey, Arnulf de Montgomery, Walter Giffard, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Grentmesnil, and many others of the principal nobility, invited Robert to make an attempt upon England, and promised, on his landing, to join him with all their forces. Even the seamen were affected with the general popularity of his name, and they carried over to him the greater part of a fleet which had been equipped to oppose his passage. Henry, in this extremity, began to be apprehensive for his life, as well as for his crown; and had recourse to the superstition of the people, in order to oppose their sentiment of justice. He paid diligent court to Anselm, whose sanctity and wisdom he pretended to revere. He consulted him in all difficult emergencies; seemed to be governed by him in every measure; promised a strict regard to ecclesiastical privileges; professed a great attachment to Rome, and a resolution of persevering in an implicit obedience to the decrees of councils and to the will of the sovereign pontiff. By these caresses and declarations he entirely gained the confidence of the primate, whose influence over the people, and authority with the barons, were of the utmost service to him in his present situation. Anselm scrupled not to assure the nobles of the king's sincerity in those professions which he made, of avoiding

the tyrannical and oppressive government of his father and brother: he even rode through the ranks of the army, recommended to the soldiers the defence of their prince, represented the duty of keeping their oaths of allegiance, and prognosticated to them the greatest happiness from the government of so wise and just a sovereign. By this expedient, joined to the influence of the earls of Warwick and Mellent, of Roger Bigod, Richard de Redvers, and Robert Fitz-Hamon, powerful barons, who still adhered to the present government, the army was retained in the king's interests, and marched, with seeming union and firmness, to oppose Robert, who had landed with his forces at Portsmouth.

The two armies lay in sight of each other for some days without coming to action; and both princes, being apprehensive of the event, which would probably be decisive, hearkened the more willingly to the counsels of Anselm and the other great men, who mediated an accommodation between them. After employing some negotiation, it was agreed that Robert should resign his pretensions to England, and receive in lieu of them an annual pension of three thousand marks; that if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned, and restored to all their possessions either in Normandy or England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforth encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other.

This treaty, though calculated so much for Henry's advantage, he was the first to violate. He restored, indeed, the estates of all Robert's adherents; but was secretly determined that noblemen so powerful and so ill affected, who had both inclination and ability to disturb his government, should not long remain unmolested in their present opulence and grandeur. He began with the earl of Shrewsbury, who was watched for some time by spies, and then indicted on a charge, consisting of forty-five articles. This turbulent nobleman, knowing his own guilt, as well as the prejudices of his judges, and the power of his prosecutor, had recourse to arms for defence: but being soon suppressed by the activity and address of Henry, he was banished the kingdom, and his great estate confiscated. His ruin involved that of his two brothers, Arnulf de Montgomery, and Roger, earl of Lancaster. The account of Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, as given by Lingard, deserves insertion as an instance of the evil of the feudal system, and as a proof of what opportunity it gave to a tyrannical monster to exercise his crimes. "He was the most powerful subject in England, haughty, rapacious, and deceitful. In these vices he might have many equals: in cruelty he rose pre-eminent among the savages of that age. He preferred the death to the ransom of his captives; it was his delight to feast his eyes with the contortions of the victims, men and women, whom he had ordered to be impaled: he is even said to have torn out the eyes of his godson with his own hands, because the father of the boy had committed some trivial offence, and had escaped from his vengeance." Soon after followed the prosecution and condemnation of Robert de Pontefract and Robert de Mallet, who had distinguished themselves among Robert's adherents. William de Warrenne was the next victim: even William, earl of Cornwall, son of the earl of Mortaigne, the king's uncle,

having given matter of suspicion against himself lost all the vast acquisitions of his family in England. Though the usual violence and tyranny of the Norman barons afforded a plausible pretence for those prosecutions, and it is probable that none of the sentences pronounced against these noblemen was wholly iniquitous; men easily saw or conjectured that the chief part of their guilt was not the injustice or illegality of their conduct. Robert, enraged at the fate of his friends, imprudently ventured to come into England; and he remonstrated with his brother, in severe terms, against this breach of treaty: but met with so bad a reception, that he began to apprehend danger to his own liberty, and was glad to purchase an escape, by resigning his pension.

The indiscretion of Robert soon exposed him to more fatal injuries. This prince, whose bravery and candour procured him respect while at a distance, had no sooner attained the possession of power and enjoyment of peace, than all the vigour of his mind relaxed; and he fell into contempt among those who approached his person, or were subject to his authority. Alternately abandoned to dissolute pleasures and to womanish superstition, he was so remiss, both in the care of his treasure and the exercise of his government, that his servants pillaged his money with impunity, stole from him his very clothes, and proceeded thence to practise every species of extortion on his defenceless subjects. The barons, whom a severe administration alone could have restrained, gave reins to their unbounded rapine upon their vassals, and inveterate animosities against each other; and all Normandy, during the reign of this benign prince, was become a scene of violence and depredation. The Normans at last, observing the regular government which Henry, notwithstanding his usurped title, had been able to establish in England, applied to him, that he might use his authority for the suppression of these disorders; and they thereby afforded him a pretence for interposing in the affairs of Normandy. Instead of employing his mediation to render his brother's government respectable, or to redress the grievances of the Normans, he was only attentive to support his own partisans, and to increase their number by every art of bribery, intrigue, and insinuation. Having found, in a visit which he made to that duchy, that the nobility were more disposed to pay submission to him than to their legal sovereign, he collected, by arbitrary extortions on England, a great army and treasure, and returned next year to Normandy, in a situation to obtain, either by violence or corruption, the dominion of that province. He took Bayeux by storm after an obstinate siege: he made himself master of Caen by the voluntary submission of the inhabitants; but being repulsed at Falaise, and obliged by the winter season to raise the siege, he returned into England; after giving assurances to his adherents that he would persevere in supporting and protecting them.

Next year he opened the campaign with the siege of Tenchebray; and it became evident, from his preparations and progress, that he intended to usurp the entire possession of Normandy. Robert was at last roused from his lethargy; and being supported by the earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Belesme, the king's inveterate enemies, he raised a considerable army, and approached his brother's camp, with a view of finishing in one decisive bat-

tle, the quarrel between them. He was now entered on that scene of action in which alone he was qualified to excel; and he so animated his troops by his example, that they threw the English into disorder, and had nearly obtained the victory; when the flight of Belesme spread a panic among the Normans, and occasioned their total defeat. Henry, besides doing great execution on the enemy, made near ten thousand prisoners; among whom was Duke Robert himself, and all the most considerable barons who adhered to his interests. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy: Rouen immediately submitted to the conqueror: Falaise, after some negotiation, opened its gates, and by this acquisition, besides rendering himself master of an important fortress, he got into his hands Prince William, the only son of Robert: he assembled the states of Normandy; and having received the homage of all the vassals of the duchy, having settled the government, revoked his brother's donations, and dismantled the castles lately built, he returned into England, and carried along with him the duke as prisoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years, and he died in the castle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire; happy if, without losing his liberty, he could have relinquished that power which he was not qualified either to hold or exercise. Prince William was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who being a man of probity and honour beyond what was usual in those ages, executed the trust with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jerusalem, and who had lived with him ever since in Normandy, was another illustrious prisoner taken in the battle of Tenchebray. Henry gave him his liberty, and settled a small pension on him, with which he retired; and he lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was distinguished by personal bravery: but nothing can be a stronger proof of his mean talents in every other respect, than that, notwithstanding he possessed the affections of the English, and enjoyed the only legal title to the throne, he was allowed during the reigns of so many violent and jealous usurpers, to live unmolested, and go to his grave in peace.

A little after Henry had completed the conquest of Normandy, and settled the government of that province, he finished a controversy, which had been long depending between him and the pope, with regard to the investitures in ecclesiastical benefices; and though he was here obliged to relinquish some of the ancient rights of the crown, he extricated himself from the difficulty on easier terms than most princes, who in that age were so unhappy as to be engaged in disputes with the apostolic see. The king's situation, in the beginning of his reign, obliged him to pay great court to Anselm: the advantages which he had reaped from the zealous friendship of that prelate, had made him sensible how prone the minds of his people were to superstition, and what an ascendancy the ecclesiastics had been able to assume over them. He had seen, on the accession of his brother Rufus, that though the rights of primogeniture were then violated, and the incursions of almost all the barons thwarted, yet the authority of Lanfranc, the primate, had prevailed over all other considerations: his own case, which was still more utra-



vourable, afforded an instance in which the clergy had more evidently shown their influence and authority. These recent examples, while they made him cautious not to offend that powerful body, convinced him at the same time, that it was extremely his interest to retain the former prerogative of the crown in filling offices of such vast importance, and to check the ecclesiastics in that independence to which they visibly aspired. The choice which his brother, in a fit of penitence had made of Anselm, was so far unfortunate to the king's pretensions, that this prelate was celebrated for his piety and zeal, and austerity of manners; and though his monkish devotion, and narrow principles, prognosticated no great knowledge of the world or depth of policy, he was, on that very account, a more dangerous instrument in the hands of politicians, and retained a greater ascendancy over the bigoted populace. The prudence and temper of the king appear in nothing more conspicuous than in the management of this delicate affair; where he was always sensible that it had become necessary for him to risk his whole crown, in order to preserve the most invaluable jewel of it.

Anselm had no sooner returned from banishment, than his refusal to do homage to the king raised a dispute, which Henry evaded at that critical juncture, by promising to send a messenger, in order to compound the matter with Pascal II., who then filled the papal throne. The messenger, as was probably foreseen, returned with an absolute refusal of the king's demands; and that fortified by many reasons, which were well qualified to operate on the understandings of men in those ages. Pascal quoted the Scriptures, to prove that Christ was the door; and he thence inferred, that all ecclesiastics must enter into the church through Christ alone, not through the civil magistrates, or any profane laymen. "It is monstrous," added the pontiff, "that a son should pretend to beget his father, or a man to create his God: priests are called gods in Scripture, as being the vicars of God: and will you, by your abominable pretensions to grant them their investiture, assume the right of creating them?"\*

But how convincing soever these arguments, they could not persuade Henry to resign so important a prerogative; and, perhaps, as he was possessed of great reflection and learning, he thought that the absurdity of a man's creating his God, even allowing priests to be gods, was not urged with the best grace by the Roman pontiff. But as he desired still to avoid, at least to delay, the coming to any dangerous extremity with the church, he persuaded Anselm, that he should be able, by further negotiation, to attain some composition with Pascal; and for that purpose he despatched three bishops to Rome, while Anselm sent two messengers of his own, to be more fully assured of the pope's intentions. Pascal wrote back letters equally positive and arrogant, both to the king and primate; urging to the former, that by assuming the right of investitures, he committed a kind of spiritual adultery with the church, who was the spouse of Christ, and who must not admit of such a commerce with any other person; and insisting with the latter, that the pretension of kings to confer benefices was the source of all simony; a

topic which had but too much foundation in those ages.

Henry had now no other expedient than to suppress the letter addressed to himself, and to persuade the three bishops to prevaricate, and assert upon their episcopal faith, that Pascal had assured them in private of his good intentions towards Henry, and of his resolution not to resent any future exertion of his prerogative in granting investitures; though he himself scrupled to give this assurance under his hand, lest other princes should copy the example, and assume a like privilege. Anselm's two messengers, who were monks, affirmed to him, that it was impossible this story could have any foundation: but their word was not deemed equal to that of three bishops; and the king, as if he had finally gained his cause, proceeded to fill the sees of Hereford and Salisbury, and to invest the new bishops in the usual manner. But Anselm, who, as he had good reason, gave no credit to the asseveration of the king's messengers, refused not only to consecrate them, but even to communicate with them; and the bishops themselves, finding how odious they were become, returned to Henry the ensigns of their dignity. The quarrel every day increased between the king and the primate: the former, notwithstanding the prudence and moderation of his temper, threw out menaces against such as should pretend to oppose him in exerting the ancient prerogatives of his crown; and Anselm, sensible of his own dangerous situation, desired leave to make a journey to Rome, in order to lay the case before the sovereign pontiff. Henry, well pleased to rid himself, without violence, of so inflexible an antagonist, readily granted him permission. The prelate was attended to the shore by infinite multitudes, not only monks and clergymen, but people of all ranks, who scrupled not in this manner to declare for their primate against their sovereign, and who regarded his departure as the final abolition of religion and true piety in the kingdom. The king, however, seized all the revenues of his see; and sent William de Warelwast to negotiate with Pascal, and to find some means of accommodation in this delicate affair.

The English minister told Pascal, that his master would rather lose his crown, than part with the right of granting investitures. "And I," replied Pascal, "would rather lose my head than allow him to retain it." Henry secretly prohibited Anselm from returning, unless he resolved to conform himself to the laws and usages of the kingdom; and the primate took up his residence at Lyons, in expectation that the king would at last be obliged to yield the point which was the present object of controversy between them. Soon after, he was permitted to return to his monastery at Bee in Normandy; and Henry, besides restoring to him the revenues of his see, treated him with the greatest respect, and held several conferences with him in order to soften his opposition, and bend him to submission. The people of England, who thought all differences now accommodated, were inclined to blame their primate for absenting himself so long from his charge; and he daily received letters from his partisans, representing the necessity of his speedy return. The total extinction, they told him, of religion and Christianity, was likely to ensue from the want of his fatherly care: the most

\* Home suspects that this text of Scripture is a forgery of his invention, as he could not find it. Such was the ignorance of the age, that it was often quoted with impunity.

shocking customs prevailed in England; and the dread of his severity being now removed, unnatural crimes, and the practice of wearing long hair, gain ground among all ranks of men, and these enormities openly appear every where, without sense of shame or fear of punishment.

The policy of the court of Rome has commonly been much admired; and men, judging by success, have bestowed the highest eulogies on that prudence by which a power, from such slender beginnings, could advance, without force of arms, to establish a universal and almost absolute monarchy in Europe. But the wisdom of so long a succession of men who filled the papal throne, and who were of such different ages, tempers, and interests, is not intelligible, and could never have place in nature. The instrument, indeed, with which they wrought, the ignorance and superstition of the people, is so gross an engine, of such universal prevalence, and so little liable to accident or disorder, that it may be successful, even in the most unskilful hands; and scarce any indiscretion can frustrate its operations. While the court of Rome was openly abandoned to the most flagrant disorders, even while it was torn with schisms and factions, the power of the church daily made a sensible progress in Europe; and the temerity of Gregory and caution of Pascal were equally fortunate in promoting it. The clergy, feeling the necessity which they lay under of being protected against the violence of princes, or rigour of the laws, were well pleased to adhere to a foreign head, who, being removed from the fear of the civil authority, could freely employ the power of the whole church, in defending her ancient or usurped properties and privileges, when invaded in any particular country: the monks, desirous of an independence on their diocessans, professed a still more devoted attachment to the triple crown; and the stupid people possessed no science or reason which they could oppose to the most exorbitant pretensions. Nonsense passed for demonstration: the most criminal means were sanctified by the piety of the end: treaties were not supposed to be binding, where the interests of God were concerned: the ancient laws and customs of states had no authority against a divine right: impudent forgeries were received as authentic monuments of antiquity; and the champions of the holy church, if successful, were celebrated as heroes; if unfortunate, were worshipped as martyrs; and all events turned thus out equally to the advantage of clerical usurpations. Pascal himself, the reigning pope, was, in the course of this very controversy concerning investitures, involved in circumstances, and necessitated to follow a conduct which would have drawn disgrace and ruin on any temporal prince that had been so unfortunate as to fall into a like situation. His person was seized by the Emperor Henry V., and he was obliged, by a formal treaty, to resign to that monarch the right of granting investitures, for which they had so long contended. In order to add greater solemnity to this agreement, the emperor and pope communicated together on the same host; one half of which was given to the prince, the other taken by the pontiff: the most tremendous imprecations were publicly denounced on either of them who should violate the treaty: yet no sooner did Pascal recover his liberty, than he revoked all his concessions, and pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, who, in the end, was obliged

to submit to the terms required of him, and to yield up all his pretensions, which he never could resume.

The king of England had very near fallen into the same dangerous situation: Pascal had already excommunicated the earl of Mellent, and the other ministers of Henry, who were instrumental in supporting his pretensions: he daily menaced the king himself with a like sentence; and he suspended the blow only to give him leisure to prevent it by a timely submission. The malcontents waited impatiently for the opportunity of disturbing his government by conspiracies and insurrections: the king's best friends were anxious at the prospect of an incident which would set their religious and civil duties at variance: and the countess of Blois, his sister, a princess of piety, who had great influence over him, was affrightened with the danger of her brother's eternal damnation. Henry, on the other hand, seemed determined to run all hazards, rather than resign a prerogative of such importance, which had been enjoyed by all his predecessors; and it seemed probable, from his great prudence and abilities, that he might be able to sustain his rights, and finally prevail in the contest. While Pascal and Henry thus stood mutually in awe of each other, it was the more easy to bring about an accommodation between them, and to find a medium in which they might agree.

Before bishops took possession of their dignities, they had formerly been accustomed to pass through two ceremonies: they received from the hands of the sovereign a ring and crozier, as symbols of their office: and this was called their *investiture*: they also made those submissions to the prince which were required of vassals by the rights of the feudal law, and which received the name of *homage*. And as the king might refuse both to grant the *investiture* and to receive the *homage*, though the chapter had, by some canons of the middle age been endowed with the right of election, the sovereign had in reality the sole power of appointing prelates. Urban II. had equally deprived laymen of the rights of granting investiture and of receiving homage: the emperors never were able, by all their wars and negotiations, to make any distinction be admitted between them: the interposition of profane laymen, in any particular, was still represented as impious and abominable: and the church openly aspired to a total independence on the state. But Henry had put England as well as Normandy in such a situation, as gave greater weight to his negotiations; and Pascal was for the present satisfied with his resigning the right of granting investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was supposed to be conferred; and he allowed the bishops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges. The pontiff was well pleased to have made this acquisition, which, he hoped, would in time involve the whole: and the king, anxious to procure an escape from a very dangerous situation, was content to retain some, though a more precarious authority, in the election of prelates.

After the principal controversy was accommodated, it was not difficult to adjust the other differences. The pope allowed Anselm to communicate with the prelates who had already received investitures from the crown; and he only required of them some submissions for their past misconduct. He also granted Anselm a plenary power of remedying every other disorder, which, he



arise from the barbarousness of the country. Such was the idea which the popes then entertained of the English; and nothing can be a stronger proof of the miserable ignorance in which that people were then plunged, than that a man who sat on the papal throne, and who subsisted by absurdities and nonsense, should think himself entitled to treat them as barbarians.

During the course of these controversies, a synod was held at Westminster, where the king, intent only on the main dispute, allowed some canons of less importance to be enacted, which tended to promote the usurpations of the clergy. The celibacy of priests was enjoined, a point which it was still found very difficult to carry into execution; and even laymen were not allowed to marry within the seventh degree of affinity. By this contrivance the pope augmented the profits which he reaped from granting dispensations; and likewise those from divorces, for as the art of writing was then rare, and parish registers were not regularly kept, it was not easy to ascertain the degrees of affinity even among people of rank; and any man who had money sufficient to pay for it, might obtain a divorce, on pretence that his wife was more nearly related to him than was permitted by the canons. The synod also passed a vote, prohibiting the laity from wearing long hair. The aversion of the clergy to this mode was not confined to England. When the king went to Normandy, before he had conquered that province, the bishop of Seez, in a formal harangue, earnestly exhorted him to redress the manifold disorders under which the government laboured, and to oblige the people to poll their hair in a decent form. Henry, though he would not resign his prerogatives to the church, willingly parted with his hair: he cut it in the form which they required of him, and obliged all the courtiers to imitate his example.

The acquisition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition, being the ancient patrimony of his family, and the only territory, which, while in his possession, gave him any weight or consideration on the continent; but the injustice of his usurpation was the source of great inquietude, involved him in frequent wars, and obliged him to impose on his English subjects those many heavy and arbitrary taxes, of which all the historians of that age unanimously complain. His nephew William was but six years of age when he committed him to the care of Helie de St. Saen; and it is probable, that his reason for intrusting that important charge to a man of so unblemished a character, was to prevent all malignant suspicions, in case any accident should befall the life of the young prince. He soon repented of his choice; but when he desired to recover possession of William's person, Helie withdrew his pupil, and carried him to the court of Fulk, count of Anjou, who gave him protection. In proportion as the prince grew up to man's estate, he discovered virtues becoming his birth; and, wandering through different courts of Europe, he excited the friendly compassion of many princes, and raised a general indignation against his uncle, who had so unjustly bereaved him of his inheritance. Lewis the Gross, son of Philip, was at this time king of France, a brave and generous prince, who having been obliged during the lifetime of his father to fly into England, in order to escape the persecutions of his treacherous step-mother, had been protected by Henry, and had thence conceived a personal friend-

ship for him. But these ties were soon dissolved after the accession of Lewis, who found his interests to be in so many particulars opposite to those of the English monarch, and who became sensible of the danger attending the annexation of Normandy to England. He joined, therefore, the counts of Anjou and Flanders in giving disquiet to Henry's government; and this monarch, in order to defend his foreign dominions, found himself obliged to go over to Normandy, where he resided two years. The war which ensued among those princes was attended with no memorable event, and produced only slight skirmishes on the frontiers, agreeably to the weak condition of the sovereigns in that age, whenever their subjects were not roused by some great and urgent occasion. Henry, by contracting his eldest son, William, to the daughter of Fulk, detached that prince from the alliance, and obliged the others to come to an accommodation with him. This peace was not of long duration. His nephew, William, retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who espoused his cause; and the king of France having soon after, for other reasons, joined the party, a new war was kindled in Normandy, which produced no event more memorable than had attended the former. At last the death of Baldwin, who was slain in an action near Eu, gave some respite to Henry, and enabled him to carry on war with more advantage against his enemies.

Lewis finding himself unable to wrest Normandy from the king by force of arms, had recourse to the dangerous expedient of applying to the spiritual power, and of affording the ecclesiastics a pretence to interpose in the temporal concerns of princes. He carried young William to a general council, which was assembled at Rheims by Pope Calixtus II., presented the Norman prince to them, complained of the manifest usurpation and injustice of Henry, craved the assistance of the church for reinstating the true heir in his dominions, and represented the enormity of detaining in captivity so brave a prince as Robert, one of the most eminent champions of the cross, and who, by that very quality, was placed under the immediate protection of the holy see. Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with dexterity. He had sent over the English bishops to this synod; but at the same time had warned them that if any further claims were started by the pope or the ecclesiastics, he was determined to adhere to the laws and customs of England, and maintain the prerogatives transmitted to him by his predecessors. "Go," said he to them, "salute the pope in my name; hear his apostolical precepts; but take care to bring none of his new inventions into my kingdom." Finding, however, that it would be easier for him to elude than oppose the efforts of Calixtus, he gave his ambassadors orders to gain the pope and his favourites by liberal presents and promises. The complaints of the Norman prince were thenceforth heard with great coldness by the council; and Calixtus confessed, after a conference which he had the same summer with Henry, and when that prince probably renewed his presents, that, of all men whom he had ever yet been acquainted with, he was beyond comparison the most eloquent and persuasive.

The warlike measures of Lewis proved as ineffectual as his intrigues. He had laid a scheme for surprising Noyon; but Henry having received

intelligence of the design, marched to the relief of the place, and suddenly attacked the French at Brenville, as they were advancing towards it. A sharp conflict ensued; where prince William behaved with great bravery, and the king himself was in the most imminent danger. He was wounded in the head by Crispin, a gallant Norman officer, who had followed the fortunes of William; but being rather animated than terrified by the blow, he immediately beat his antagonist to the ground, and so encouraged his troops by the example, that they put the French to total rout, and had very nearly taken their king prisoner. The dignity of the persons engaged in this skirmish rendered it the most memorable action of the war: for, in other respects, it was not of great importance. There were nine hundred horsemen, who fought on both sides; yet were there only three persons slain. The rest were defended by that heavy armour worn by the cavalry in those times. An accommodation soon after ensued between the kings of France and England; and the interests of young William were entirely neglected in it.

Lingard illustrates the manners of the time with the following remarks:—

“In perusing the history of this war, written by the pen of Orderic, the mind is surprised at the opposite instances of barbarism and refinement, of cruelty and humanity, with which it abounds. 1. The number of slain in the celebrated battle of Brenville amounted to no more than three; for, says the historian, Christian knights contend not for revenge but for glory; they seek not to shed the blood but to secure the person of their enemy. Their great object was to throw him on the ground; and when this was effected, whether by a blow or the death of his horse, the knight encased in ponderous armour was unable to help himself, and lay the unresisting prize of his adversary. 2. Offices of civility were exchanged in the midst of hostilities; and the captive who had signalized his courage was often released without ransom by a generous conqueror. The king, after his victory, restored to Lewis his charger, with the trappings of gold and silver; and his son at the same time sent to the son of Robert valuable presents, that the young exile might appear among foreigners with the splendour due to his birth. 3. But their passions were violent and implacable; and in the pursuit of revenge their breasts seemed to be steeled against every sentiment of humanity. Eustace lord of Breteuil, who had married Juliana, one of the king's illegitimate daughters, had solicited the grant of a strong fortress, which was part of the ducal demesne. Henry entertained suspicions of his fidelity, but was unwilling to irritate him by an absolute refusal. It was agreed that two children, the daughters of Eustace and Juliana, should be given to Henry as hostages for the allegiance of their father; and that the son of Harenc, the governor of the castle, should be intrusted to that nobleman as a pledge for the cession of the place at the close of the war. Eustace was, however, dissatisfied: he tore out the eyes of the boy, and sent him back to his father. Harenc, frantic with rage, and impatient of revenge, demanded justice of Henry, who, unable to reach the person, bade him retaliate on the daughters of Eustace. Their innocence, their youth, were of no avail; the barbarian deprived them of their eyes, and amputated their noses; and Henry,

with an affectation of stoic indifference, loaded him with presents, and sent him back to resume the command. The task of revenge now devolved on Juliana, who deemed her father the author of the sufferings of her daughters. Unable to keep Breteuil against the royal forces, she retired into the citadel: abandoned by the garrison, she requested a parley with the king; and as he approached the wall, pointed an arrow, and discharged it at his breast. Her want of skill saved her from the guilt of actual parricide; and necessity compelled her to surrender at discretion. Henry punished by insulting her. He closed the gate, removed the draw-bridge, and sent her a peremptory order to quit the castle immediately. Juliana was compelled to let herself down without assistance from the rampart into the broad moat which surrounded the fortress, and to wade through the water which rose to her waist; at each step she had to break the ice around her, and to suffer the taunts and ridicule of the soldiers, who were drawn out to witness this singular spectacle.”

But the public prosperity of Henry was much overbalanced by a domestic calamity which befel him. His only son William had now reached his eighteenth year; and the king, from the facility with which he himself had usurped the crown, dreading that a like revolution might subvert his family, had taken care to have him recognised successor by the states of the kingdom, and had carried him over to Normandy, that he might receive the homage of the barons of that duchy. The king, on his return, set sail from Barfleur, and was soon carried by a fair wind out of sight of land. The prince was detained by some accident; and his sailors, as well as their captain, Thomas Fitz-Stephens, having spent the interval in drinking, were so flustered, that, being in a hurry to follow the king, they heedlessly carried the ship on a rock, where she immediately foundered. William was put into the long-boat, and had got clear of the ship; when hearing the cries of his natural sister, the countess of Perche, he ordered the seamen to row back in hopes of saving her; but the numbers who then crowded in, soon sunk the boat; and the prince with all his retinue perished. Above a hundred and forty young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. A butcher of Rouen was the only person on board who escaped: he clung to the mast, and was taken up next morning by fishermen. Fitz-Stephens also took hold of the mast; but being informed by the butcher that Prince William had perished, he said that he would not survive the disaster; and he plunged himself headlong into the sea. Henry entertained hopes for three days, that his son had put into some distant port of England; but when certain intelligence of the calamity was brought to him, he fainted away; and it was remarked that he never after was seen to smile, nor ever recovered his wonted cheerfulness.

The death of William may be regarded in one respect as a misfortune to the English; because it was the immediate source of those civil wars, which, after the demise of the king, caused such confusion in the kingdom; but it is remarkable, that the young prince had entertained a violent aversion to the natives; and had been heard to threaten, that when he should be king he would make them draw the plough, and would turn them into beasts of burden. To which may be



added, he was arrogant and violent, and addicted to the most licentious pursuits. Some chroniclers have not scrupled to charge him with the most infamous dissipation, and represent him as a heartless profligate. Henry's grief may therefore perhaps have arisen more from political than natural feeling. His prepossessions against the English he inherited from his father, who, though he was wout, when it might serve his purpose, to value himself on his birth, as a native of England, showed, in the course of his government, an extreme prejudice against that people. All hopes of preferment, to ecclesiastical as well as civil dignities, were denied them during this whole reign; and any foreigner, however worthless, was sure to have the preference in every competition.

Prince William left no children; and the king had not now any legitimate issue; except one daughter, Matilda, whom in 1110 he had betrothed, though only eight years of age, to the Emperor Henry V., and whom he had then sent over to be educated in Germany.\* But as her absence from the kingdom, and her marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the succession, Henry, who was now a widower, was induced to marry in hopes of having male heirs; and he made his addresses to Adelaïs, daughter of Godfrey duke of Lovaine, and niece of Pope Calixtus, a young princess of an amiable person. But Adelaïs brought him no children; and the prince, who was most likely to dispute the succession, and even the immediate possession of the crown, recovered hopes of subverting his rival, who had successively seized all his patrimonial dominions. William, the son of Duke Robert, was still protected in the French court; and as Henry's connexions with the count of Anjou were broken off by the death of his son, Fulk joined the party of the unfortunate prince, gave him his daughter in marriage, and aided him in raising disturbances in Normandy. But Henry found the means of drawing off the count of Anjou, by forming anew with him a nearer connexion than the former, and one more material to the interests of that count's family. The emperor, his son-in-law, dying without issue, he bestowed his daughter on Geoffrey, the eldest son of Fulk, and endeavoured to insure her succession by having her recognised heir of all his dominions, and obliging the barons both of Normandy and England to swear fealty to her. He hoped that the choice of this husband would be more agreeable to all his subjects than that of the emperor; as securing them from the danger of falling under the dominion of a great and distant potentate who might bring them into subjection, and reduce their country to the rank of a province; but the barons were displeased, that a step so material to national interests had been taken without consulting them; and Henry had too sensibly experienced the turbulence of their disposition, not to dread the effects of their resentment. It seemed probable that his nephew's

party might gain force from the increase of the malecontents: an accession of power which that prince had acquired a little after, tended to render his pretensions still more dangerous. Charles earl of Flanders being assassinated during the celebration of divine service, King Lewis immediately put the young prince in possession of that country, to which he had pretensions in the right of his grandmother Matilda, wife to the Conqueror. But William survived a very little time this piece of good fortune, which seemed to open the way to still further prosperity. He was killed in a skirmish with the landgrave of Alsace, his competitor for Flanders; and his death put an end, for the present, to the jealousy and inquietude of Henry.

The chief merit of this monarch's government consists in the profound tranquillity which he established and maintained throughout all his dominions during the greater part of his reign. The mutinous barons were retained in subjection; and his neighbours, in every attempt which they made upon him, found him so well prepared, that they were discouraged from continuing or renewing their enterprises. In order to repress the incursions of the Welsh, he brought over some Flemings in the year 1111, and settled them in Pembrokeshire, where they long maintained a different language, and customs, and manners from their neighbours. Though his government seems to have been arbitrary in England, it was judicious and prudent; and was as little oppressive as the necessity of his affairs would permit. He wanted not attention to the redress of grievances; and historians mention in particular the levying of purveyance, which he endeavoured to moderate and restrain. The tenants in the king's demesne lands were at that time obliged to supply *gratis* the court with provisions, and to furnish carriages on the same hard terms, when the king made a progress, as he did frequently, into any of the counties. These exactions were so grievous, and levied in so licentious a manner, that the farmers when they heard of the approach of the court, often deserted their houses, as if an enemy had invaded the country; and sheltered their persons and families in the woods from the insults of the king's retinue. Henry prohibited those enormities, and punished the persons guilty of them by cutting off their hands, legs, and other members. But the prerogative was perpetual: the remedy applied by Henry was temporary; and the violence itself of this remedy, so far from giving security to the people, was only a proof of the ferocity of the government, and threatened a quick return of like abuses.

One great and difficult object of the king's prudence was, the guarding against the encroachments of the court of Rome, and protecting the liberties of the church of England. The pope, in the year 1101, had sent Guy, archbishop of Vienne, as legate into Britain; and though he was the first that for many years had appeared there in that character, and his commission gave general surprise, the king, who was then in the commencement of his reign, and was involved in many difficulties, was obliged to submit to this encroachment on his authority. But in the year 1116, Anselm abbot of St. Sabas, who was coming over with a like legantine commission, was prohibited from entering the kingdom; and Pope Calixtus, who in his turn was then labouring under many difficulties, by reason of the pretensions of Gregory, an antipope, was obliged to promise, that

\* Henry, by the feudal customs, was entitled to levy a tax for the marrying of his eldest daughter, and he exacted three shillings a hile on all England. Some historians foolishly make this sum amount to above 800,000 pounds of our present money; but it could not exceed 135,000. Five hides, sometimes less, made a knight's ten, of which there were about 60,000 in England, consequently near 300,000 hides; and at the rate of three shillings a hile, the sum would amount to 45,000 pounds, or 145,000 of our present money. In the Saxon times, there were only computed 243,000 hides in England.

he never would for the future, except when solicited by the king himself, send any legate into England. Notwithstanding this engagement, the pope, as soon as he had suppressed his antagonist, granted the cardinal de Crema a legantine commission over that kingdom; and the king, who, by reason of his nephew's intrigues and invasions, found himself at that time in a dangerous situation, was obliged to submit to the exercise of this commission. A synod was called by the legate at London; where, among other canons, a vote passed, enacting severe penalties on the marriages of the clergy.\* The cardinal, in a public harangue, declared it to be an unpardonable enormity, that a priest should dare to consecrate and touch the body of Christ immediately after he had risen from the side of a strumpet; for that was the decent appellation which he gave to the wives of the clergy. But it happened, that the very next night, the officers of justice, breaking into a disorderly house, found the cardinal in bed with a courtesan; an incident which threw such ridicule upon him, that he immediately stole out of the kingdom: the synod broke up; and the canons against the marriage of clergymen were worse executed than ever.

Henry, in order to prevent this alternate revolution of concessions and encroachments, sent William, then archbishop of Canterbury, to remonstrate with the court of Rome against those abuses, and to assert the liberties of the English church. It was a usual maxim with every pope, when he found that he could not prevail in any pretension, to grant to princes or states a power which they had always exercised, to resume at a proper juncture the claim which seemed to be resigned, and to pretend that the civil magistrate had possessed the authority only from a special indulgence of the Roman pontiff. After this manner, the pope, finding that the French nation would not admit his claim of granting investitures, had passed a bull, giving the king that authority; and he now practised a like invention to elude the complaints of the king of England. He made the archbishop of Canterbury his legate, renewed his commission from time to time, and still pretended that the rights which that prelate had ever exercised as metropolitan, were entirely derived from the indulgence of the apostolic see. The English princes, and Henry in particular, who were glad to avoid any immediate contest of so dangerous a nature, commonly acquiesced by their silence in these pretensions of the court of Rome.†

\* It is remarkable that Huntingdon, who was a clergyman, as well as others, makes no apology for using such freedom with the fathers of the church; but says that the fact was notorious, and ought not to be concealed.

† The legates *a latere*, as they were called, were a kind of delegates, who possessed the full power of the pope in all the provinces committed to their charge, and were very busy in extending as well as exercising it. They nominated to all vacant benefices, assembled synods, and were anxious to maintain ecclesiastical privileges, which never could be fully protected without encroachments on the civil power. If there were the least concurrence or opposition, it was always supposed that the civil power was to give way: every deed which had the least pretence of holding any thing spiritual, as marriages, testaments, promissory oaths, were brought into the spiritual court, and could not be canvassed before a civil magistrate. These were the established laws of the church; and where a legate was sent immediately from Rome, he was sure to maintain the papal claims with the utmost rigour. But it was an advantage to the king to have the archbishop of Canterbury appointed legate, because the connexions of that prelate with the kingdom tended to moderate his measures.

As every thing in England remained in tranquillity, Henry took the opportunity of paying a visit to Normandy, to which he was invited, as well by his affection for that country, as by his tenderness for his daughter, the Empress Matilda, who was always his favourite. Some time after, that princess was delivered of a son, who received the name of Henry; and the king, further to ensure her succession, made all the nobility of England and Normandy renew the oath of fealty which they had already sworn to her. The joy of this event, and the satisfaction which he reaped from his daughter's company, who bore successively two other sons, made his residence in Normandy very agreeable to him; and he seemed determined to pass the remainder of his days in that country, when an incursion of the Welsh obliged him to think of returning into England. He was preparing for the journey, but was seized with a sudden illness at St. Dennis le Forment, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a food which always agreed better with his palate than his constitution. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving by will his daughter Matilda heir of all his dominions, without making any mention of her husband, Geoffrey, who had given him several causes of displeasure.

This prince was one of the most accomplished that has filled the English throne, and possessed all the great qualities both of body and mind, natural and acquired, which could fit him for the high station to which he attained. His person was manly, his countenance engaging, his eyes clear, serene, and penetrating. The affability of his address encouraged those who might be overawed by the sense of his dignity or of his wisdom; and though he often indulged his facetious humour, he knew how to temper it with discretion, and ever kept at a distance from all indecent familiarities with his courtiers. His superior eloquence and judgment would have given him an ascendancy even had he been born in a private station; and his personal bravery would have procured him respect, though it had been less supported by art and policy. By his great progress in literature, he acquired the name of *Beau clerc*, or the scholar; but his application to those sedentary pursuits abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government: and though the learning of that age was better fitted to corrupt than improve the understanding, his natural good sense preserved itself untainted, both from the pedantry and superstition which were then so prevalent among men of letters. His temper was susceptible of the sentiments as well of friendship as of resentment; and his ambition, though high, might be deemed moderate and reasonable, had not his conduct towards his brother and nephew showed that he was too much disposed to sacrifice to it all the maxims of justice and equity. But the total incapacity of Robert for government afforded his younger brother a reason or pretence for seizing the sceptre both of England and Normandy; and when violence and usurpation are once begun, necessity obliges a prince to continue in the same criminal course, and engages him in measures which his better judgment and sounder principles would otherwise have induced him to reject with warmth and indignation.

King Henry was much addicted to women; and historians mention no less than seven illegitimate sons and six daughters born to him. Hunting was



also one of his favourite amusements; and he exercised great rigour against those who encroached on the royal forests, which were augmented during his reign, though their number and extent were already too great. To kill a stag was as criminal as to murder a man: he made all the dogs be mutilated which were kept on the borders of his forests: and he sometimes deprived his subjects of the liberty of hunting on their own lands, or even cutting their own woods. In other respects he executed justice, and that with rigour; the best maxim which a prince in that age could follow.

According to Lingard, "Henry was naturally suspicious; and this disposition had been greatly encouraged by a knowledge of the clandestine attempts of his enemies. On one occasion the keeper of the treasures was convicted of a design on his life; on another, while he was marching through Wales, an arrow from an unknown hand struck him on the breast, but was repelled by the temper of his cuirass. Alarmed by these instances, he always kept on his guard, frequently changed his apartments, and when he retired to rest, ordered sentinels to be stationed at the door, and his sword and shield to be placed near his pillow.

"Henry seldom forgot an injury, though he would disguise his resentment under the mask of friendship. Fraud, and treachery, and violence, were used to ensnare those who had greatly offended him; and their portion was death or blindness, or perpetual imprisonment. A French poet who had satirized him, when captured, had his eyes put out by the king's order. His dissimulation equalled his other faults: Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, who had given unintentional offence by boasting his ability to rival the king in the magnificence of a monastery he was forming, just previous to his disgrace and ruin, being informed that he had been highly commended by the king, replied, 'Then I am undone, for I never knew him praise a man whom he did not intend to ruin.'"

Henry accumulated large treasures, and affected great pomp and magnificence on occasions of ceremony. He provided also for the continued splendour of the monarch by building or repairing the royal palaces. At Woodstock he enclosed a spacious park for deer, and added a menagerie of wild beasts. He also founded three monasteries, and endowed them liberally.

Stealing was first made capital in this reign: false coining, which was then a very common crime, and by which the money had been extremely debased, was severely punished by Henry. Near fifty criminals of this kind were at one time hanged or mutilated; and though these punishments seem to have been exercised in a manner somewhat arbitrary, they were grateful to the people, more attentive to present advantages than jealous of general laws. There is a code which passes under the name of Henry I., but the best antiquaries have agreed to think it spurious. It is, however, a very ancient compilation, and may be useful to instruct us in the manners and customs of the times. We learn from it, that a great distinction was then made between the English and Normans, much to the advantage of the latter. The deadly feuds, and the liberty of private revenge, which had been avowed by the Saxon laws, were still continued, and were not yet wholly illegal.

Among the laws granted on the king's accession, it is remarkable that the re-union of the civil and ecclesiastical courts, as in the Saxon times, was enacted. But this law, like the articles of his charter, remained without effect, probably from the opposition of Archbishop Anselm.

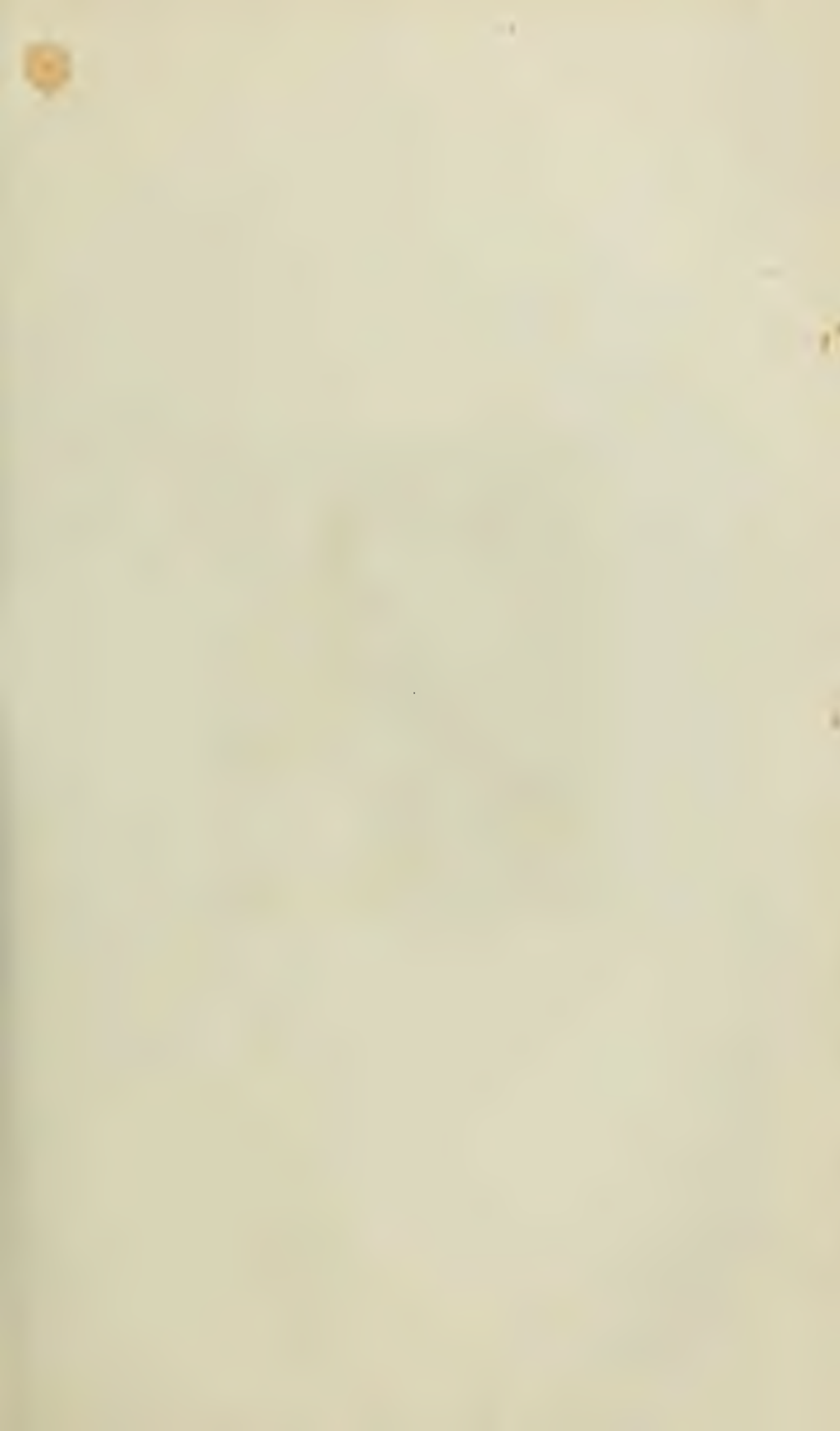
Henry, on his accession, granted a charter to London, which seems to have been the first step towards rendering that city a corporation. By this charter, the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middlesex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect its own sheriff and justiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown, and it was exempted from scot, Dane-gelt, trials by combat, and lodging the king's retinue. These, with a confirmation of the privileges of their court of hustings, wardmotes, and common halls, and their liberty of hunting in Middlesex and Surrey, are the chief articles of this charter.

It is said that this prince, from indulgence to his tenants, changed the rents of his demesnes, which were formerly paid in kind, into money, which was more easily remitted to the exchequer. But the great scarcity of coin would render that commutation difficult to be executed, while at the same time provisions could not be sent to a distant quarter of the kingdom. This affords a probable reason why the ancient kings of England so frequently changed their place of abode: they carried their court from one place to another, that they might consume upon the spot the revenue of their several demesnes.

Dr. Lingard gives the following interesting notice of the rapid improvement of the nation in literary pursuits under the Conqueror and his sons. Lanfranc and Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, had proved themselves worthy of their exalted station:—

"Their precepts and examples had awakened the curiosity of the clergy, and kindled an ardour for learning which can hardly be paralleled in the present age. Nor did this enthusiasm perish with its authors; it was kept alive by the honours which were so prodigally lavished on all who could boast of literary acquirements. The sciences which formed the usual course of education were divided into two classes, which still retain the appellations of a more barbarous age, the trivium, comprising grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and the quadrivium, or music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. It was from the works of the Latin writers, which had survived the wreck of the empire, that students sought to acquire the principal portion of their knowledge; but in the science of medicine, and the more abstruse investigations of the mathematics, the ancients were believed to be inferior to the Mahometan teachers; and many an Englishman, during the reign of Henry I., wandered as far as the banks of Ebro, in Spain, that he might listen to the instructions, or translate the works, of the Arabian philosophers.

"The first schools had been established in monasteries and cathedrals, by the zeal of their respective prelates. But now the ancient seminaries began to be neglected for others opened by men who sought for wealth and distinction by the public display of their abilities; and who established their schools wherever there was a prospect of attracting disciples. The new professors were soon animated with a spirit of competition, which, while it sharpened their faculties, perverted the usefulness of their labours. There







STEPHEN.

was no subject on which they would condescend to acknowledge their ignorance. Like their Arabian masters,\* discussed with equal warmth matters above their comprehension or beneath their notice. As their schools were open to every hearer, they had to support their peculiar opinions against all the subtlety and eloquence of their rivals; and on many occasions were compelled to argue in despite of common sense, rather than allow themselves to be vanquished. Hence the art of reasoning came to be valued as the first of intellectual acquirements. The student applied assiduously to the logic of Aristotle, and the subtlety of his Arabian commentators: words were substituted in the place of ideas: multiplied and unmeaning distinctions bewildered the understanding; and a system of scholastic disputation was introduced which the celebrated abbot of Clairvaux sarcastically defined to be 'the art of always seeking without ever finding the truth.'

"As the principal ecclesiastics in England were foreigners, they imported the foreign course of studies. Thus Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, procured teachers from Orleans, where he had been educated, and established them at Cotenham, a manor belonging to his convent. His object was to open, with their assistance, a school in the neighbouring town of Cambridge. At first a large barn sufficed for their accommodation: in the second year their disciples were so numerous that separate apartments were allotted to each master. Early in the morning the labours of the day were opened by brother Odo, who taught the children the rules of grammar according to Priscian; at six, Terrie read lectures on the logic of Aristotle; nine was the hour allotted to brother William, the expounder of the rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintilian; and before twelve master Gilbert explained to the theological students the difficult passages of the Holy Scriptures." This account, if it be genuine (which Dr. Lingard seems to believe it to be), discloses the real origin of the university of Cambridge. The date given to this institution is 1110.

"There were few among the scholars of Henry's reign who did not occasionally practise the art of composing in Latin verse. A few of them may certainly claim the praise of taste and elegance; but the majority seem to have aspired to no other excellence than that of adulterating the legitimate metre by the admixture of middle and final rhymes. Latin productions were however confined to the perusal and admiration of Latin scholars. The rich and the powerful, those who alone were able to reward the labours of the poet, were acquainted with no other language than their own, the Gallo-Norman, which since the conquest had been introduced into the court of the prince, and the hall of the baron, and was learned and spoken by every candidate for office and power. To amuse and delight these men arose a new race of versifiers, who neglected Latin composition for vernacular poetry. In their origin they were fostered by the patronage of the two queens of Henry, Matilda and Alice. Malmesbury assures us, that every

poet hastened to the court of Matilda, at Westminster, to read his verses to that princess, and to partake of her bounty; and the name of Alice is frequently mentioned with honour by contemporary versifiers, Gaimar, Benevit, and Philippe de Thaurin. The works of these writers are still extant in manuscript, and show that their authors knew little of the inspiration of poetry. The turgid metaphors, the abrupt transitions, and the rapid movements, so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon muse, though conceived in bad taste, showed at least indications of native genius; but the narratives of the Gallo-Norman poets are tame, prosaic, and interminable; and their authors seem to have known no beauty but the jingle of rhyme, and to have aimed at no excellence but that of spinning out their story to the greatest possible length. These poems, however, such as they were, delighted those for whom they were written, and, what was still better, brought wealth and popularity to their authors.

"During the reign of Henry, Geoffrey of Monmouth published his history of Britain, which he embellished with numerous tales respecting Arthur and his knights, Merlin and his prophecies, borrowed from the songs and traditions of the ancient Britons. This extraordinary work was accompanied by another of a similar description, the history of Charlemagne and his twelve peers, supposed to be compiled by Archbishop Turpin from the songs of the French trouvères; and about the same time the adventures of Alexander the Great, by the pretended Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, were brought by some of the crusaders into Europe. These three works supplied an inexhaustible store of matter for writers in prose and verse; the gests (*i. e.* the deeds) of Alexander, and Arthur, and Charlemagne, were repeated and embellished in a thousand forms; spells and enchantments, giants, hypogriphs, and dragons, ladies confined in durance by the power of necromancy, and delivered from confinement by the courage of their knights, captivated the imagination; and a new species of writing was introduced which retained its sway for centuries, and was known by the appellation of *romance*, because it was originally written in the Gallic idiom, an idiom corrupted from the ancient language of Rome."

## CHAPTER X.

### STEPHEN.

*Accession of Stephen—War with Scotland—Insurrection in favour of Matilda—Stephen taken prisoner—Matilda crowned—Stephen released—Restored to the Crown—Continuation of the Civil Wars—Compromise between the King and Prince Henry—Death of the King.*

In the progress and settlement of the feudal law, the male succession to fiefs had taken place some time before the female was admitted; and estates being considered as military benefices, not as property, were transmitted to such only as could serve in the armies, and perform in person the conditions upon which they were originally granted. But when the continuance of rights, during some generations, in the same family, had, in a great measure, obliterated the primitive idea

\* Thus we learn from Athelheard, "that if he had studied among the Moors, the causes of earthquakes, eclipses, and tides, he had also been employed in investigating the reasons why plants cannot be produced in fire, why the nose is made to hang over the mouth, why horns are not generated on the human forehead, whether the stars are animals, whether in that hypothesis they have any appetite, with many other questions equally singular and important."



the females were gradually admitted to the possession of feudal property; and the same revolution of principles which procured them the inheritance of private estates, naturally introduced their succession to government and authority. The failure, therefore, of male heirs to the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy, seemed to leave the succession open, without a rival, to the empress Matilda; and as Henry had made all his vassals in both states swear fealty to her, he presumed that they would not easily be induced to depart at once from her hereditary right, and from their own reiterated oaths and engagements. But the irregular manner in which he himself had acquired the crown might have instructed him, that neither his Norman nor English subjects were as yet capable of adhering to a strict rule of government; and as every precedent of this kind seems to give authority to new usurpations, he had reason to dread, even from his own family, some invasion of his daughter's title, which he had taken such pains to establish.

Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, had been married to Stephen, count of Blois, and had brought him several sons, among whom Stephen and Henry, the two youngest, had been invited over to England by the late king, and had received great honours, riches, and preferment, from the zealous friendship which that prince bore to every one that had been so fortunate as to acquire his favour and good opinion. Henry, who had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical profession, was created abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester; and though these dignities were considerable, Stephen had, from his uncle's liberality, attained establishments still more solid and durable. The king had married him to Matilda, who was daughter and heir of Eustace, count of Boulogne, and who brought him, besides that feudal sovereignty in France, an immense property in England, which in the distribution of lands had been conferred by the Conqueror on the family of Boulogne. Stephen also by this marriage acquired a new connexion with the royal family of England, as Mary, his wife's mother, was sister to David, the reigning king of Scotland, and to Matilda, the first wife of Henry, and mother of the empress. The king, still imagining that he strengthened the interests of his family by the aggrandisement of Stephen, took pleasure in enriching him by the grant of new possessions; and he conferred on him the great estate forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and that forfeited by the earl of Mortaigne in Normandy. Stephen, in return, professed great attachment to his uncle, and appeared so zealous for the succession of Matilda, that, when the barons swore fealty to that princess, he contended with Robert, earl of Gloucester, the king's natural son, who should first be admitted to give her this testimony of devoted zeal and fidelity. Meanwhile he continued to cultivate, by every art of popularity, the friendship of the English nation; and the many virtues with which he seemed to be endowed, favoured the success of his intentions. By his bravery, activity, and vigour, he acquired the esteem of the barons: by his generosity, and by an affable and familiar address, unusual in that age among men of his high quality, he obtained the affections of the people, particularly of the Londoners. And though he dared not to take any steps towards his further grandeur, lest he should expose himself to the jealousy of so penetrating a prince as Henry,

he still hoped that, by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might in time be able to open his way to the throne.

No sooner had Henry breathed his last than Stephen, insensible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, and blind to danger, gave full reins to his criminal ambition, and trusted that, even without any previous intrigue, the celerity of his enterprise, and the boldness of his attempt, might overcome the weak attachment which the English and Normans in that age bore to the laws and to the rights of their sovereign. He hastened over to England; and though the citizens of Dover, and those of Canterbury, apprised of his purpose, shut their gates against him, he stopped not till he arrived at London, where some of the lower rank, instigated by his emissaries, as well as moved by his general popularity, immediately saluted him king. His next point was to acquire the good will of the clergy; and by performing the ceremony of his coronation, he put himself in possession of the throne, from which he was confident it would not be easy afterwards to expel him. His brother, the bishop of Winchester, was useful to him in these capital articles: having gained Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who, though he owed a great fortune and advancement to the favour of the late king, preserved no sense of gratitude to that prince's family, he applied, in conjunction with that prelate, to William, archbishop of Canterbury, and required him, in virtue of his office, to give the royal unction to Stephen. The primate, who, as all the others, had sworn fealty to Matilda, refused to perform this ceremony; but his opposition was overcome by an expedient equally dishonourable with the other steps by which this revolution was effected. Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, made oath before the primate that the late king on his death-bed had shown a dissatisfaction with his daughter Matilda, and had expressed his intention of leaving the count of Boulogne heir to all his dominions. William, either believing, or feigning to believe, Bigod's testimony, anointed Stephen, and put the crown upon his head; and from this religious ceremony that prince, without any shadow either of hereditary title or consent of the nobility or people, was allowed to proceed to the exercise of sovereign authority. Very few barons attended his coronation; but none opposed his usurpation, however unjust or flagrant. The sentiment of religion, which, if corrupted into superstition, has often little efficacy in fortifying the duties of civil society, was not affected by the multiplied oaths taken in favour of Matilda, and only rendered the people obedient to a prince who was countenanced by the clergy, and who had received from the primate the rite of royal unction and consecration.\*

Stephen, that he might further secure his tottering throne, passed a charter, in which he made liberal promises to all orders of men; to the clergy, that he would speedily fill all vacant benefices, and would never levy the rents of any of them during the vacancy; to the nobility, that he would reduce the royal forests to their ancient boundaries, and correct all encroachments; and to the people, that he would remit the tax of Danegelt,

\* Such stress was formerly laid on the right of coronation, that the monkish writers never give any prince the title of king till he was crowned, though he had for some time been in possession of the crown, and exercised all the powers of sovereignty.

and restore the laws of King Edward. The late king had a great treasure at Winchester, amounting to a hundred thousand pounds; and Stephen, by seizing this money, immediately turned against Henry's family the precaution which that prince had employed for their grandeur and security: an event which naturally attends the policy of amassing treasures. By means of this money he insured the compliance, though not the attachment, of the principal clergy and nobility; but not trusting to this frail security, he invited over from the continent, particularly from Britany and Flanders, great numbers of those bravoes or disorderly soldiers, with whom every country in Europe, by reason of the general ill police and turbulent government, extremely abounded.—These mercenary troops guarded his throne by the terrors of the sword; and Stephen, that he might also overawe all malcontents by new and additional terrors of religion, procured a bull from Rome, which ratified his title, and which the pope, seeing this prince in possession of the throne, and pleased with an appeal to his authority in secular controversies, very readily granted him.

Matilda, and her husband Geoffrey, were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. The Norman nobility, moved by an hereditary animosity against the Angevins, first applied to Theobald count of Blois, Stephen's elder brother, for protection and assistance: but hearing afterwards that Stephen had got possession of the English crown, and having many of them the same reasons as formerly for desiring a continuance of their union with that kingdom, they transferred their allegiance to Stephen, and put him in possession of their government. Lewis the younger, the reigning king of France, accepted the homage of Eustace, Stephen's eldest son, for the duchy; and the more to corroborate his connexions with that family, he betrothed his sister Constantia to the young prince. The count of Blois resigned all his pretensions, and received in lieu of them an annual pension of two thousand marks; and Geoffrey himself was obliged to conclude a truce for two years with Stephen, on condition of the king's paying him, during that time, a pension of five thousand. Stephen, who had taken a journey to Normandy, finished all these transactions in person, and soon after returned to England.

Robert, earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, was a man of honour and abilities; and as he was much attached to the interests of his sister Matilda, and zealous for the lineal succession, it was chiefly from his intrigues and resistance that the king had reason to dread a new revolution of government. This nobleman, who was in Normandy when he received the intelligence of Stephen's accession, found himself much embarrassed concerning the measures which he should pursue in that difficult emergency. To swear allegiance to the usurper appeared to him dishonourable, and a breach of his oath to Matilda; to refuse giving this pledge of his fidelity, was to banish himself from England, and be totally incapacitated from serving the royal family, or contributing to their restoration. He offered Stephen to do him homage, and to take the oath of fealty; but with an express condition that the king should maintain all his stipulations, and should never invade any of Robert's rights or dignities: and Stephen, though sensible that this

reserve, so unusual in itself, and so unbefitting the duty of a subject, was meant only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the first favourable opportunity, was obliged, by the numerous friends and retainers of that nobleman, to receive him on those terms. The clergy, who could scarcely at this time be deemed subjects to the crown, imitated the dangerous example: they annexed to their oaths of allegiance this condition, that they were only bound so long as the king defended the ecclesiastical liberties, and supported the discipline of the church. The barons, in return for their submission, exacted terms still more destructive of public peace, as well as of royal authority: many of them required the right of fortifying their castles, and of putting themselves in a posture of defence; and the king found himself totally unable to refuse his consent to this exorbitant demand. All England was immediately filled with those fortresses, which the noblemen garrisoned either with their vassals, or with licentious soldiers, who flocked to them from all quarters. Unbounded rapine was exercised upon the people for the maintenance of these troops; and private animosities, which had with difficulty been restrained by law, now breaking out without control, rendered England a scene of uninterrupted violence and devastation. Wars between the nobles were carried on with the utmost fury in every quarter; the barons even assumed the right of coining money, and of exercising, without appeal, every act of jurisdiction; and the inferior gentry, as well as the people, finding no defence from the laws during this total dissolution of sovereign authority, were obliged, for their immediate safety, to pay court to some neighbouring chieftain, and to purchase his protection, both by submitting to his exactions, and by assisting him in his rapine upon others. The erection of one castle proved the immediate cause of building many others; and even those who obtained not the king's permission, thought that they were entitled by the great principle of self-preservation, to put themselves on an equal footing with their neighbours, who commonly were also their enemies and rivals. The aristocratical power, which is usually so oppressive in the feudal governments, had now risen to its utmost height during the reign of a prince who, though endowed with vigour and abilities, had usurped the throne without the pretence of a title, and who was necessitated to tolerate in others the same violence to which he himself had been beholden for his sovereignty.

But Stephen was not of a disposition to submit long to these usurpations, without making some effort for the recovery of royal authority. Finding that the legal prerogatives of the crown were resisted and abridged, he was also tempted to make his power the sole measure of his conduct; and to violate all those concessions which he himself had made on his accession, as well as the ancient privileges of his subjects. The mercenary soldiers, who chiefly supported his authority, having exhausted the royal treasure, subsisted by depredations; and every place was filled with the best-grounded complaints against the government. The earl of Gloucester, having now settled with his friends the plan of an insurrection, retired beyond sea, sent the king a defiance, solemnly renounced his allegiance, and upbraided him with the breach of those conditions which had been annexed to the oath of fealty sworn by



that nobleman. David, king of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defence of his niece's title, and, penetrating into Yorkshire, committed the most barbarous devastations on that country. The fury of his massacres and ravages enraged the northern nobility, who might otherwise have been inclined to join him; and William earl of Albemarle, Robert de Ferrers, William Percy, Robert de Brus, Roger Moubray, Ilbert Lacey, Walter l'Espece, powerful barons in those parts, assembled an army, with which they encamped at Northallerton, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. A great battle was here fought, called the battle of the *Standard*, from a high crucifix, erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign. The king of Scots was defeated, and he himself, as well as his son Henry, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English. This success overawed the malecontents in England, and might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, had he not been so elated with prosperity as to engage in a controversy with the clergy, who were at that time an overmatch for any monarch.

Though the great power of the church in ancient times weakened the authority of the crown, and interrupted the course of the laws, it may be doubted whether, in ages of such violence and outrage, it was not rather advantageous that some limits were set to the power of the sword, both in the hands of the prince and nobles, and that men were taught to pay regard to some principles and privileges. The chief misfortune was, that the prelates on some occasions acted entirely as barons, employed military power against their sovereign or their neighbours, and thereby often increased those disorders which it was their duty to repress. The bishop of Salisbury, in imitation of the nobility, had built two strong castles, one at Sherborne, another at the Devizes, and had laid the foundation of a third at Malmesbury: his nephew Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, had erected a fortress at Newark: and Stephen, who was now sensible from experience of the mischiefs attending these multiplied citadels, resolved to begin with destroying those of the clergy, who by their function seemed less entitled than the barons to such military securities. Making pretence of a fray which had arisen in court between the retinue of the bishop of Salisbury and that of the earl of Britany, he seized both that prelate and the bishop of Lincoln, threw them into prison, and obliged them by menaces to deliver up those places of strength which they had lately erected.

Henry, bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, being armed with a legantine commission, now conceived himself to be an ecclesiastical sovereign no less powerful than the civil; and forgetting the ties of blood which connected him with the king, he resolved to vindicate the clerical privileges, which he pretended were here openly violated. He assembled a synod at Westminster, and there complained of the impiety of Stephen's measures, who had employed violence against the dignitaries of the church, and had not awaited the sentence of a spiritual court, by which alone, he affirmed, they could lawfully be tried and condemned, if their conduct had anywise merited censure or punishment. The synod ventured to send a summons to the king, charging him to appear before them, and to justify his measures; and Stephen, instead of resenting this indignity, sent Aubrey de Vere to plead his cause

before that assembly. De Vere accused the two prelates of treason and sedition; but the synod refused to try the cause, or examine their conduct, till those castles, of which they had been dispossessed, were previously restored to them. The bishop of Salisbury declared that he would appeal to the pope; and had not Stephen and his partisans employed menaces, and even shown a disposition of executing violence by the hands of the soldiery, affairs had instantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre.

While this quarrel, joined to so many other grievances, increased the discontents among the people, the empress, invited by the opportunity, and secretly encouraged by the legate himself, landed in England, with Robert earl of Gloucester, and a retinue of a hundred and forty knights. She fixed her residence at Arundel castle, whose gates were opened to her by Adelais the queen dowager, now married to William de Albini earl of Sussex; and she excited by messengers her partisans to take arms in every county of England. Adelais, who had expected that her daughter-in-law would have invaded the kingdom with a much greater force, became apprehensive of danger; and Matilda, to ease her of her fears, removed first to Bristol, which belonged to her brother Robert, thence to Gloucester, where she remained under the protection of Milo, a gallant nobleman in those parts, who had embraced her cause.

With this narration it will be interesting to contrast Lingard's; who, in vivid and dramatic powers of description, surpasses all our other historians. He says, "Stephen soon appeared at the foot of the walls: the princesses were alarmed: the queen pleaded in excuse the duties of hospitality: the empress solicited permission to follow her brother: and such was the weakness or infatuation of the king, that to the astonishment of both friends and foes, he accepted the apology of the one, and granted the request of the other. If we may believe Malmesbury, this measure, so prejudicial to the royal interests, was nothing more than an act of courtesy, which no knight could refuse to his enemy. If we listen to the panegyrist of Stephen, it was the result of a false policy, which taught that the war would be easily suppressed, if it were confined to one corner of the island. He even hints that it was owing to the perfidious councils of the bishop of Winchester. It is certain indeed that Henry of late had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of his brother: it was rumoured that instead of intercepting the Earl Robert in his flight, he had even sought a private interview with that nobleman, and had bound himself to the interests of Matilda. To his care the empress was intrusted during her journey from Arundel to Bristol."

Soon after Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, William Fitz-John, William Fitz-Alan, Paganell, and many other barons, declared for her; and her party, which was generally favoured in the kingdom, seemed every day to gain ground upon that of her antagonist.

We were to relate all the military events transmitted to us by contemporary and authentic historians, it would be easy to swell our accounts of this reign into a large volume: but those incidents, so little memorable in themselves, and so confused both in time and place, could afford neither instruction nor entertainment to the reader. It suffices to say, that the war was spread into every quarter; and that those turbulent barons,

who had already shaken off, in a great measure, the restraint of government, having now obtained the pretence of a public cause, carried on their devastations with redoubled fury, exercised implacable vengeance on each other, and set no bounds to their oppressions over the people. The castles of the nobility were become receptacles of licensed robbers; who, sallying forth day and night, committed spoil on the open country, on the villages, and even on the cities; put the captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treasures; sold their persons to slavery, and set fire to their houses, after they had pillaged them of everything valuable. The fierceness of their dispositions leading them to commit wanton destruction, frustrated the rapacity of its purpose, and the poverty and persons even of the ecclesiastics, generally so much revered, were at last, from necessity, exposed to the same outrage which had laid waste the rest of the kingdom. The land was left untillied; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned; and a grievous famine, the natural result of those disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most extreme want and indigence.

Lingard gives the following description of the castles of this period. "*The Keep*, the lords' residence, was surrounded at a convenient distance by a wall about twelve feet high, surmounted by a parapet, and flanked with towers. Without the wall was excavated a deep moat, over which a drawbridge was thrown, protected by a tower called the barbican, on the external margin of the moat. This formed the outward defence of the place. The *keep* was a strong square building with walls about ten feet thick and five stories in height. Of these the lowermost consisted of dungeons for the confinement of captives: the second contained the lord's stores: the next served for the accommodation of the garrison: in the fourth were the state rooms of the baron, and the uppermost was divided into sleeping apartments for his family. The only portal or entrance was fixed in the second or third story, and generally led through a small tower into the body of the keep. The ascent was by a flight of steps fixed in the wall, and carefully fortified to prevent the entrance of an enemy. About the middle stood a strong gate, which it was necessary to force open: on the landing place was a draw-bridge: and then came the door itself protected by a *herse* or portcullis, which ran in a groove, and was studded with spikes of iron. It is not surprising that fortresses of this description should have withstood the efforts of the most powerful monarchs before the invention of cannon."

After several fruitless negotiations and treaties of peace, which interrupted these destructive hostilities, there happened at last an event which seemed to promise some end of the public calamities.

We must again prefer Lingard's narration to that of Hume: had he added to this art of agreeable description the philosophic penetration and judgment of the latter, he would have been an unvalued historian.

"At length in an evil hour Stephen was persuaded to besiege the castle of Lincoln, which had been surprised by Ranulf, earl of Chester, a nobleman who had offered his services to both the king and the empress, and who had been equally mistrusted by both. Confiding his wife and fa-

mily to the faith of the garrison, Ranulf escaped through the besieging army, and flew to implore the assistance of the earl of Gloucester. With ten thousand men Robert hastened to surprise the king; but when he had swum across the Trent, found the royal army drawn up to receive him. Stephen, with the most trusty of his adherents, had dismounted, and placed himself at the foot of his standard; each flank was protected by a small squadron of horse, under the command of noblemen of suspicious fidelity. At the first shock the cavalry fled: the mass of infantry, animated by the presence of the king, firmly withstood the efforts of the multitude by which it was surrounded. Stephen fought with the energy of despair; his battle-axe was broken; his sword was shivered; a stone brought him to the ground; and William de Kains, seizing him by the helmet, claimed him as his prisoner. Still he struggled with his opponents, and refused to surrender to any man but his cousin of Gloucester. The earl took possession of the captive, and presented him to Matilda. The conduct of that princess does little honour to her humanity, Stephen was loaded with chains, and confined in the castle of Bristol, though to justify such rigour, it was pretended that he had drawn it upon himself by his repeated attempts to escape."

Stephen's party was entirely broken by the captivity of their leader, and the barons came in daily from all quarters, and did homage to Matilda. The princess, however, amidst all her prosperity, knew that she was not secure of success, unless she could gain the confidence of the clergy; and as the conduct of the legate had been of late very ambiguous, and showed his intentions to have rather aimed at humbling his brother, than totally ruining him, she employed every endeavour to fix him in her interests. She held a conference with him in an open plain near Winchester; where she promised upon oath that if he would acknowledge her for sovereign, would recognise her title as the sole descendant of the late king, and would again submit to the allegiance which he, as well as the rest of the king's house, had sworn to her, he should in return be entire master of the administration, and in particular should, at his pleasure, dispose of all vacant bishoprics and abbeys. Earl Robert, her brother, Brian Fitz-Count, Milo of Gloucester, and other great men, became guarantees for her observing these engagements; and the prelate was at last induced to promise her allegiance, but that was still burdened with the express condition, that she should on her part fulfil her promises. He then conducted her to Winchester, led her in procession to the cathedral, and with great solemnity, in the presence of many bishops and abbots, denounced curses against all those who cursed her, poured out blessings on those who blessed her, granted absolution to such as were obedient to her, and excommunicated such as were rebellious. Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, soon after came also to court, and swore allegiance to the empress.

Matilda, that she might further insure the attachment of the clergy, was willing to receive the crown from their hands; and instead of assembling the states of the kingdom, the measure which the constitution had it been either fixed or regarded, seemed necessarily to require, she was content, that the legate should summon an ecclesiastical synod, and that her title to the throne should



there be acknowledged. The legate, addressing himself to the assembly, told them, that in the absence of the empress, Stephen his brother had been permitted to reign, and, previously to his ascending the throne, had seduced them by many fair promises of honouring and exalting the church, of maintaining the laws, and of reforming all abuses: that it grieved him to observe how much that prince had in every particular been wanting to his engagements; public peace was interrupted, crimes were daily committed with impunity, bishops were thrown into prison and forced to surrender their possessions, abbays were put to sale, churches were pillaged, and the most enormous disorders prevailed in the administration: that he himself, in order to procure a redress of these grievances, had formerly summoned the king before a council of bishops; but instead of inducing him to amend his conduct, had rather offended him by that expedient: that, how much soever misguided, that prince was still his brother, and the object of his affections; but his interests, however, must be regarded as subordinate to those of their heavenly Father, who had now rejected him, and thrown him into the hands of his enemies: that it principally belonged to the clergy to elect and ordain kings; he had summoned them together for that purpose; and having invoked the divine assistance, he now pronounced Matilda the only descendant of Henry, their late sovereign, queen of England. The whole assembly, by their acclamations or silence, gave, or seemed to give, their assent to this declaration.\*

The only laymen summoned to this council, which decided the fate of the crown, were the Londoners; and even these were required not to give their opinion, but to submit to the decrees of the synod. The deputies of London, however, were not so passive: they insisted that their king should be delivered from prison; but were told by the legate, that it became not the Londoners, who were regarded as noblemen in England, to take part with those barons, who had basely forsaken their lord in battle, and who had treated the holy church with contumely. It is with reason that the citizens of London assumed so much authority, if it be true, what is related by Fitz-Stephen, a contemporary author, that that city could at this time bring into the field no less than 80,000 combatants.†

London, notwithstanding its great power, and its attachment to Stephen, was at length obliged to submit to Matilda; and her authority, by the prudent conduct of Earl Robert, seemed to be established over the whole kingdom: but affairs remained not long in this situation. That princess, besides the disadvantages of her sex, which weakened her influence over a turbulent and martial people, was of a passionate, imperious spirit, and knew not how to temper with affability the harshness of a refusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by

many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her husband; and offered, that, on this condition, he should renounce the crown, and retire into a convent. The legate desired that Prince Eustace, his nephew, might inherit Boulogne and the other patrimonial estates of his father: the Londoners applied for the establishment of King Edward's laws, instead of those of King Henry, which, they said, were grievous and oppressive. All these petitions were rejected in the most haughty and peremptory manner.

The legate, who had probably never been sincere in his compliance with Matilda's government, availed himself of the ill humour excited by this imperious conduct, and secretly instigated the Londoners to a revolt. A conspiracy was entered into to seize the person of the empress; and she saved herself from the danger by a precipitate retreat. She fled to Oxford: soon after she went to Winchester; whither the legate, desirous to save appearances, and watching the opportunity to ruin her cause, had retired. But having assembled all his retainers, he openly joined his force to that of the Londoners, and to Stephen's mercenary troops, who had not yet evacuated the kingdom; and he besieged Matilda in Winchester. The princess, being hard pressed by famine, made her escape; but in the flight, Earl Robert, her brother, fell into the hands of the enemy.\* This nobleman, though a subject, was as much the life and soul of his own party, as Stephen was of the other; and the empress, sensible of his merit and importance, consented to exchange the prisoners on equal terms. The civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever.

Earl Robert, finding the successes on both sides nearly balanced, went over to Normandy, which, during Stephen's captivity, had submitted to the earl of Anjou; and he persuaded Geoffrey to allow his eldest son Henry, a young prince of great hopes, to take a journey into England, and appear at the head of his partisans. This expedient, however produced nothing decisive. Stephen took Oxford after a long siege.

The account of Matilda's escape is thus given by Lingard:—

"It was a severe frost, and the ground was covered with snow. Attended by three knights, clothed in white, she issued at a very early hour from a portal: the nearest sentinel, who had been previously bribed, conducted her in silence between the posts of the enemy: the ice bore her across the Thames; she reached Abingdon on foot, and thence rode with expedition to Wallingford."

Stephen was defeated by Earl Robert at Wilton; and the empress though of a masculine spirit, yet being harassed with a variety of good and bad fortune, and alarmed with continual dangers to her person and family, at last retired into Normandy, whither she had sent her son some time before. The death of her brother, which happened nearly about the same time, would have proved fatal to her interests, had not some incidents occurred, which checked the course of Stephen's prosperity. This prince, finding that the castles built by the noblemen of his own party encouraged the spirit of independence, and

\* W. Malmesbury. This author, a judicious man, was present, and says, that he was very attentive to what passed. This speech, therefore, may be regarded as entirely genuine.

† Were this account to be depended upon, London must at that time have contained near 400,000 inhabitants, which is almost double the number it contained at the death of Queen Elizabeth. But these loose estimations, or rather guesses, deserve very little credit. Peter of Blois, a contemporary writer, and a man of sense, says there were then only 40,000 inhabitants in London, which is much more likely. What Fitz-Stephen says of the prodigious riches, splendour, and commerce of London, proves only the great poverty of the other towns in the kingdom, and indeed of all the northern parts of Europe.

\* An old author of no very great repute says, that Matilda, not finding herself in security at the castle of Devizes, where she had sought refuge, was placed on a bier like a corpse, and drawn on a hearse from that castle to Gloucester. Had the story been true, it would certainly have been known and mentioned by other writers of the time.—Lingard.

were little less dangerous than those which remained in the hands of the enemy; endeavoured to extort from them a surrender of those fortresses; and he alienated the affections of many of them by this equitable demand. The church also, which his brother had brought over to his side, had, after some interval, joined the other party. Eugenius III. had mounted the papal throne; the bishop of Winchester was deprived of the legantine commission, which was conferred on Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, the enemy and rival of the former legate. That pontiff also having summoned a general council at Rheims in Champagne, instead of allowing the church of England, as had been usual, to elect its own deputies, nominated five English bishops to represent that church, and required their attendance in the council. Stephen, who notwithstanding his present difficulties, was jealous of the rights of his crown, refused them permission to attend; and the pope, sensible of his advantage in contending with a prince who reigned by a disputed title, took revenge by laying all Stephen's party under an interdict. The discontents of the royalists, at being thrown into this situation, were augmented by a comparison with Matilda's party, who enjoyed all the benefits of the sacred ordinances; and Stephen was at last obliged, by making proper submissions to the see of Rome, to remove the reproach from his party.

The weakness of both sides, rather than any decrease of mutual animosity, having produced a tacit cessation of arms in England, many of the nobility, Roger de Moubray, William de Warenne, and others, finding no opportunity to exert their military ardour at home, enlisted themselves in a new crusade, which with surprising success, after former disappointments and misfortunes, was now preached by St. Bernard. But an event soon after happened which threatened a revival of hostilities in England. Prince Henry, who had reached his sixteenth year, was desirous of receiving the honour of knighthood; a ceremony which every gentleman in that age passed through before he was admitted to the use of arms, and which was deemed requisite for the greatest princes. He intended to receive his admission from his great uncle, David king of Scotland; and for that purpose he passed through England with a great retinue, and was attended by the most considerable of his partisans. He remained some time with the king of Scotland; made incursions into England; and by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exercises, by his valour in war, and his prudent conduct in every occurrence, he roused the hopes of his party, and gave symptoms of those great qualities which he afterwards displayed when he mounted the throne of England. Soon after his return to Normandy, he was, by Matilda's consent, invested in that duchy; and upon the death of his father Geoffrey, which happened in the subsequent year, he took possession both of Anjou and Maine, and concluded a marriage, which brought him a great accession of power, and rendered him extremely formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heir of William duke of Guienne, and earl of Poitou, had been married sixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a crusade, which that monarch conducted against the infidels: but having there lost the affections of her husband, and even fallen under some suspicion of gallantry with a handsome Saracen,

Lewis, more delicate than polite, procured a divorce from her, and restored her those rich provinces which by her marriage she had annexed to the crown of France. Young Henry, neither discouraged by the inequality of years, nor by the reports of Eleanor's gallantry, made successful courtship to that princess, and espousing her six weeks after her divorce, got possession of all her dominions as her dowry. The lustre which he received from this acquisition, and the prospect of his rising fortune, had such an effect in England, that when Stephen, desirous to insure the crown to his son Eustace, required the archbishop of Canterbury to anoint that prince as his successor, the primate refused compliance, and made his escape beyond sea, to avoid the violence and resentment of Stephen.

Henry, informed of these dispositions in the people, made an invasion on England: having gained some advantage over Stephen at Malmesbury, and having taken that place, he proceeded thence to throw succours into Wallingford, to which the king had advanced with a superior army to besiege. A decisive action was every day expected; when the great men of both sides, terrified at the prospect of further bloodshed and confusion, interposed with their good offices, and set on foot a negotiation between the rival princes. The death of Eustace, during the course of the treaty, facilitated its conclusion: an accommodation was settled, by which it was agreed, that Stephen should possess the crown during his lifetime, that justice should be administered in his name, even in the provinces which had submitted to Henry, and that this latter prince should, on Stephen's demise, succeed to the kingdom, and William, Stephen's son, to Boulogne and his patrimonial estate. After all the barons had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry, as to the heir of the crown, that prince evacuated the kingdom; and the death of Stephen, which happened the next year, after a short illness, prevented all those quarrels and jealousies, which were likely to have ensued in so delicate a situation.

England suffered great miseries during the reign of this prince: but his personal character, allowing for the temerity and injustice of his usurpation, appears not liable to any great exception; and he seems to have been well qualified, had he succeeded by a just title, to have promoted the happiness and prosperity of his subjects. He was possessed of industry, activity, and courage, to a great degree; though not endowed with a sound judgment, he was not deficient in abilities; he had the talent of gaining men's affections; and, notwithstanding his precarious situation, he never indulged himself in the exercise of any cruelty or revenge. His advancement to the throne procured him neither tranquillity nor happiness; and though the situation of England prevented the neighbouring states from taking any durable advantage of her confusions, her intestine disorders were to the last degree ruinous and destructive. The court of Rome was also permitted, during those civil wars, to make further advances in her usurpations; and appeals to the pope, which had always been strictly prohibited by the English laws, became now common in every ecclesiastical controversy.

Lingard says, the principal cause of the calamities of this reign "may be traced to the castles which covered the face of the country. Wherever



one of these fortresses was erected, several others, for the purpose of protection, immediately arose around it. But some took not the trouble to build; they seized and fortified the nearest churches. Thus the abbey of Ramsey was converted into a castle.

"In addition to those which existed at Stephen's accession, no fewer than a hundred and twenty-six were fortified during his reign. The owners, secure within their walls and moats, conceived themselves freed from all restraints of justice and law. They plundered the lands in the neighbourhood, carried off the inhabitants, and confined in dungeons the most respectable of their captives. There every species of torture was employed to extort from the sufferers an enormous ransom, or a discovery of the place in which their property was concealed. Some were suspended by the feet in a volume of smoke; others were hanged up by the thumbs, while plates of heated metal were applied to the soles of the feet. Hunger and thirst, knotted cords twisted with violence round the temples, and pressure in a large trunk, the bottom of which was strewed with broken stones, were favourite modes of torture; but Philip Gay, a kinsman of the earl of Gloucester, had the merit of inventing a new and more formidable contrivance, which was afterwards adopted by several of these petty tyrants. This was the "Sachentege," or culprit's halter; a heavy engine of iron studded with sharp points, and made to encircle the neck, and press upon the shoulders, so that the sufferer could neither sit, stand, nor lie, without the most acute pain. It sometimes happened that the cruelty of these barbarians wrought its own punishment. The husbandmen fled from the neighbourhood of the castle: the lands were left barren; and, as provisions could only be procured by force, the garrison was reduced to the verge of famine. The fugitives usually retired to some of the ecclesiastical establishments, where they built their miserable hovels against the walls of the church, and begged a scanty pittance of bread from the charity of the clergy or monks. But even here they could not promise themselves security. The curses, which were perpetually denounced against the invaders of ecclesiastical property, were despised; and the churches themselves, with those who served them, were swept away by the lawless and sacrilegious banditti. Such was the desolation of the land, say two contemporary historians, that villages and towns were left destitute of inhabitants; and in many parts a man might ride a whole day without discovering on his route one human being."

## CHAPTER XI.

### HENRY, II.

*State of Europe—of France—First acts of Henry's Government—Disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical powers—Thomas a Becket, archbishop of Canterbury—Quarrel between the king and Becket—Constitutions of Clarendon—Banishment of Becket—Compromise with him—His return from banishment—His murder—Grief and submission of the king.*

THE extensive confederacies, by which the European potentates are now at once united and set

in opposition to each other, and which, though they are apt to diffuse the least spark of dissension throughout the whole, are at least attended with this advantage, that they prevent any violent revolutions or conquests in particular states, were totally unknown in ancient ages; and the theory of foreign politics in each kingdom formed a speculation much less complicated and involved than at present. Commerce had not yet bound together the most distant nations in so close a chain: wars finished in one campaign and often in one battle, were little affected by the movements of remote states: the imperfect communication among the kingdoms, and their ignorance of each other's situation, made it impracticable for a great number of them to combine in one project or effort: and above all, the turbulent spirit and independent situation of the barons or great vassals in each state, gave so much occupation to the sovereign, that he was obliged to confine his attention chiefly to his own state and his own system of government, and was more indifferent about what passed among his neighbours. Religion alone, not politics, carried abroad the views of princes; while it either fixed their thoughts on the Holy Land, whose conquest and defence were deemed a point of common honour and interest, or engaged them in intrigues with the Roman pontiff, to whom they had yielded the direction of ecclesiastical affairs, and who was every day assuming more authority than they were willing to allow him.

Before the conquest of England by the duke of Normandy, this island was as much separated from the rest of the world in politics as in situation; and except from the incursions of the Danish pirates, the English happily confined at home, had neither enemies nor allies on the continent. The foreign dominions of William connected them with the king and great vassals of France; and while the opposite pretensions of the pope and emperor in Italy produced a continual intercourse between Germany and that country, the two great monarchs of France and England formed, in another part of Europe, a separate system, and carried on their wars and negotiations, without meeting either with opposition or support from the others.

On the decline of the Carolingian race, the nobles in every province of France, taking advantage of the weakness of the sovereign, and obliged to provide each for his own defence, against the ravages of the Norman freebooters, had assumed, both in civil and military affairs, an authority almost independent, and had reduced within very narrow limits the prerogative of their princes. The accession of Hugh Capet, by annexing a great fief to the crown, had brought some addition to the royal dignity; but this fief though considerable for a subject, appeared a narrow basis of power for a prince who had been placed at the head of so great a community. The royal demesnes consisted only of Paris, Orleans, Estampes, Compiègne, and a few places scattered over the northern provinces: in the rest of the kingdom, the prince's authority was rather nominal than real: the vassals were accustomed, nay, entitled, to make war without his permission, on each other: they were even entitled, if they conceived themselves injured, to turn their arms against their sovereign: they exercised all civil jurisdiction, without appeal, over their tenants and inferior vassals: their common jealousy of



HENRY II.





the crown easily united them against any attempt on their exorbitant privileges; and as some of them had attained the power and authority of great princes, even the smallest baron was sure of immediate and effectual protection. Besides six ecclesiastical peerages, which, with the other immunities of the church, cramped extremely the general execution of justice, there were six lay peerages, Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne, Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne, which formed very extensive and puissant sovereignties. And though the combination of all those princes and barons could, on urgent occasions, muster a mighty power; yet was it very difficult to set that great machine in movement; it was almost impossible to preserve harmony in its parts; a sense of common interest alone could, for a time, unite them under their sovereign against a common enemy; but if the king attempted to turn the force of the community against any mutinous vassal, the same sense of common interest made the others oppose themselves to the success of his pretensions. Lewis the Gross, the last sovereign, marched at one time to his frontiers against the Germans at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men; but a petty lord of Corbeil, of Puiset, of Couci, was able at another period, to set that prince at defiance, and to maintain open war against him.

The authority of the English monarch was much more extensive within his kingdom, and the disproportion much greater between him and the most powerful of his vassals. His demesnes and revenue were large compared to the greatness of his state: he was accustomed to levy arbitrary exactions on his subjects: his courts of judicature extended their jurisdiction into every part of the kingdom: he could crush by his power, or by a judicial sentence, well or ill founded, any obnoxious baron: and though the feudal institution which prevailed in his kingdom had the same tendency as in other states, to exalt the aristocracy and depress the monarchy, it required, in England, according to its present constitution, a great combination of the vassals to oppose their sovereign lord, and there had not hitherto arisen any baron so powerful as of himself to levy war against the prince, and afford protection to the inferior barons.

While such were the different situations of France and England, and the latter enjoyed so many advantages above the former; the accession of Henry II., a prince of great abilities, possessed of so many rich provinces on the continent, might appear an event dangerous, if not fatal, to the French monarchy, and sufficient to break entirely the balance between the states. He was master in the right of his father, of Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, the Limousin. He soon after annexed Brittany to his other states, and was already possessed of the superiority over that province, which, on the first cession of Normandy to Rollo the Dane, had been granted by Charles the Simple in vassalage to that formidable ravager. These provinces composed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and were much superior in extent and opulence to those territories which were subjected to the immediate jurisdiction and government of the king. The vassal was here more powerful than his liege lord: the situation which had enabled

Hugh Capet to depose the Carolingian princes, seemed to be renewed, and that with much greater advantage on the side of the vassal: and when England was added to so many provinces, the French king had reason to apprehend, from this conjuncture, some great disaster to himself and to his family: but, in reality, it was this circumstance, which appeared so formidable, that saved the Capetian race, and by its consequences exalted them to that pitch of grandeur which they at present enjoy.

The limited authority of the prince in the feudal constitutions, prevented the king of England from employing with advantage the force of so many states, which were subjected to his government; and these different members, disjoined in situation, and disagreeing in laws, language, and manners, were never thoroughly cemented into one monarchy. He soon became, both from his distant place of residence, and from the incompatibility of interests, a kind of foreigner to his French dominions; and his subjects on the continent considered their allegiance as more naturally due to their superior lord, who lived in their neighbourhood, and who was acknowledged to be the supreme head of their nation. He was always at hand to invade them; their immediate lord was often at too great a distance to protect them; and any disorder in any part of his dispersed dominions gave advantages against him. The other powerful vassals of the French crown were rather pleased to see the expulsion of the English, and were not affected with that jealousy which could have arisen from the oppression of a co-vassal who was of the same rank with themselves. By this means, the king of France found it more easy to conquer those numerous provinces from England, than to subdue a duke of Normandy or Guienne, a count of Anjou, Maine, or Poitou. And after reducing such extensive territories, which immediately incorporated with the body of the monarchy, he found greater facility in uniting to the crown the other great fiefs which still remained separate and independent.

But as these important consequences could not be foreseen by human wisdom, the king of France remarked with terror the rising grandeur of the house of Anjou or Plantagenet; and, in order to retard its progress, he had ever maintained a strict union with Stephen, and had endeavoured to support the tottering fortunes of that bold usurper. But after this prince's death it was too late to think of opposing the succession of Henry, or preventing the performance of those stipulations which, with the unanimous consent of the nation, he had made with his predecessor. The English, harassed with civil wars, and disgusted with the bloodshed and depredations which, during the course of so many years, had attended them, were little disposed to violate their oaths, by excluding the lawful heir from the succession of their monarchy. Many of the most considerable fortresses were in the hands of his partisans; the whole nation had had occasion to see the noble qualities with which he was endowed, and to compare them with the mean talents of William, the son of Stephen; and as they were acquainted with his great power, and were rather pleased to see the accession of so many foreign dominions to the crown of England, they never entertained the least thoughts of resisting them. Henry himself, sensible of the advantages attending his present situation, was in no hurry to ar-



rive in England; and being engaged in the siege of a castle on the frontiers of Normandy, when he received intelligence of Stephen's death, he made it a point of honour not to depart from his enterprise, till he had brought it to an issue. He then set out on his journey, and was received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men, who swore with pleasure the oath of fealty and allegiance to him.

The first act of Henry's government corresponded to the high idea entertained of his abilities, and prognosticated the re-establishment of justice and tranquillity, of which the kingdom had so long been bereaved. He immediately dismissed all those mercenary soldiers who had committed great disorders in the nation; and he sent them abroad, together with William of Ypres, their leader, the friend and confidant of Stephen. He revoked all the grants made by his predecessor, even those which necessity had extorted from the empress Matilda; and that princess, who had resigned her rights in favour of Henry, made no opposition to a measure so necessary for supporting the dignity of the crown. He repaired the coin, which had been extremely debased during the reign of his predecessor; and he took proper measures against the return of a like abuse. He was rigorous in the execution of justice, and in the suppression of robbery and violence; and that he might restore authority to the laws, he caused all the new-erected castles to be demolished, which had proved so many sanctuaries to freebooters and rebels. The earl of Albemarle, Hugh Mortimer, and Roger the son of Milo of Gloucester, were inclined to make some resistance to this salutary measure; but the approach of the king with his forces soon obliged them to submit.

Everything being restored to full tranquillity in England, Henry went abroad in order to oppose the attempts of his brother Geoffrey, who during his absence had made an incursion into Anjou and Maine, had advanced some pretensions to those provinces, and had got possession of a considerable part of them.\* On the king's appearance, the people returned to their allegiance; and Geoffrey, resigning his claim for an annual pension of a thousand pounds, departed and took possession of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled Count Hoel their prince, had put into his hands. Henry returned to England the following year: the incursions of the Welsh then provoked him to make an invasion upon them; where the natural fastnesses of the country occasioned him great difficulties, and even brought him into danger. His vanguard being engaged in a narrow pass, was put to rout: Henry de Essex, the hereditary standard-bearer, seized with a panic, threw down the standard, took to flight, and exclaimed that the king was slain: and had not the prince immediately appeared in person, and led on his troops with great gallantry, the consequence might have proved

fatal to the whole army. For this misbehaviour, Essex was afterwards accused of felony by Robert de Montfort; was vanquished in single combat; his estate was confiscated; and he himself was thrust into a convent. The submissions of the Welsh procured them an accommodation with England.

The martial disposition of the princes in that age engaged them to head their own armies in every enterprise, even the most frivolous; and their feeble authority made it commonly impracticable for them to delegate, on occasion, the command to their generals. Geoffrey, the king's brother, died soon after he had acquired possession of Nantz: though he had no other title to that county than the voluntary submission or election of the inhabitants two years before, Henry laid claim to the territory as devolved to him by hereditary right, and he went over to support his pretensions by force of arms. Conan, duke or earl of Britany (for these titles are given indifferently by historians to those princes), pretended that Nantz had been lately separated by rebellion from his principality, to which of right it belonged; and immediately on Geoffrey's death he took possession of the disputed territory. Lest Lewis the French king should interpose in the controversy, Henry paid him a visit; and so allured him by caresses and civilities, that an alliance was contracted between them; and they agreed that young Henry, heir to the English monarchy, should be affianced to Margaret of France; though the former was only five years of age, the latter was still in her cradle. Henry, now secure of meeting with no interruption on this side, advanced with his army into Britany; and Conan, in despair of being able to make resistance, delivered up the county of Nantz to him. The able conduct of the king procured him further and more important advantages from this incident. Conan, harassed with the turbulent disposition of his subjects, was desirous of procuring to himself the support of so great a monarch; and he betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey the king's third son, who was of the same tender years. The duke of Britany died about seven years after; and Henry being *mesne* lord, and also natural guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, put himself in possession of that principality, and annexed it for the present to his other great dominions.

The king had a prospect of making still further acquisitions; and the activity of his temper suffered no opportunity of that kind to escape him. Philippa, duchess of Guienne, mother of Queen Eleanor, was the only issue of William IV. count of Toulouse; and would have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, desirous of preserving the succession in the male line, conveyed the principality to his brother Raymond de St. Gilles, by a contract of sale which was in that age regarded as fictitious and illusory. By this means the title to the county of Toulouse came to be disputed between the male and female heirs; and the one or the other, as opportunities favoured them, had obtained possession. Raymond, grandson of Raymond de St. Gilles, was the reigning sovereign; and on Henry's reviving his wife's claim, this prince had recourse for protection to the king of France, who was so much concerned in policy to prevent the further aggrandizement of the English monarch. Lewis himself, when married to Eleanor, had asserted the justice of

\* William of Newbridge (who is copied by later historians) asserts, that Geoffrey had some title to the counties of Maine and Anjou. He pretends that Count Geoffrey, his father, had put him these dominions by a secret will, and had ordered that his body should not be buried till Henry should assent to the observance of it, which he, ignorant of the contents, was induced to do. But besides that this story is not very likely in itself, and savours of monkish fiction, it is found in another ancient writer, and is contradicted by some at home, particularly the monk of Marmoutier, who had better opportunities than Newbridge of knowing the truth.

her claim, and had demanded possession of Toulouse, but his sentiments changing with his interest, he now determined to defend by his power and authority the title of Raymond. Henry found that it would be requisite to support his pretensions against potent antagonists; and that nothing but a formidable army could maintain a claim which he had in vain asserted by arguments and manifestos.

An army, composed of feudal vassals, was commonly very intractable and undisciplined, both because of the independent spirit of the persons who served in it, and because the commands were not given, either by the choice of the sovereign or from the military capacity and experience of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vassals: his rank was greater or less, proportioned to the extent of his property: even the supreme command under the prince was often attached to birth: and as the military vassals were obliged to serve only forty days at their own charge; though, if the expedition were distant, they were put to great expense; the prince reaped little benefit from their attendance. Henry, sensible of these inconveniences, levied upon his vassals in Normandy, and other provinces which were remote from Toulouse, a sum of money in lieu of their service; and this commutation, by reason of the great distance, was still more advantageous to his English vassals. He imposed, therefore, a scutage of 160,000 pounds on the knights' fees, a commutation to which, though it was unusual, and the first perhaps to be met with in history,\* the military tenants willingly submitted; and with this money he levied an army which was more under his command, and whose service was more durable and constant. Assisted by Berenger count of Barcelona, and Trincaval count of Nismes, whom he had gained to his party, he invaded the county of Toulouse; and after taking Verdun, Castelnau, and other places, he besieged the capital of the province, and was likely to prevail in the enterprise; when Lewis, advancing before the arrival of his main body, threw himself into the place with a small reinforcement. Henry was urged by some of his ministers to prosecute the siege, to take Lewis prisoner, and to impose his own terms in the pacification; but he either thought it so much his interest to maintain his feudal principles, by which his foreign dominions were secured, or bore so much respect to his superior lord, that he declared he would not attack a place defended by him in person; and he immediately raised the siege. He marched into Normandy to protect that province against an incursion which the count of Dreux, instigated by King Lewis his brother, had made upon it. War was now openly carried on between the two monarchs, but produced no memorable event: it soon ended in a cessation of arms, and was fol-

lowed by a peace, which was not, however, attended with any confidence or good correspondence between those rival princes. The fortress of Gisors, being part of the dowry stipulated to Margaret of France, had been consigned by agreement to the knights templars, on condition that it should be delivered into Henry's hands after the celebration of the nuptials. The king, that he might have a pretence for immediately demanding the place, ordered the marriage to be solemnized between the prince and princess, though both infants; and he engaged the grand-master of the templars, by large presents, as was generally suspected, to put him in possession of Gisors. Lewis, resenting this fraudulent conduct, banished the templars, and would have made war upon the king of England, had it not been for the mediation and authority of Pope Alexander III. who had been chased from Rome by the anti-pope Victor IV. and resided at that time in France. That we may form an idea of the authority possessed by the Roman pontiff during those ages, it may be proper to observe that the two kings had, the year before, met the pope at the castle of Torci, on the Loir; and they gave him such marks of respect, that both dismounted to receive him, and holding each of them one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his side, and conducted him in that submissive manner into the castle. "A spectacle," cries Baronius in an ecstasy, "to God, angels, and men; and such as had never before been exhibited to the world!"

Henry, soon after he had accommodated his differences with Lewis by the pope's mediation, returned to England; where he commenced an enterprise, which, though required by sound policy, and even conducted in the main with prudence, bred him great disquietude, involved him in danger, and was not concluded without some loss and dishonour.

The usurpations of the clergy, which had at first been gradual, were now become so rapid, and had mounted to such a height, that the contest between the regale and pontifical was really arrived at a crisis in England; and it became necessary to determine whether the king or the priests, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, should be sovereign of the kingdom. The aspiring spirit of Henry, which gave inquietude to all his neighbours, was not likely long to pay a tame submission to the encroachments of subjects; and as nothing opens the eyes of men so readily as their interest, he was in no danger of falling, in this respect, into that abject superstition which retained his people in subjection. From the commencement of his reign, in the government of his foreign dominions, as well as of England, he had shown a fixed purpose to repress clerical usurpations, and to maintain those prerogatives which had been transmitted to him by his predecessors. During the schism of the papacy between Alexander and Victor, he had determined, for some time, to remain neutral: and when informed that the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Mans, had, from their own authority, acknowledged Alexander as legitimate pope, he was so enraged, that though he spared the archbishop on account of his great age, he immediately issued orders for overthrowing the houses of the bishop of Mans and archdeacon of Rouen\*;

\* The sum scarcely appears credible; as it would amount to a fourth above half the rent of the whole land. Gervase is indeed a contemporary author; but churchmen are often guilty of strange mistakes of that nature, and are commonly but little acquainted with the public revenues. The Norman chronicle says, that Henry raised only sixty Angevin shillings on each knight's fee in his foreign dominions: this is only a fourth of the sum which Gervase says he levied on England: an inequality nowise probable. A nation may by degrees be brought to bear a tax of fifteen shillings in the pound, but a sudden and precarious tax can never be imposed to that amount, without a very visible necessity, especially in an age so little accustomed to taxes. In the succeeding reign the rent of a knight's fee was computed at four pounds a year. There were sixty thousand knights' fees in England.

\* This conduct appears violent and arbitrary; but was suitable to the strain of administration in those days. His father, Geoffrey, though represented as a mild prince, set



and it was not till he had deliberately examined the matter, by those views which usually enter into the councils of princes, that he allowed that pontiff to exercise authority over any of his dominions. In England, the mild character and advanced years of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, together with his merits in refusing to put the crown on the head of Eustace, son of Stephen, prevented Henry, during the life-time of that primate, from taking any measures against the multiplied encroachments of the clergy: but after his death, the king resolved to exert himself with more activity; and that he might be secure against any opposition, he advanced to that dignity Becket, his chancellor, on whose compliance he thought he could entirely depend.

Thomas a Becket, the first man of English descent who, since the Norman conquest, had, during the course of a whole century, risen to any considerable station, was born of reputable parents in the city of London; and being endowed with both industry and capacity, he early insinuated himself into the favour of Archbishop Theobald, and obtained from that prelate some preferments and offices. By their means he was enabled to travel for improvement to Italy, where he studied the civil and canon law at Bologna; and on his return he appeared to have made such proficiency in knowledge, that he was promoted by his patron to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of considerable trust and profit. He was afterwards employed with success by Theobald in transacting business at Rome; and on Henry's accession he was recommended to that monarch as worthy of farther preferment. Henry, who knew that Becket had been instrumental in supporting that resolution of the archbishop, which had tended so much to facilitate his own advancement to the throne, was already prepossessed in his favour, and finding on further acquaintance, that his spirit and abilities entitled him to any trust, he soon promoted him to the dignity of chancellor, one of the first civil offices in the kingdom. The chancellor, in that age, besides the custody of the great seal, had possession of all vacant prelacies and abbeys; he was the guardian of all such minors and pupils as were the king's tenants; all baronies which escheated to the crown were under his administration; he was entitled to a place in council, even though he was not particularly summoned; and as he exercised also the office of secretary of state, and it belonged to him to countersign all commissions, writs, and letters-patent, he was a kind of prime minister, and was concerned in the dispatch of every business of importance. Besides exercising this high office, Becket, by favour of the king or archbishop, was made provost of Beverley, dean of Hastings, and constable of the Tower: he was put in possession of the honours of Eye and Berkham, large baronies that had escheated to the crown: and to complete his grandeur, he was intrusted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldest son, and heir of the monarchy. The

pomp of his retinue, the sumptuousness of his furniture, the luxury of his table, the munificence of his presents, corresponded to these great preferments; or rather exceeded any thing that England had ever before seen in any subject. His historian and secretary, Fitz-Stephens, mentions, among other particulars, that his apartments were every day in winter covered with clean straw or hay, and in summer with green rushes or boughs, lest the gentlemen who paid court to him, and who could not, by reason of their great number, find a place at table, should soil their fine clothes by sitting on a dirty floor.\* A great number of knights were retained in his service; the greatest barons were proud of being received at his table; his house was a place of education for the sons of the chief nobility; and the king himself frequently vouchsafed to partake of his entertainments. As his way of life was splendid and opulent, his amusements and occupations were gay, and partook of the cavalier spirit, which, as he had only taken deacon's orders, he did not think unbefitting his character. He employed himself at leisure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horsemanship; he exposed his person in several military actions; he carried over, at his own charge, seven hundred knights to attend the king in his wars at Toulouse; in the subsequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy he maintained, during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thousand of their train; and in an embassy to France, with which he was intrusted, he astonished that court by the number and magnificence of his retinue.

"The reader will be amused (says Lingard) with the following account of the manner in which the chancellor travelled through France. Whenever he entered a town, the procession was led by two hundred and fifty boys, singing national airs: then came his hounds in couples: and these were succeeded by eight waggons, each drawn by five horses, and attended by five drivers in new frocks. Every wagon was covered with skins, and protected by two guards, and a fierce mastiff either chained below, or at liberty above. Two of them were loaded with barrels of ale to be given to the populace: one carried the furniture of the chancellor's chapel, another of his bed-chamber, a fifth of his kitchen, and a sixth his plate and wardrobe: the remaining two were appropriated to the use of his attendants. These were followed by twelve sumpter horses, on each of which rode a monkey, with the groom behind on his knees: Next came the esquires bearing the shields, and leading the chargers of their knights, then other esquires, gentlemen's sons, falconers, officers of the household, knights and clergymen, riding two and two, and last of all the chancellor himself in familiar converse with a few friends. As he passed, the natives were heard to exclaim: 'What manner of man must the king of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state!'"

Henry, besides committing all his more important business to Becket's management, honoured him with his friendship and intimacy; and whenever he was disposed to relax himself by

him an example of much greater violence. When Geoffrey was master of Normandy, the chapter of Sees presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop; upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop-elect, to be mounted, and made all their testicles be brought him in a pinner. In the war of London, Henry had a heavy and arbitrary tax on all the churches within his domi-

\* John Baldwin held the manor of Ottersree in Aylesbury, of the king in socage, by the service of finding litter for the king's bed, viz. in summer, goss or herbs, and two grey geese; and in winter, straw and three pels, three in the year, if the king should come thence to the year to Aylesbury.

sports of any kind, he admitted his chancellor to the party. An instance of their familiarity is mentioned by Fitz-Stephens, which, as it shows the manners of the age, it may not be improper to relate. One day, as the king and the chancellor were riding together in the streets of London, they observed a beggar who was shivering with cold. Would it not be very praise-worthy, said the king, to give that poor man a warm coat in this severe season? It would surely, replied the chancellor; and you do well, sir, in thinking of such good actions. Then he shall have one presently, cried the king: and seizing the skirt of the chancellor's coat, which was scarlet, and lined with ermine, began to pull it violently. The chancellor defended himself for some time; and they had both of them like to have tumbled off their horses in the street, when Becket, after a vehement struggle, let go his coat; which the king bestowed on the beggar, who, being ignorant of the quality of the person, was not a little surprised at the present.

Becket, who by his complaisance and good-humour had rendered himself agreeable, and by his industry and abilities, useful to his master, appeared to him the fittest person for supplying the vacancy made by the death of Theobald. As he was well acquainted with the king's intentions of retrenching, or rather confining within the ancient bounds, all ecclesiastical privileges, and always showed a ready disposition to comply with them, Henry, who never expected any resistance from that quarter, immediately issued orders for electing him archbishop of Canterbury. But this resolution, which was taken contrary to the opinion of Matilda, and many of the ministers, drew after it very unhappy consequences; and never prince of so great penetration appeared in the issue to have so little understood the genius and character of his minister.

No sooner was Becket installed in this high dignity, which rendered him for life the second person in the kingdom, with some pretensions of aspiring to be the first, than he totally altered his demeanor and conduct, and endeavoured to acquire the character of sanctity, of which his former busy and ostentatious course of life might, in the eyes of the people, have naturally bereaved him. Without consulting the king, he immediately returned into his hands the commission of chancellor; pretending that he must thenceforth detach himself from secular affairs, and be solely employed in the exercise of his spiritual function; but in reality, that he might break off all connexions with Henry, and apprise him, that Becket, as primate of England, was now become entirely a new personage. He maintained, in his retinue, and attendants alone, his ancient pomp and lustre, which was useful to strike the vulgar: in his own person he affected the greatest austerity and most rigid mortification, which he was sensible would have an equal or a greater tendency to the same end. He wore sack-cloth next his skin, which, by his affected care to conceal it, was necessarily the more remarked by all the world: he changed it so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin: his usual diet was bread; his drink water, which he even rendered further unpalatable by the mixture of unsavory herbs: he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted on it: he daily on his knees washed, in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents. He gained

the affections of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hospitals; every one who made profession of sanctity was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as on the piety and mortification of the holy primate: he seemed to be perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures, or in perusing religious discourses: his aspect wore the appearance of seriousness, and mental recollection, and secret devotion: and all men of penetration plainly saw that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character had turned itself towards a new and more dangerous object.

Becket waited not till Henry should commence those projects against the ecclesiastical power, which he knew had been formed by that prince: he was himself the aggressor, and endeavoured to overawe the king by the intrepidity and boldness of his enterprises. He summoned the earl of Clare to surrender the barony of Tunbridge, which ever since the conquest had remained in the family of that nobleman; but which, as it had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury, Becket pretended his predecessors were prohibited by the canons to alienate. The earl of Clare, besides the lustre which he derived from the greatness of his own birth, and the extent of his possessions, was allied to all the principal families in the kingdom; his sister, who was a celebrated beauty, had further extended his credit among the nobility, and was even supposed to have gained the king's affections; and Becket could not better discover, than by attacking so powerful an interest, his resolution of maintaining with vigour the rights, real or pretended, of his see.

William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, was patron of a living which belonged to a manor that held of the archbishop of Canterbury: but Becket, without regard to William's right, presented, on a new and legal pretext, one Laurence to that living, who was violently expelled by Eynsford. The primate making himself, as was usual in spiritual courts, both judge and party, issued in a summary manner the sentence of excommunication against Eynsford, who complained to the king that he who held *in capite* of the crown should, contrary to the practice established by the Conqueror, and maintained ever since by his successors, be subjected to that terrible sentence, without the previous consent of the sovereign. Henry, who had now broken off all personal intercourse with Becket, sent him, by a messenger, his orders to absolve Eynsford; but received for answer, that it belonged not to the king to inform him whom he should absolve and whom excommunicate: and it was not till after many remonstrances and menaces, that Becket, though with the worst grace imaginable, was induced to comply with the royal mandate.

Henry, though he found himself grievously mistaken in the character of the person whom he had promoted to the primacy, determined not to desist from his former intention of retrenching clerical usurpations. He was entirely master of his extensive dominions: the prudence and vigour of his administration, attended with perpetual success, had raised his character above that of any of his predecessors: the papacy seemed to be weakened by a schism, which divided all Europe; and he rightly judged, that if the present favourable opportunity were neglected, the crown must,



from the prevalent superstition of the people, be in danger of falling into an entire subordination under the mitre.

The union of the civil and ecclesiastical power serves extremely, in every civilized government, to the maintenance of peace and order; and prevents those mutual encroachments which, as there can be no ultimate judge between them, are often attended with the most dangerous consequences. Whether the supreme magistrate, who unites these powers, receives the appellation of prince or prelate, is not material: the superior weight which temporal interests commonly bear in the apprehensions of men above spiritual, renders the civil part of his character most prevalent; and in time prevents those gross impostures and bigoted persecutions, which in all false religions are the chief foundation of clerical authority. But during the progress of ecclesiastical usurpations, the state, by the resistance of the civil magistrate, is naturally thrown into convulsions; and it behoves the prince, both for his own interest, and for that of the public, to provide in time sufficient barriers against so dangerous and insidious a rival. This precaution had hitherto been much neglected in England, as well as in other Catholic countries; and affairs at last seemed to have come to a dangerous crisis: a sovereign of the greatest abilities was now on the throne: a prelate of the most inflexible and intrepid character was possessed of the primacy: the contending powers appeared to be armed with their full force, and it was natural to expect some extraordinary event to result from their conflict.

Among their other inventions to obtain money, the clergy had inculcated the necessity of penance as an atonement for sin; and having again introduced the practice of paying them large sums as a commutation, or species of atonement for the remission of those penances, the sins of the people, by these means, had become a revenue to the priests; and the king computed that by this invention alone they levied more money upon his subjects than flowed, by all the funds and taxes, into the royal exchequer. That he might ease the people of so heavy and arbitrary an imposition, Henry required that a civil officer of his appointment should be present in all ecclesiastical courts, and should for the future give his consent to every composition which was made with sinners for their spiritual offences.

The ecclesiastics in that age had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate: they openly pretended to an exemption in criminal accusations from a trial before courts of justice; and were gradually introducing a like exemption in civil causes: spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences: and as the clergy had extremely multiplied in England, and many of them were consequently of very low characters, crimes of the deepest dye, murders, robberies, adulteries, rapes, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics. It had been found, for instance, on inquiry, that no less than a hundred murders had, since the king's accession, been perpetrated by men of that profession, who had never been called to account for these offences; and holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities. A clerk in Worcestershire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had at this time proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation against this crime moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuse which

was become so palpable, and to require that the clerk should be delivered up and receive condign punishment from the magistrate. Becket insisted on the privileges of the church; confined the criminal in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the king's officers; maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted on him than degradation; and when the king demanded, that immediately after he was degraded he should be tried by the civil power, the primate asserted that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the same accusation, and for the same offence.

Henry, laying hold of so plausible a pretence, resolved to push the clergy with regard to all their privileges, which they had raised to an enormous height, and to determine at once those controversies which daily multiplied between the civil and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions. He summoned an assembly of all the prelates of England; and he put to them this concise and decisive question, Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? The bishops unanimously replied, that they were willing, *saving their own order*; a device by which they thought to elude the present urgency of the king's demand, yet reserve to themselves, on a favourable opportunity, the power of resuming all their pretensions. The king was sensible of the artifice, and was provoked to the highest indignation. He left the assembly with visible marks of his displeasure: he required the primate instantly to surrender the honours and castles of Eye and Berkham: the bishops were terrified, and expected still further effects of his resentment. Becket alone was inflexible; and nothing but the interposition of the pope's legate and almoner, Philip, who dreaded a breach with so powerful a prince at so unseasonable a juncture, could have prevailed on him to retract the saving clause, and give a general and absolute promise of observing the ancient customs.

But Henry was not content with a declaration in these general terms: he resolved, ere it was too late, to define expressly those customs with which he required compliance, and to put a stop to clerical usurpations before they were fully consolidated, and could plead antiquity, as they already did a sacred authority, in their favour. The claims of the church were open and visible. After a gradual and insensible progress during many centuries, the mask had at last been taken off, and several ecclesiastical councils, by their canons, which were pretended to be irrevocable and infallible, had positively defined those privileges and immunities, which gave such general offence, and appeared so dangerous to the civil magistrate. Henry therefore deemed it necessary to define with the same precision the limits of the civil power; to oppose his legal customs to their divine ordinances; to determine the exact boundaries of the rival jurisdictions; and for this purpose he summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, to whom he submitted this great and important question.

The barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reasons which he urged, or by his superior authority: the bishops were overawed by the general combination against them: and the following laws, commonly called the "Constitutions of Clarendon," were voted without opposition by this assembly. It was enacted that all suits concerning the advowson and presentation of churches should be determined in the civil

courts: that the churches belonging to the king's see should not be granted in perpetuity without his consent: that clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts: that no person, particularly no clergyman of any rank, should depart the kingdom without the king's license: that excommunicated persons should not be bound to give security for continuing in their present place of abode: that laics should not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses: that no chief tenant of the crown should be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under an interdict, except with the king's consent: that all appeals in spiritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, from him to the king; and should be carried no further without the king's consent: that if any lawsuit arose between a layman and a clergyman concerning a tenant, and it be disputed whether the land be a lay or an ecclesiastical fee, it should first be determined by the verdict of twelve lawful men to what class it belonged; and if it be found to be a lay-fee, the cause should finally be determined in the civil courts: that no inhabitant in demesne should be excommunicated for non-appearance in a spiritual court, till the chief officer of the place where he resides be consulted, that he may compel him by the civil authority to give satisfaction to the church: that the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual dignitaries, should be regarded as barons of the realm; should possess the privileges, and be subjected to the burdens belonging to that rank, and should be bound to attend the king in his great councils, and assist at all trials, till the sentence either of death or loss of members, be given against the criminal: that the revenue of vacant sees should belong to the king; the chapter, or such of them as he pleases to summon, should sit in the king's chapel till they made the new election with his consent, and that the bishop-elect should do homage to the crown: that if any baron or tenant *in capite* should refuse to submit to the spiritual courts, the king should employ his authority in obliging him to make such submissions; if any of them throw off his allegiance to the king, the prelates should assist the king with their censures in reducing him: that goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches nor churchyards: that the clergy should no longer pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promise; but should leave these lawsuits equally with others, to the determination of the civil courts: and that the sons of villains should not be ordained clerks, without the consent of their lord.

These articles, to the number of sixteen, were calculated to prevent the chief abuses which had prevailed in ecclesiastical affairs, and to put an effectual stop to the usurpations of the church, which, gradually stealing on, had threatened the total destruction of the civil power. Henry, therefore, by reducing those ancient customs of the realm to writing, and by collecting them in a body, endeavoured to prevent all future dispute with regard to them; and by passing so many ecclesiastical ordinances in a national and civil assembly, he fully established the superiority of the legislature above all papal decrees or spiritual canons, and gained a signal victory over the ecclesiastics. But as he knew that the bishops, though overawed by the present combination of the crown

and the barons, would take the first favourable opportunity of denying the authority which had enacted these constitutions; he resolved that they should all set their seal to them, and give a promise to observe them. None of the prelates dared to oppose his will, except Becket, who, though urged by the earls of Cornwall and Leicester, the barons of principal authority in the kingdom, obstinately withheld his assent. At last, Richard de Hastings, grand prior of the templars in England, threw himself on his knees before him; and with many tears entreated him, if he paid any regard either to his own safety or that of the church, not to provoke, by a fruitless opposition, the indignation of a great monarch, who was resolutely bent on his purpose, and who was determined to take full revenge on every one that should dare to oppose him. Becket, finding himself deserted by all the world, even by his own brethren, was at last obliged to comply; and he promised, *legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve*, to observe the constitutions; and he took an oath to that purpose. The king, thinking that he had now finally prevailed in this great enterprise, sent the constitutions to Pope Alexander, who then resided in France; and he required that pontiff's ratification of them: but Alexander, who, though he had owed the most important obligations to the king, plainly saw that these laws were calculated to establish the independency of England on the papacy, and of the royal power on the clergy, condemned them in the strongest terms; abrogated, annulled, and rejected them. There were only six articles, the least important, which, for the sake of peace, he was willing to ratify.

Becket, when he observed that he might hope for support in an opposition, expressed the deepest sorrow for his compliance; and endeavoured to engage all the other bishops in a confederacy to adhere to their common rights, and to the ecclesiastical privileges, in which he represented the interest and honour of God to be so deeply concerned. He redoubled his austerities, in order to punish himself for his criminal consent to the constitutions of Clarendon: he proportioned his discipline to the enormity of his supposed offence: and he refused to exercise any part of his archiepiscopal function, till he should receive absolution from the pope; which was readily granted him. Henry, informed of his present dispositions, resolved to take vengeance for this refractory behaviour, and he attempted to crush him, by means of that very power which Becket made such merit in supporting. He applied to the pope, that he should grant the commission of legate in his dominions to the archbishop of York; but Alexander, as politic as he, though he granted the commission, annexed a clause, that it should not empower the legate to execute any act in prejudice of the archbishop of Canterbury: and the king, finding how fruitless such an authority would prove, sent back the commission by the same messenger that brought it.

The primate, however, who finding himself still exposed to the king's indignation, endeavoured twice to escape secretly from the kingdom; but was as often detained by contrary winds: and Henry hastened to make him feel the effects of an obsequy, which he deemed so criminal. He instigated John, marshal of the exchequer, to sue Becket in the archiepiscopal court for some lands, part of the manor of Pageham; and to appeal thence to the king's court



for justice. On the day appointed for trying the cause, the primate sent four knights to represent certain irregularities in John's appeal: and at the same time to excuse himself, on account of sickness, for not appearing personally that day in the court. This slight offence (if it even deserve the name) was represented as a grievous contempt; the four knights were menaced, and with difficulty escaped being sent to prison, as offering falsehoods to the court; and Henry, being determined to prosecute Becket to the utmost, summoned at Northampton a great council, which he purposed to make the instrument of his vengeance against the inflexible prelate.

The king had raised Becket from a low station to the highest offices, had honoured him with his countenance and friendship, had trusted to his assistance in forwarding his favourite project against the clergy; and when he found him become of a sudden his most rigid opponent, while every one beside complied with his will, rage at the disappointment, and indignation against such signal ingratitude, transported him beyond all bounds of moderation; and there seems to have entered more of passion than of justice, or even of policy, in this violent prosecution. The barons, notwithstanding, in the great council, voted whatever sentence he was pleased to dictate to them; and the bishops themselves, who undoubtedly bore a secret favour to Becket, and regarded him as the champion of their privileges, concurred with the rest in the design of oppressing their primate. In vain did Becket urge, that his court was proceeding with the utmost regularity and justice in trying the mareschal's cause; which, however, he said, would appear from the sheriff's testimony to be entirely unjust and iniquitous: that he himself had discovered no contempt of the king's court; but, on the contrary, by sending four knights to excuse his absence, had virtually acknowledged its authority: that he also, in consequence of the king's summons, personally appeared at present in the great council, ready to justify his cause against the mareschal, and to submit his conduct to their inquiry and jurisdiction: that even should it be found that he had been guilty of non-appearance, the laws had affixed a very slight penalty to that offence: and that as he was an inhabitant of Kent, where his archiepiscopal palace was seated, he was by law entitled to some greater indulgence than usual in the rate of his fine. Notwithstanding these pleas, he was condemned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court, and as wanting in the fealty which he had sworn to his sovereign; all his goods and chattels were confiscated; and that this triumph over the church might be carried to the utmost, Henry, bishop of Winchester, the prelate who had been so powerful in the former reign, was, in spite of his remonstrances, obliged, by order of the court, to pronounce the sentence against him. The primate submitted to the decree; and all the prelates, except Folliot, bishop of London, who paid court to the king by this singularity, became sureties for him. It is remarkable, that several Norman barons voted in this council; and we may conclude, with some probability, that a like practice had prevailed in many of the great councils summoned since the conquest. For the contemporary historian who has given us a full account of these transactions, does not mention this circumstance as anywise singular; and Becket, in all his subsequent re-

monstrances, with regard to the severe treatment which he had met with, never founds any objection on an irregularity, which to us appears very palpable and flagrant. So little precision was there at that time in the government and constitution.

The king was not content with this sentence, however violent and oppressive. Next day, he demanded of Becket the sum of three hundred pounds, which the primate had levied upon the honours of Eye and Berkham, while in his possession. Becket, after premising that he was not obliged to answer to this suit, because it was not contained in his summons; after remarking that he had expended more than that sum in the repairs of those castles, and of the royal palace at London; expressed, however, his resolution, that money should not be any ground of quarrel between him and his sovereign: he agreed to pay the sum; and immediately gave sureties for it. In the subsequent meeting, the king demanded five hundred marks, which, he affirmed, he had lent Becket during the war at Toulouse; and another sum to the same amount, for which the prince had been surety for him to a Jew. Immediately after these two claims, he preferred a third of still greater importance: he required him to give in the accounts of his administration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelates, abbeys, and baronies, which had, during that time, been subjected to his management. Becket observed, that, as this demand was totally unexpected, he had not come prepared to answer it; but he required a delay, and promised in that case to give satisfaction. The king insisted upon sureties; and Becket desired leave to consult his suffragans in a case of such importance.

It is apparent from the known character of Henry, and from the usual vigilance of his government, that when he promoted Becket to the see of Canterbury, he was, on good grounds, well pleased with his administration in the former high office with which he had intrusted him; and that, even if that prelate had dissipated money beyond the income of his place, the king was satisfied that his expenses were not blameable, and had in the main been calculated for his service. Two years had since elapsed; no demand had, during that time, been made upon him; it was not till the quarrel arose concerning ecclesiastical privileges, that the claim was started, and the primate was, of a sudden, required to produce accounts of such intricacy and extent before a tribunal which had shown a determined resolution to ruin and oppress him. To find sureties, that he should answer so boundless and uncertain a claim, which in the king's estimation amounted to 44,000 marks, was impracticable; and Becket's suffragans were extremely at a loss what counsel to give him in such a critical emergency. By the advice of the bishop of Winchester he offered two thousand marks as a general satisfaction for all demands: but this offer was rejected by the king. Some prelates exhorted him to resign his see, on condition of receiving an acquittal: others were of opinion, that he ought to submit himself entirely to the king's mercy; but the primate, thus pushed to the utmost, had too much courage to sink under oppression: he determined to brave all his enemies, to trust to the sacredness of his character for protection, to involve his cause with that of God and religion, and to stand the utmost efforts of royal indignation.

After a few days spent in deliberation, Becket went to church, and said mass, where he had previously ordered, that the introit to the communion service should begin with these words, "Princes sat and spake against me;" the passage appointed for the martyrdom of St. Stephen, whom the primate thereby tacitly pretended to resemble in his sufferings for the sake of righteousness. He went thence to court arrayed in his sacred vestments: as soon as he arrived within the palace-gate, he took the cross into his own hands, bore it aloft as his protection, and marched in that posture into the royal apartments. The king, who was in an inner room, was astonished at this parade, by which the primate seemed to menace him and his court with the sentence of excommunication; and he sent some of the prelates to remonstrate with him on account of such audacious behaviour. The prelates complained to Becket, that, by subscribing himself to the constitutions of Clarendon, he had seduced them to imitate his example; and that now, when it was too late, he pretended to shake off all subordination to the civil power, and appeared desirous of involving them in the guilt which must attend any violation of those laws, established by their consent, and ratified by their subscriptions. Becket replied, that he had indeed subscribed the constitutions of Clarendon, *legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve*; but in these words was virtually implied a salvo for the rights of their order, which being connected with the cause of God and his church, could never be relinquished by their oaths and engagements: that if he and they had erred in resigning the ecclesiastical privileges, the best atonement they could now make was to retract their consent, which, in such a case, could never be obligatory, and to follow the pope's authority, who had solemnly annulled the constitutions of Clarendon, and had absolved them from all oaths which they had taken to observe them: that a determined resolution was evidently embraced to oppress the church; the storm had first broken upon him for a slight offence, and which too was falsely imputed to him; he had been tyrannically condemned to a grievous penalty: a new and unheard-of claim was since started, in which he could expect no justice; and he plainly saw that he was the destined victim, who, by his ruin, must prepare the way for the abrogation of all spiritual immunities: that he strictly inhibited them, who were his suffragans, from assisting at any such trial, or giving their sanction to any sentence against him; he put himself and his see under the protection of the supreme pontiff, and appealed to him against any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict upon him: and that, however terrible the indignation of so great a monarch as Henry, his sword could only kill the body; while that of the church, intrusted into the hands of the primate, could kill the soul, and throw the disobedient into infinite and eternal perdition.

Appeals to the pope, even in ecclesiastical causes, had been abolished by the constitutions of Clarendon, and were become criminal by law: but an appeal in a civil cause, such as the king's demand upon Becket, was a practice altogether new and unprecedented; it tended directly to the subversion of the government, and could receive no colour of excuse, except from the determined resolution, which was but too apparent in Henry and the great council, to effectuate, without jus-

tice, but under colour of law, the total ruin of the inflexible primate. The king having now obtained a pretext so much more plausible for his violence, would probably have pushed the affair to the utmost extremity against him; but Becket gave him no leisure to conduct the prosecution. He refused so much as to hear the sentence, which the barons, sitting apart from the bishops, and joined to some sheriffs and barons of the second rank,\* had given upon the king's claim: he departed from the palace; asked Henry's immediate permission to leave Northampton; and upon meeting with a refusal, he withdrew secretly; wandered about in disguise for some time; and at last took shipping, and arrived safely at Gravelines.

Lingard gives the following somewhat different and more detailed account of Becket's attendance in answer to the king's citation. "As he entered, the king with his barons retired into a neighbouring apartment, and was soon after followed by the bishops. The primate left alone with his clerks in the spacious hall, seated himself on a bench, and with calm and intrepid dignity awaited their decision. The council chamber was a scene of noise and confusion. The courtiers, to please the prince, strove to distinguish themselves by the intemperance of their language. Henry, in the vehemence of his passion, inveighed, one while against the insolence of Becket, at another against the pusillanimity and ingratitude of his favourites: till even the most active of the prelates, who had raised the storm, began to view with horror the probable consequences. Roger of York contrived to retire; and as he passed through the hall, bade his clerks follow him, that they might not witness the effusion of blood. Next came the bishop of Exeter, who threw himself at the feet of the primate, and besought him to have pity on himself, and the episcopal order: for the king had threatened with death the first man who should speak in his favour. 'Flee then,' replied the archbishop, 'thou canst not understand the things that are of God.' Soon afterwards appeared the rest of the bishops. Hilary of Chichester spoke in their name: 'You were,' he said, 'our primate: but by opposing the royal customs you have broken your oath of fealty to the king. A perjured archbishop has no right to our obedience. From you then we appeal to the pope, and summon you to answer us before him.'—'I hear,' was his only reply.

"The bishops seated themselves along the opposite side of the hall, and a solemn silence ensued. At length the door (of the council chamber) opened, and the earl of Leicester, at the head of the barons, bade him hear his sentence. 'My sentence!' interrupted the archbishop; 'son and earl, hear me first. You know with what fidelity I served the king, how reluctantly, to please him, I accepted my present office, and in what manner I was declared by him free from all secular claims. For what happened before my consecration, I ought not to answer, nor will I. Know moreover that you are my children in God. Neither law nor reason allows you to judge your father. I therefore decline your tribunal, and refer my quarrel to the decision of the pope. To

\* Fitz-Stephens is supposed to mean the more considerable vassals of the chief barons; these had no title to sit in the great council, and the giving them a place there was a palpable irregularity: which however is not insisted on in any of Becket's remonstrances. A further proof how little fixed the constitution was at that time.



him I appeal : and shall now under the protection of the Catholic church, and the apostolic see, depart.' As he walked along the hall, some of the courtiers threw at him knots of straw which they took from the floor. A voice called him traitor. At the word he stopped, and hastily turning round, rejoined : ' Were it not that my order forbids me, that coward should repent of his insolence.' At the gate he was received with acclamations of joy by the clergy and people, and was conducted in triumph to his lodgings.

"It was generally believed that if the archbishop had remained at Northampton, that night would have proved his last. Alarmed by frequent hints from his friends, he petitioned to retire beyond the sea, and was told that he might expect an answer the following morning. This unnecessary delay increased his apprehensions. To deceive the vigilance of the spies that beset him, he ordered a bed to be prepared in the church, and in the dusk of the evening, accompanied by two clerks and a servant on foot, escaped by the north gate. After fifteen days of perils and adventures, brother Christian (that was the name he assumed) landed at Gravelines in Flanders."

The violent and unjust persecution of Becket had a natural tendency to turn the public favour on his side, and to make men overlook his former ingratitude towards the king, and his departure from all oaths and engagements, as well as the enormity of those ecclesiastical privileges, of which he affected to be the champion. There were many other reasons which procured him countenance and protection in foreign countries. Philip earl of Flanders, and Lewis king of France, jealous of the rising greatness of Henry, were well pleased to give him disturbance in his government; and forgetting that this was the common cause of princes, they affected to pity extremely the condition of the exiled primate; and the latter even honoured him with a visit at Soissons, in which city he had invited him to fix his residence. The pope, whose interests were more immediately concerned in supporting him, gave a cold reception to a magnificent embassy which Henry sent to accuse him; while Becket himself, who had come to Sens in order to justify his cause before the sovereign pontiff, was received with the greatest marks of distinction. The king, in revenge, sequestered the revenues of Canterbury; and by a conduct which, had there been at that time any regular check on royal authority, might be esteemed arbitrary, and was tyrannically unjust, he banished all the primate's relations and domestics, to the number of four hundred, whom he obliged to swear, before their departure, that they would instantly join their patron. But this policy, by which Henry endeavoured to reduce Becket sooner to necessity, lost its effect: the pope, when they arrived beyond sea, absolved them from their oath, and distributed them among the convents in France and Flanders: a residence was assigned to Becket himself in the convent of Pontigny, where he lived for some years in great magnificence, partly from a pension granted him on the revenues of that abbey, partly from remittances made him by the French monarch.

The more to ingratiate himself with the pope, Becket resigned into his hands the see of Canterbury, to which he affirmed, he had been canonically elected by the authority of the royal mandate, and Alexander, in his turn, besides invest-

ing him anew with that dignity, pretended to abrogate, by a bull, the sentence which the great council of England had passed against him. Henry, after attempting in vain to procure a conference with the pope, who departed soon after for Rome, whither the prosperous state of his affairs now invited him, made provisions against the consequences of that breach which impended between his kingdom and the apostolic see. He issued orders to his justiciaries, inhibiting, under severe penalties, all appeals to the pope or archbishop; forbidding any one to receive any mandates from them, or apply in any case to their authority; declaring it treasonable to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom, and punishable in secular clergymen by the loss of their eyes and by castration, in regulars by amputation of their feet, and in laics with death; and menacing with sequestration and banishment the persons themselves, as well as their kindred, who should pay obedience to any such interdict: and he further obliged all his subjects to swear to the observance of those orders. These were edicts of the utmost importance, affected the lives and properties of all the subjects, and even changed, for the time, the national religion, by breaking off all communications with Rome: yet were they enacted by the sole authority of the king, and were derived entirely from his will and pleasure.

The spiritual powers, which, in the primitive church, were, in a great measure, dependent on the civil, had by a gradual progress reached an equality and independence; and though the limits of the two jurisdictions were difficult to ascertain or define, it was not impossible, but by moderation on both sides, government might still have been conducted in the imperfect and irregular manner which distinguished the period. But as the ignorance of the age encouraged the ecclesiastics daily to extend their privileges, and even to advance maxims totally incompatible with civil government, Henry had thought it high time to put an end to their pretensions, and formally, in a public council, to fix those powers which belonged to the civil magistrate, and which he was for the future determined to maintain. In this attempt he was led to re-establish customs, which, though ancient, were beginning to be abolished by a contrary practice, and which were more strongly opposed by the prevailing opinions and sentiments of the age. Principle, therefore, stood on the one side, power on the other; and if the English had been actuated by conscience, more than by present interest, the controversy must soon, by the general defection of Henry's subjects, have been decided against him. Becket, in order to forward this event, filled all places with exclamations against the violence which he had suffered. He compared himself to Christ, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the present oppressions under which his church laboured: he took it for granted, as a point incontestable, that his cause was the cause of God: he assumed the character of champion for the patrimony of the Divinity: he pretended to be the spiritual father of the king and all the people of England; he even told Henry, that kings reign solely by the authority of the church; and though he had thus torn off the veil more openly on the one side, than that prince had on the other, he seemed still, from the general favour borne him by the ecclesiastics, to have all

the advantage in the argument. The king, that he might employ the weapons of temporal power remaining in his hands, suspended the payment of Peter-pence; he made advances towards an alliance with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who was at that time engaged in violent wars with Pope Alexander; he discovered some intentions of acknowledging Pascal III., the present anti-pope, who was protected by that emperor; and by these expedients he endeavoured to terrify the enterprising though prudent pontiff from proceeding to extremities against him.

But the violence of Becket, still more than the nature of the controversy, kept affairs from remaining long in suspense between the parties. That prelate, instigated by revenge, and animated by the present glory attending his situation, pushed matters to a decision, and issued a censure, excommunicating the king's chief ministers by name, and comprehending in general all those who favoured or obeyed the constitutions of Clarendon: these constitutions he abrogated and annulled; he absolved all men from the oaths which they had taken to observe them; and he suspended the spiritual thunder over Henry himself, only that the prince might avoid the blow by a timely repentance.

The situation of Henry was so unhappy, that he could employ no expedient for saving his ministers from this terrible censure, but by appealing to the pope himself, and having recourse to a tribunal whose authority he had himself attempted to abridge in this very article of appeals, and which, he knew, was so deeply engaged on the side of his adversary. But even this expedient was not likely to be long effectual. Becket had obtained from the pope a legatine commission over England; and in virtue of that authority, which admitted of no appeal, he summoned the bishops of London, Salisbury, and others to attend him, and ordered, under pain of excommunication, the ecclesiastics, sequestered on his account, to be restored in two months to all their benefices. But John of Oxford, the king's agent with the pope, had the address to procure orders for suspending this sentence; and he gave the pontiff such hopes of a speedy reconciliation between the king and Becket, that two legates, William of Pavia and Otho, were sent to Normandy, where the king then resided, and they endeavoured to find expedients for that purpose. But the pretensions of the parties were, as yet, too opposite to admit of an accommodation: the king required, that all the constitutions of Clarendon should be ratified: Becket, that, previously to any agreement, he and his adherents should be restored to their possessions: and as the legates had no power to pronounce a definitive sentence on either side, the negotiation soon after came to nothing. The cardinal of Pavia also, being much attached to Henry, took care to protract the negotiation; to mitigate the pope, by the accounts which he sent of that prince's conduct; and to procure him every possible indulgence from the see of Rome. About this time the king had also the address to obtain a dispensation for the marriage of his third son Geoffrey, with the heiress of Brittany; a concession, which, considering Henry's demerits towards the church, gave great scandal both to Becket, and to his zealous patron the king of France.

The intricacies of the feudal law had, in that age, rendered the boundaries of power between

the prince and his vassals, and between one prince and another, as uncertain as those between the crown and the mitre; and all wars took their origin from disputes, which, had there been any tribunal possessed of power to enforce their decrees, ought to have been decided only before a court of judicature. Henry, in prosecution of some controversies, in which he was involved with the count of Auvergne, a vassal of the duchy of Guienne, had invaded the territories of that nobleman; who had recourse to the king of France, his superior lord, for protection, and thereby kindled a war between the two monarchs. But this war was, as usual, no less feeble in its operations, than it was frivolous in its cause and object; and after occasioning some mutual depredations, and some insurrections among the barons of Poitou and Guienne, was terminated by a peace. The terms of this peace were rather disadvantageous to Henry, and prove that that prince had, by reason of his contest with the church, lost the superiority which he had hitherto maintained over the crown of France: an additional motive to him for accommodating those differences.

The pope and the king began at last to perceive, that, in the present situation of affairs, neither of them could expect a final and decisive victory over the other, and that they had more to fear than to hope from the duration of the controversy. Though the vigour of Henry's government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, his throne might be shaken by a sentence of excommunication; and if England itself could, by its situation, be more easily guarded against the contagion of superstitious prejudices, his French provinces at least, whose communication was open with the neighbouring states, would be much exposed, on that account, to some great revolution or convulsion. He could not, therefore, reasonably imagine that the pope, while he retained such a check upon him, would formally recognise the constitutions of Clarendon, which both put an end to papal pretensions in England, and would give an example to other states of asserting a like independency. Pope Alexander, on the other hand, being still engaged in dangerous wars with the Emperor Frederick, might justly apprehend, that Henry, rather than relinquish claims of such importance, would join the party of his enemy; and as the trials hitherto made of the spiritual weapons by Becket had not succeeded in his expectation, and everything had remained quiet in all the king's dominions, nothing seemed impossible to the capacity and vigilance of so great a monarch. The disposition of minds, on both sides, resulting from these circumstances, produced frequent attempts towards an accommodation; but as both parties knew that the essential articles of the dispute could not then be terminated, they entertained a perpetual jealousy of each other, and were anxious not to lose the least advantage in the negotiation. The nuncios Gratian and Vivian, having received a commission to endeavour a reconciliation, met with the king in Normandy; and after all differences seemed to be adjusted, Henry offered to sign the treaty with a salvo to his royal dignity; which gave such umbrage to Becket, that the negotiation, in the end, became fruitless, and the excommunications were renewed against the king's ministers. Another negotiation was conducted at Montmirail, in presence of the king of France and the French



prelates; where Becket also offered to make his submissions, with a salvo to the honour of God, and the liberties of the church; which, for a like reason, was extremely offensive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference under the same mediation was broken off by Becket's insisting on a like reserve in his submissions; and even in a fourth treaty, when all the terms were adjusted, and when the primate expected to be introduced to the king, and to receive the kiss of peace, which it was usual for princes to grant in those times, and which was regarded as a sure pledge of forgiveness, Henry refused him that honour; under pretence, that during his anger, he had made a rash vow to that purpose. This formality served, among such jealous spirits, to prevent the conclusion of the treaty; and though the difficulty was attempted to be overcome by a dispensation which the pope granted to Henry from his vow, that prince could not be prevailed on to depart from the resolution which he had taken.

In one of these conferences, at which the French king was present, Henry said to that monarch: "There have been many kings of England, some of greater, some of less authority than myself: there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury, holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of respect: let Becket but act towards me with the same submission which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to the least of mine, and there shall be no controversy between us." Lewis was so struck with this state of the case, and with an offer which Henry made to submit his cause to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning the primate, and withdrawing his friendship from him during some time: but the bigotry of that prince, and their common animosity against Henry, soon produced a renewal of their former good correspondence.

All difficulties were at last adjusted between the parties; and the king allowed Becket to return, on conditions which may be esteemed both honourable and advantageous to that prelate. He was not required to give up any rights of the church, or resign any of those pretensions which had been the original ground of the controversy. It was agreed that all these questions should be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents should, without making further submission, be restored to all their livings, and that even the possessors of such benefices as depended on the see of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's absence, should be expelled, and Becket have liberty to supply the vacancies. In return for concessions which entrenched so deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of seeing his ministers absolved from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, and of preventing the interdict, which, if these hard conditions had not been complied with, was ready to be laid on all his dominions. It was easy to see how much he dreaded that event, when a prince of so high a spirit could submit to terms so dishonourable in order to prevent it. So anxious was Henry to accommodate all differences, and to reconcile himself fully with Becket, that he took the most extraordinary steps to flatter his vanity, and even, on one occasion, condescended so far as to hold the stirrup of that haughty prelate while he mounted.

Of this celebrated piece of courtesy or policy

which took place in a spacious meadow near Freitville, on the borders of Touraine, Lingard gives the following account:—

"As soon as Becket appeared, the king spurring forward his horse, with his cap in his hand, prevented his salutation; and, as if no dissension had ever divided them, discoursed with him apart, with all that easy familiarity which had distinguished their former friendship. In the course of their conversation, Henry exclaimed: 'As for the men who have betrayed both you and me, I will make them such return, as the deserts of traitors require!' At these words the archbishop descended from his horse, and threw himself at the feet of his sovereign; but the king laid hold of the stirrup, and insisted that he should remount, saying, 'In short, my lord archbishop, let us renew our ancient affection for each other; only show me honour before those who are now viewing our behaviour.' Then returning to his attendants, he observed: 'I find the archbishop in the best dispositions towards me, were I otherwise towards him, I should be the worst of men.'"

But the king attained not even that temporary tranquillity which he had hoped to reap from these expedients. During the heat of his quarrel with Becket, while he was every day expecting an interdict to be laid on his kingdom, and a sentence of excommunication to be fulminated against his person, he had thought it prudent to have his son, Prince Henry, associated with him in the royalty, and to make him be crowned king by the hands of Roger archbishop of York. By this precaution he both ensured the succession of that prince, which, considering the many past irregularities on that point, could not but be esteemed somewhat precarious; and he preserved at least his family on the throne, if the sentence of excommunication should have the effect which he dreaded, and should make his subjects renounce their allegiance to him. Though this design was conducted with expedition and secrecy, Becket, before it was carried into execution, had got intelligence of it; and being desirous of obstructing all Henry's measures, as well as anxious to prevent this affront to himself, who pretended to the sole right, as archbishop of Canterbury, to officiate in the coronation, he had inhibited all the prelates of England from assisting at this ceremony, had procured from the pope a mandate to the same purpose, and had incited the king of France to protest against the coronation of young Henry, unless the princess, daughter of that monarch, should at the same time receive the royal unction. There prevailed in that age an opinion, which was akin to its other superstitions, that the royal unction was essential to the exercise of royal power: it was therefore natural both for the king of France, careful of his daughter's establishment, and for Becket, jealous of his own dignity, to demand, in the treaty with Henry, some satisfaction in this essential point. Henry, after apologizing to Lewis for the omission with regard to Margaret, and excusing it on account of the secrecy and dispatch requisite for conducting that measure, promised that the ceremony should be renewed in the persons both of the prince and princess: and he assured Becket, that besides receiving the acknowledgments of Roger and the other bishops for the seeming affront put on the see of Canterbury, the primate should, as a further satisfaction, recover his rights by officiating in this coronation. But the violent spirit of

Becket, elated by the power of the church, and by the victory which he had already obtained over his sovereign, was not content with this voluntary compensation, but resolved to make the injury, which he pretended to have suffered, a handle for taking revenge on all his enemies. On his arrival in England he met the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury, who were on their journey to the king in Normandy: he notified to the archbishop the sentence of suspension, and to the two bishops that of excommunication, which, at his solicitation, the pope had pronounced against them. Reginald de Warrenne, and Gervase de Cornhill, two of the king's ministers who were employed on their duty in Kent, asked him, on hearing of this bold attempt, whether he meant to bring fire and sword into the kingdom? But the primate, heedless of the reproof, proceeded, in the most ostentatious manner, to take possession of his diocese. In Rochester, and all the towns through which he passed, he was received with the shouts and acclamations of the populace. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages, came forth to meet him, and celebrated with hymns of joy his triumphant entrance. And though he was obliged, by order of the young prince, who resided at Woodstock, to return to his diocese, he found that he was not mistaken when he reckoned upon the highest veneration of the public towards his person and his dignity. He proceeded, therefore, with the more courage to dart his spiritual thunders: he issued the sentence of excommunication against Robert de Broc and Nigel de Sackville, with many others, who either had assisted at the coronation of the prince, or been active in the late persecution of the exiled clergy. This violent measure, by which he in effect denounced war against the king himself, is commonly ascribed to the vindictive disposition and imperious character of Becket; but as this prelate was also a man of acknowledged abilities, we are not, in his passions alone, to look for the cause of his conduct, when he proceeded to these extremities against his enemies. His sagacity had led him to discover all Henry's intentions; and he proposed, by this bold and unexpected assault, to prevent the execution of them.

The king, from his experience of the dispositions of his people, was become sensible that his enterprise had been too bold in establishing the constitutions of Clarendon, in defining all the branches of the royal power, and in endeavouring to extort from the church of England, as well as from the pope, an express avowal of these disputed prerogatives. Conscious also of his own violence in attempting to break or subdue the inflexible primate, he was not displeased to undo that measure which had given his enemies such advantage against him; and he was contented that the controversy should terminate in that ambiguous manner, which was the utmost that princes in those ages could hope to attain in their disputes with the see of Rome. Though he dropped for the present the prosecution of Becket, he still reserved to himself the right of maintaining, that the constitutions of Clarendon, the original ground of the quarrel, were both the ancient customs and the present law of the realm: and though he knew that the papal clergy asserted them to be impious to themselves, as well as abrogated by the sentence of the sovereign pontiff, he intended, in spite of their clamours, steadily

to put those laws in execution, and to trust to his own abilities, and to the course of events, for success in that perilous enterprise. He hoped that Becket's experience of a six years' exile would, after his pride was fully gratified by his restoration, be sufficient to teach him more reserve in his opposition: or if any controversy arose, he expected thenceforth to engage in a more favourable cause, and to maintain with advantage, while the primate was now in his power, the ancient and undoubted customs of the kingdom against the usurpations of the clergy. But Becket determined not to betray the ecclesiastical privileges by his connivance, and apprehensive lest a prince of such profound policy, if allowed to proceed in his own way, might probably in the end prevail, resolved to take all the advantage which his present victory gave him, and to disconcert the cautious measures of the king, by the vehemence and rigour of his own conduct. Assured of support from Rome, he was little intimidated by dangers, which his courage taught him to despise, and which, even if attended with the most fatal consequences, would serve only to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory.

When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Baieux, where the king then resided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket, he instantly perceived the consequences; was sensible that his whole plan of operations was overthrown; foresaw that the dangerous contest between the civil and spiritual powers, a contest which he himself had first roused, but which he had endeavoured by all his late negotiations and concessions, to appease, must come to an immediate and decisive issue; and he was thence thrown into the most violent commotion. The archbishop of York remarked to him, that so long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity: the king himself, being vehemently agitated, burst forth into an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the enterprises of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitzurse, William Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking these passionate expressions to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and swearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court. Some menacing expressions which they had dropped, gave a suspicion of their design; and the king dispatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. The four assassins, though they took different roads to England, arrived nearly about the same time at Saltwoode near Canterbury.

According to Lingard, "The next day about two in the afternoon, (of Dec. 29, 1170.) the knights abruptly entered the archbishop's apartment, and neglecting his salutation, seated themselves on the floor. It seems to have been their wish to begin by intimidation: but if they hoped to succeed, they knew little of the intrepid spirit of their opponent. Pretending to have received their commission from Henry, they ordered the primate to absolve the excommunicated prelates. He replied with firmness and occasionally with warmth, that if he had published the papal letters, it was with the royal permission: that the



case of the archbishop of York had been reserved to the pontiff: but that he was willing to absolve the others on condition that they previously took the accustomed oath of submitting to the determination of the church. It was singular that of the four knights, three had, in the days of his prosperity, spontaneously sworn fealty to him. Alluding to this circumstance, he said as they were quitting the room, 'Knowing what formerly passed between us, I am surprised you should come to threaten me in my own house.'—'We will do more than threaten,' was their reply.

"When they were gone, his attendants loudly expressed their alarm: he alone remained cool and collected, and neither in his tone nor gesture betrayed the slightest symptom of apprehension. In this moment of suspense the voices of the monks singing vespers in the choir struck their ears; and it occurred to some one that the church was a place of greater security than the palace. The archbishop, though he hesitated, was borne along by the pious importunity of his friends: but when he heard the gates close behind him, he instantly ordered them to be reopened, saying that the temple of God was not to be fortified like a castle. He had passed through the north transept, and was ascending the steps of the choir, when the knights with twelve companions, all in complete armour, burst into the church. As it was almost dark, he might, if he had pleased, have concealed himself among the crypts, or under the roof: but he turned to meet them, followed by Edward Grim, his cross-bearer, the only one of his attendants who had not fled. To the vociferations of Hugh of Horsea, a military sub-deacon, 'Where is the traitor?' no answer was returned: but when Fitzurse asked, 'Where is the archbishop?' he replied, 'Here I am, the archbishop, but no traitor. Reginald, I have granted thee many favours. What is thy object now? if you seek my life, I command you in the name of God not to touch one of my people.' When he was told that he must instantly absolve the bishops, he answered 'Till they offer satisfaction, I will not.'—'Then die!' exclaimed the assassin, aiming a blow at his head. Grim interposed his arm, which was broken, but the force of the stroke bore away the primate's cap, and wounded him on the crown. As he felt the blood trickling down his face he joined his hands, and bowed his head, saying: 'In the name of Christ and for the defence of his church I am ready to die.' In this posture, turned towards his murderers, without a groan and without a motion, he awaited a second stroke which threw him on his knees: the third laid him on the floor at the foot of St. Bennet's altar. The upper part of his skull was broken in pieces: and Hugh of Horsea placing his foot on the archbishop's neck, with the point of his sword drew out the brains, and strewed them over the pavement."

This was the tragical end of Thomas a Becket, a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover to the world, and probably to himself, the enterprises of pride and ambition, under the disguise of sanctity, and of zeal for the interests of religion: an extraordinary personage, surely, had he been allowed to remain in his first station, and had directed the vehemence of his character to the support of law and justice; instead of being engaged, by the prejudices of the times, to sacrifice all private duties and public connexions to ties which he

imagined or represented as superior to every civil and political consideration. But no man who enters into the genius of that age can reasonably doubt of this prelate's sincerity. The spirit of superstition was so prevalent, that it infallibly caught every careless reasoner, much more every one whose interest, and honour, and ambition, were engaged to support it. All the wretched literature of the times was enlisted on that side: some faint glimmerings of common sense might sometimes pierce through the thick cloud of ignorance, or, what was worse, the illusions of perverted science, which had blotted out the sun, and enveloped the face of nature: but those who preserved themselves untainted by the general contagion, proceeded on no principles which they could pretend to justify: they were more indebted to their total want of instruction, than to their knowledge, if they still retained some share of understanding: folly was possessed of all the schools, as well as all the churches; and her votaries assumed the garb of philosophers, together with the ensigns of spiritual dignities. Throughout that large collection of letters which bears the name of St. Thomas, we find, in all the retainers of that aspiring prelate, no less than in himself, a most entire and absolute conviction of the reason and piety of their own party, and a disdain of their antagonists: nor is there less cant and grimace in their style, when they address each other, than when they compose manifestos for the perusal of the public. The spirit of revenge, violence, and ambition, which accompanied their conduct, instead of forming a presumption of hypocrisy, are the surest pledges of their sincere attachment to a cause which so much flattered these domineering passions.

Henry, on the first report of Becket's violent measures, had purposed to have him arrested, and had already taken some steps towards the execution of that design: but the intelligence of his murder threw the prince into great consternation; and he was immediately sensible of the dangerous consequences which he had reason to apprehend from so unexpected an event. An archbishop of reputed sanctity assassinated before the altar, in the exercise of his functions, and on account of his zeal in maintaining ecclesiastical privileges, must attain the highest honours of martyrdom; while his murderer would be ranked among the most bloody tyrants that ever were exposed to the hatred and detestation of mankind. Interdicts and excommunications, weapons in themselves so terrible, would, he foresaw, be armed with double force, when employed in a cause so much calculated to work on the human passions, and so peculiarly adapted to the eloquence of popular preachers and declaimers. In vain would he plead his own innocence, and even his total ignorance of the fact: he was sufficiently guilty, if the church thought proper to esteem him such: and his concurrence in Becket's martyrdom, becoming a religious opinion, would be received with all the implicit credit which belonged to the most established articles of faith. These considerations gave the king the most unaffected concern; and as it was extremely his interest to clear himself from all suspicion, he took no care to conceal the depth of his affliction. He shut himself up from the light of day, and from all commerce with his servants: he even refused, during three days, all food and sustenance: the courtiers, apprehending dangerous

effects from his despair, were at last obliged to break in upon his solitude; and they employed every topic of consolation, induced him to accept of nourishment, and occupied his leisure in taking precautions against the consequences which he so justly apprehended from the murder of the primate.

The point of chief importance to Henry was to convince the pope of his innocence; or, rather to persuade him that he would reap greater advantages from the submissions of England, than from proceeding to extremities against that kingdom. The archbishop of Rouen, the bishops of Worcester and Evreux, with five persons of inferior quality, were immediately dispatched to Rome, and orders were given them to perform their journey with the utmost expedition. Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct; the pope was so little revered at home, that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassador who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humbler or rather abject submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet. It was at length agreed that Richard Barre, one of their number, should leave the rest behind, and run all the hazards of the passage, in order to prevent the fatal consequences which might ensue from any delay in giving satisfaction to his holiness. He found, on his arrival, that Alexander was already wrought up to the greatest rage against the king, that Becket's partisans were daily stimulating him to revenge, that the king of France had exhorted him to fulminate the most dreadful sentence against England, and that the very mention of Henry's name before the sacred college was received with every expression of horror and execration. The Thursday before Easter was now approaching, when it is customary for the pope to denounce annual curses against all his enemies; and it was expected that Henry should, with all the preparations peculiar to the discharge of that sacred artillery, be solemnly comprehended in the number. But Barre found means to appease the pontiff, and to deter him from a measure which, if it failed of success, could not afterwards be easily recalled: the anathemas were only levelled in general against all the actors, accomplices, and abettors of Becket's murder. The abbot of Valasse, and the archdeacons of Salisbury and Lisieux, with others of Henry's ministers, who soon after arrived, besides asserting that prince's innocence, made oath before the whole consistory, that he would stand to the pope's judgment in the affair, and make every submission that should be required of him. The terrible blow was thus artfully eluded; the cardinals Albert and Theodin were appointed legates to examine the cause, and were ordered to proceed to Normandy for that purpose; and though Henry's foreign dominions were already laid under an interdict by the archbishop of Sens, Becket's great partisan, and the pope's legate in France, the general expectation, that the monarch would easily exculpate himself from any concurrence in the guilt, kept every one in suspense, and prevented all the bad consequences which might be dreaded from that sentence.

The clergy, meanwhile, though then rage was happily diverted from falling on the king, were not idle in magnifying the sanctity of Becket; in extolling the merits of his martyrdom; and in exalting him above all that devoted tribe who in several ages had, by their blood, cemented the fabric of the temple. Other saints had only borne testimony by their sufferings to the general doctrines of Christianity; but Becket had sacrificed his life to the power and privileges of the clergy; and this peculiar merit challenged, and not in vain, a suitable acknowledgment to his memory. Endless were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his reliques were more numerous, more nonsensical, and more impudently attested, than those which ever filled the legend of any confessor or martyr. Two years after his death he was canonized by Pope Alexander; a solemn jubilee was established for celebrating his merits; his body was removed to a magnificent shrine, enriched with presents from all parts of Christendom; pilgrimages were performed to obtain his intercession with Heaven; and it was computed, that in one year above a hundred thousand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb. It is indeed a mortifying reflection to those who are actuated by the love of fame, so justly denominated the last infirmity of noble minds, that the wisest legislator, and most exalted genius that ever reformed or enlightened the world, can never expect such tributes of praise as are lavished on the memory of pretended saints, whose whole conduct was probably to the last degree odious or contemptible, and whose industry was entirely directed to the pursuit of objects pernicious to mankind. It is only a conqueror, a personage no less entitled to our hatred, who can pretend to the attainment of equal renown and glory.

It may not be amiss to remark, before we conclude the subject of Thomas a Becket, that the king, during his controversy with that prelate, was on every occasion more anxious than usual to express his zeal for religion, and to avoid all appearance of a profane negligence on that head. He gave his consent to the imposition of a tax on all his dominions for the delivery of the Holy Land, now threatened by the famous Saladin: this tax amounted to two-pence a pound for one year, and a penny a pound for the four subsequent. Almost all the princes of Europe laid a like imposition on their subjects, which received the name of Saladin's tax. During this period, there came over from Germany about thirty heretics of both sexes, under the direction of one Gerard; simple ignorant people, who could give no account of their faith, but declared themselves ready to suffer for the tenets of their master. They made only one convert in England, a woman as ignorant as themselves; yet they gave such umbrage to the clergy, that they were delivered over to the secular arm, and were punished, by being burned on the forehead, and then whipped through the streets. They seemed to exult in their sufferings, and as they went along sung the beatitude, "Blessed are ye, when men hate you, and persecute you." After they were whipped, they were thrust out almost naked in the midst of winter, and perished through cold and hunger; no one daring or being willing to give them the least relief. We are ignorant of the particular tenets of these people: for it would be imprudent to rely on the representations left of them



by the clergy, who affirmed that they denied the efficacy of the sacraments, and the unity of the church. It is probable that their departure from the standard of orthodoxy was still more subtle and minute. They seem to have been the first that ever suffered for heresy in England.

As soon as Henry found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, he undertook an expedition against Ireland; a design which he had long projected, and by which he hoped to recover his credit, somewhat impaired by his late transactions with the hierarchy.

## CHAPTER XII.

### HENRY II.

*State of Ireland—Conquest of that island—The king's accommodation with the court of Rome—Revolt of young Henry and his brothers—Wars and insurrections—War with Scotland—Penance of Henry for Becket's murder—William king of Scotland defeated and taken prisoner—The king's accommodation with his sons—The king's equitable administration—Crusades—Revolt of Prince Richard—Death and character of Henry—Miscellaneous transactions of his reign.*

THE following account of Ireland previous to the expedition of Henry is extracted from Lingard:—

"That the ancient inhabitants of Ireland were chiefly of Celtic origin, is evident from the language still spoken by their descendants. Of their manners, policy, and religion, we may safely judge from analogy. There can be no doubt that they lived in the same rude and uncivilized state, in which their neighbours were discovered by the legions of Rome, and the teachers of Christianity. Books indeed have been published, which minutely describe the revolutions of Erin from a period anterior to the deluge: but it is evident that the more early portion of the Irish history of Keating rests on the same baseless authority as the British history of Geoffrey, of bardic fictitious, and traditional genealogies. These, perhaps before, but most probably after, the introduction of Christianity, were committed to writing: new embellishments were added by the fancy of copyists and reciters: and a few additional links, the creation of one or two imaginary personages, connected the first settlers in Ireland with the founders of the tower of Babel. Nor were such fables the peculiar growth of the soil of Erin. The Frank and the Norman, the Briton and the Saxon, found no more difficulty than the Irishman in tracing back their progenitors to the ark; and pointing out the very grandson of Noah, from whom each was lineally descended. Hence if there were aught of truth in the traditions of these nations, it soon became so blended with fiction, that at the present day to distinguish one from the other must prove a hopeless as well as useless undertaking.

"Though the gospel had been preached in Ireland at a more early period, the general conversion of the natives had been reserved for the zeal of St. Patrick. This celebrated missionary was born in a village between Dumbarton and Glasgow, which has since assumed the name of Killpatrick. He commenced his labours in the year

432, and after a life of indefatigable exertion, died at an advanced age in 493. His disciples appear to have inherited the spirit of their teacher: churches and monasteries were successively founded: and every species of learning known at the time, was assiduously cultivated. It was the peculiar happiness of these ecclesiastics to escape the visits of the barbarians, who in the fifth and sixth centuries depopulated and dismembered the western empire. When science was almost extinguished on the continent, it still emitted a faint light from the remote shores of Erin: strangers from Britain, Gaul, and Germany, resorted to the Irish schools; and Irish missionaries established monasteries and imparted instruction on the banks of the Danube, and amid the snows of the Apennines. During this period, and under such masters, the natives were gradually reclaimed from ignorance and pursuits of savage life: but their civilization was retarded by the opposite influence of their national institutions: it was finally arrested by the invasions of the Northmen, who from the year 748, during more than two centuries, almost annually visited the island. These savages traversed it in every direction; went through their usual round of plunder, bloodshed, and devastation; and at last occupying the sea-coasts, formed settlements at the mouths of the navigable rivers. The result was the same in Ireland as in Britain and Gaul. Hunted by the invaders into the forests, and compelled to earn a precarious subsistence by stealth and rapine, the natives forgot the duties of religion, lost their relish for the comforts of society, and quickly relapsed into the habits and vices of barbarism.

"The national institutions to which I have just alluded as hostile to the progress of civilization were tanistry and gavelkind. 1. (Tanistry): the inhabitants were divided into numerous septs, each of which obeyed the paternal authority of its cannyun or chief. The cannyuns however seldom enjoyed independence. The weak were compelled to submit to the control of their more powerful neighbours, who assumed the titles of kings; and among the kings themselves there always existed an aid-riagh or chief monarch, who if he did not exercise, at least claimed, the sovereignty over the whole island. The law of tanistry regulated the succession to all these dignities from the highest to the lowest. It carefully excluded the sons from inheriting the authority of their father: and the tanist, the heir apparent, was elected by the suffrages of the sept during the life-time of the ruling chieftain. The eldest of the name and family had indeed the best title to this distinction: but his capacity and deserts were previously submitted to examination; and the charge of crime, or cowardice, or deformity, might be urged as an insuperable objection to his appointment. If the reigning family could not supply a fit person, the new tanist was selected from the next branch in the sept: and thus every individual could flatter himself that in the course of a few generations the chieftainry might fall to the lot of his own posterity. Such a custom, however, could not fail to create intestine quarrels, which instead of waiting the tardy decision of the triennial assembly of the states, were generally terminated by the passions and swords of the parties. The elections were often attended with bloodshed: sometimes the ambition of the tanist refused to

wait the natural death of his superior: frequently the son of the deceased chieftain attempted to seize by violence the dignity to which he was forbidden to aspire by the custom of his country. Hence every sept and every kingdom was divided by opposite interests; and the successful candidate, instead of applying to the improvement of his subjects, was compelled to provide for his own security by guarding against the wiles, the treachery, and swords, of his rivals.

"2. Gavelkind is that species of tenure, by which lands descend to all the sons equally, and without any consideration of primogeniture. It prevailed in former ages among all the British tribes; and some relics of it in an improved form remain in England even at the present day. Among the Irish it existed as late as the reign of James I; and still retained the rude features of the original institution. While it excluded all the females, both the widow and the daughters, from the possession of land, it equally admitted all the males without distinction of spurious or legitimate birth. Yet these did not succeed to the individual lands held by their father. At the death of each possessor the landed property of the sept was thrown into one common mass: a new division was made by the equity or caprice of the caufinny, and their respective portions were assigned to the different heads of families in the order of seniority. It is evident that such a tenure must have opposed an insuperable bar to agricultural improvement, and to the influence of agriculture, in multiplying the comforts of civilized life. It could only exist among a people principally addicted to pasturage, and to whom the prospect of migrating to a more favourable situation, made a transient, preferable to a permanent, interest in the soil. Accordingly Davis tells us, that even in his time, the districts, in which gavelkind was still in force, 'seemed to be all one wilderness.'

"When the natives, after a long struggle, assumed the ascendancy over the Danes, the restoration of tranquillity was prevented by the ambition of their princes, who during more than a hundred years, contended for the sovereignty of the island. It was in vain that the pontiffs repeatedly sent or appointed legates to establish the discipline of the canons, and reform the immorality of the nation: that the celebrated St. Malachy added the exertions of his zeal; and that the Irish prelates, in their synods, published laws, and pronounced censures. The efficacy of these measures was checked by the turbulence of the princes and the obstinacy of the people: it was entirely suspended by the subsequent invasion of the English. The state of Ireland has been delineated by Girald, who twice visited the island, once in the company of his brother, a military adventurer, and afterwards as the chaplain or secretary of John, the youngest of Henry's sons. In three books on the topography, and two on the subjugation of Ireland, he has left us the detail of all that he had heard, read, and saw. That the credulity of the Welshman was often deceived by fables, is evident; nor is it improbable that his partiality might occasionally betray him into unfriendly and exaggerated statements; yet the accuracy of his narrative in the more important points is confirmed by the whole tenor of Irish and English history, and by its accordance with the accounts which the abbot of Clairvaux had received from St. Malachy and his disciples. The ancient division of the island into five pro-

vinces or kingdoms,\* was still retained; but the nominal sovereignty over the whole, which for several generations had been possessed by the O'Neils, had of late been assumed by different chieftains, and was now claimed by the O'Connors, kings of Connaught. The sea-ports, inhabited chiefly by the descendants of the Ostmen, were places of some trade. Dublin is styled the rival of London; and the wines of Languedoc were imported in exchange for hides. But the majority of the natives shunned the towns, and lived in huts in the country. They preferred pasturage to agriculture. Restraint and labour were deemed by them the worst of evils: liberty and indolence the most desirable of blessings. The children owed little to the care of their parents; but shaped by the hand of nature, they acquired, as they grew up, elegant forms, which, aided by a lofty stature and florid complexion, excited the admiration of the invaders. Their clothing was scanty, fashioned after a manner, which to the eye of Girald, appeared barbarous, and spun from the wool of their sheep, sometimes dyed, but generally in its natural state. In battle they measured the valour of the combatants by their contempt for artificial assistance; and when they beheld the English knights covered with iron, hesitated not to pronounce them devoid of real courage. Their own arms were a short lance, or two javelins, with a hatchet of steel, called a 'sparthe.' These the invaders found to be a most formidable weapon. It was wielded with one hand, but with such address and impetuosity, as generally to penetrate the best-tempered armour. To bear it was the distinction of freemen; and as it was always in the hand, it was frequently made the instrument of revenge. They constructed their houses of timber and wicker work with an ingenuity which extorted the praise of the English. Their churches were generally built of the same materials; and when Archbishop Malachy began to build one of stone, the very attempt excited an insurrection of the people, who reproached him with abandoning the customs of his country, and introducing those of Gaul. In temper the natives are described as irascible and inconstant, warmly attached to their friends, faithless and vindictive to their enemies. Music was the acquirement in which they principally sought to excel; and the Welshman, with all his partiality for his own country, has the honesty to assign to the Irish the superiority on the harp." To which may be added (what Lingard himself confirms in a subsequent note), that they were unboundedly licentious, and far removed from the habits and decencies of civilized life.

The ambition of Henry had, very early in his reign, been moved by the intestine dissensions of Ireland, to attempt its subjection; and a pretence was only wanting to invade a people who, being always confined to their own island, had never given any reason of complaint to any of their neighbours. For this purpose, he had recourse to Rome, which assumed a right to dispose of kingdoms and empires; and not foreseeing the dangerous disputes, which he was one day to maintain with that see, he helped, for the present, or rather for an imaginary convenience, to give sanction to claims which were now become dangerous to all sovereigns. Adrian III., who then

\* Leinster, Desmond, or South Munster, Tuamond North Munster, Connaught and Ulster. Meath was considered as annexed to the dignity of monarch of Ireland



filled the papal chair, was by birth an Englishman; and being on that account more disposed to oblige Henry, he was easily persuaded to act as master of the world, and to make without any hazard or expense, the acquisition of a great island to his spiritual jurisdiction. The Irish had, by precedent missions from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to Christianity; and, what the pope regarded as the surest mark of their imperfect conversion, they followed the doctrines of their first teachers, and had never acknowledged any subjection to the see of Rome. Adrian, therefore, in the year 1156, issued a bull in favour of Henry; in which, after premising that this prince had ever shown an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to increase the number of his saints and elect in heaven; he represents his design of subduing Ireland as derived from the same pious motives: he considers his care of previously applying for the apostolic sanction as a sure earnest of success and victory; and having established it as a point incontestable, that all Christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to sow among them the seeds of the gospel, which might in the last day fructify to their eternal salvation: he exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every house, a penny to the see of Rome: he gives him entire right and authority over the island, commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign, and invests with full power all such godly instruments as he should think proper to employ in an enterprise thus calculated for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls of men. Henry, though armed with this authority, did not immediately put his design in execution; but being detained by more interesting business on the continent, waited for a favourable opportunity of invading Ireland.

Dermot Macmorragh, king of Leinster, had, by his licentious tyranny, rendered himself odious to his subjects, who seized with alacrity the first occasion that offered of throwing off the yoke, which was become grievous and oppressive to them. This prince had formed a design on Dovergilda, wife of Ororic prince of Breffny; and taking advantage of her husband's absence, who, being obliged to visit a distant part of his territory, had left his wife secure, as he thought, in an island surrounded by a bog; he suddenly invaded the place and carried off the princess. This exploit, though usual among the Irish, and rather deemed a proof of gallantry and spirit, provoked the resentment of the husband; who, having collected forces, and being strengthened by the alliance of Roderic king of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and expelled him his kingdom. The exiled prince had recourse to Henry, who was at this time in Guienne, craved his assistance in restoring to him his sovereignty, and offered, on that event, to hold his kingdom in vassalage under the crown of England. Henry, whose views were already turned towards making acquisitions in Ireland, readily accepted the offer; but being at that time embarrassed by the rebellions of his French subjects, as well as by his disputes with the see of Rome, he declined for the present embarking in the enterprise, and gave Dermot no further assistance than letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions.

Dermot, supported by this authority, came to Bristol; and after endeavouring, though for some time in vain, to engage adventurers in the enterprise, he at last formed a treaty with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul. This nobleman, who was of the illustrious house of Clare, had impaired his fortune by expensive pleasures; and being ready for any desperate undertaking, he promised assistance to Dermot, on condition that he should espouse Eva daughter of that prince, and be declared heir to all his dominions. While Richard was assembling his succours, Dermot went into Wales; and meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, constable of Abertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he also engaged them in his service, and obtained their promise of invading Ireland. Being now assured of succour, he returned privately to his own state; and lurking in the monastery of Ferneze, which he had founded (for this ruffian was also a founder of monasteries), he prepared everything for the reception of his English allies.

The troops of Fitz-Stephens were first ready. That gentleman landed in Ireland with thirty knights, sixty squires, and three hundred archers; but this small body being brave men, not unacquainted with discipline, and completely armed, a thing almost unknown in Ireland, struck a great terror into the barbarous inhabitants, and seemed to menace them with some signal revolution. The conjunction of Maurice de Pendergast, who, about the same time, brought over ten knights and sixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attempt the siege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes; and after gaining an advantage, he made himself master of the place. Soon after, Fitzgerald arrived with ten knights, thirty esquires, and a hundred archers; and being joined by the former adventurers, composed a force which nothing in Ireland was able to withstand. Roderic, the chief monarch of the island, was foiled in different actions; the prince of Ossory was obliged to submit, and give hostages for his peaceable behaviour; and Dermot, not content with being restored to his kingdom of Leinster, projected the detroning of Roderic, and aspired to the sole dominion over the Irish.

In prosecution of these views, he sent over a messenger to the earl of Strigul, challenging the performance of his promise, and displaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped, by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Richard, not satisfied with the general allowance given by Henry to all his subjects, went to that prince, then in Normandy; and having obtained a cold or ambiguous permission, prepared himself for the execution of his designs. He first sent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and seventy archers, who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thousand Irish that had ventured to attack him; and as Richard himself, who brought over two hundred horse, and a body of archers, joined, a few days after, the victorious English, they made themselves masters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by assault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural son, who had been left as a hostage in his hands; and Richard, marrying Eva, became soon after, by the death of Dermot, master of the kingdom of Leinster, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland. Roderic and the other Irish princes were alarmed at the danger; and com-

binning together, besieged Dublin with an army of thirty thousand men: but Earl Richard, making a sudden sally at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, put this numerous army to the rout, chased them off the field, and pursued them with great slaughter. None in Ireland now dared to oppose themselves to the English.

Henry, jealous of the progress made by his own subjects, sent orders to recall all the English, and he made preparations to attack Ireland in person: but Richard and the other adventurers found means to appease him, by making him the most humble submissions, and offering to hold all their acquisitions in vassalage to his crown. That monarch landed in Ireland at the head of five hundred knights, besides other soldiers: he found the Irish so dispirited by their late misfortunes, that, in a progress which he made through the island, he had no other occupation than to receive the homage of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish chieftains or princes in possession of their ancient territories; bestowed some land on the English adventurers; gave Earl Richard the commission of seneschal of Ireland; and after a stay for a few months, returned in triumph to England. By these trivial exploits, scarcely worth relating, except for the importance of the consequences, was Ireland annexed to the English crown.

The low state of commerce and industry during those ages, made it impracticable for princes to support regular armies, which might retain a conquered country in subjection; and the extreme barbarism and poverty of Ireland could still less afford means of bearing the expense. The only expedient by which a durable conquest could then be made or maintained, was by pouring in a multitude of new inhabitants, dividing among them the lands of the vanquished, establishing them in all offices of trust and authority, and thereby transforming the ancient inhabitants into a new people. By this policy, the northern invaders of old, and of late the duke of Normandy, had been able to fix their dominion, and to erect kingdoms, which remained stable on their foundations, and were transmitted to the posterity of the first conquerors. But the state of Ireland rendered that island so little inviting to the English, that only a few of desperate fortunes could be persuaded, from time to time, to transport themselves thither; and instead of reclaiming the natives from their uncultivated manners, they were gradually assimilated to the ancient inhabitants, and degenerated from the customs of their own nation. It was also found requisite to bestow great military and arbitrary powers on the leaders, who commanded a handful of men amidst such hostile multitudes; and law and equity, in a little time, became as much unknown in the English settlements, as they had ever been among the Irish tribes. Palatines were erected in favour of the new adventurers; independent authority conferred; the natives, never fully subdued, still retained their animosity against the conquerors; their hatred was retaliated by like injuries; and from these causes, the Irish, during the course of four centuries, remained still savage and untractable: it was not till the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, that the island was fully subdued; nor till that of her successor, that it gave hopes of becoming a useful conquest to the English nation. How far these expectations have ever been realized, may be judged of by the present wretched state of that ill-

governed and injured country. For centuries brutal force has been expended in endeavouring to crush the native spirit, which, like that of all generous barbarians, has only been strengthened by such a savage and stupid policy.

Besides that the apparent submission of the Irish left Henry no further occupation in that island, he was recalled from it by another incident, which was of the last importance to his interest and safety. The two legates, Albert and Theodiu, to whom was committed the trial of his conduct in the murder of Archbishop Becket, were arrived in Normandy; and being impatient of delay, sent him frequent letters, full of menaces, if he protracted any longer making his appearance before them. He hastened therefore to Normandy, and had a conference with them at Savigny, where their demands were so exorbitant, that he broke off the negotiation, threatened to return to Ireland, and bade them do their worst against him. They perceived that the season was now past for taking advantage of that tragical incident; which, had it been hotly pursued by interdicts and excommunications, was capable of throwing the whole kingdom into combustion. But the time which Henry had happily gained had contributed to appease the minds of men: the event could not now have the same influence as when it was recent; and as the clergy every day looked for an accommodation with the king, they had not opposed the pretensions of his partisans, who had been very industrious in representing to the people his entire innocence in the murder of the primate, and his ignorance of the designs formed by the assassins. The legates, therefore, found themselves obliged to lower their terms; and Henry was so fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them. He declared upon oath, before the relics of the saints, that so far from commanding or desiring the death of the archbishop, he was extremely grieved when he received intelligence of it: but as the passion which he had expressed on account of that prelate's conduct, had probably been the occasion of his murder, he stipulated the following conditions, as an atonement for the offence: he promised, that he should pardon all such as had been banished for adhering to Becket, and should restore them to their livings; that the see of Canterbury should be reinstated in all its ancient possessions; that he should pay the templars a sum of money sufficient for the subsistence of two hundred knights during a year in the Holy Land; that he should himself take the cross at the Christmas following, and, if the pope required it, serve three years against the infidels, either in Spain or Palestine; that he should not insist on the observance of such customs, derogatory to ecclesiastical privileges, as had been introduced in his own time; and that he should not obstruct appeals to the pope in ecclesiastical causes, but should content himself with exacting sufficient security from such clergymen as left his dominions to prosecute an appeal; that they should attempt nothing against the rights of his crown. Upon signing these concessions, Henry received absolution from the legates, and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland made by Pope Adrian; and nothing proves more strongly the great abilities of this monarch, than his extricating himself, on such easy terms, from so difficult a situation. He had always insisted, that the laws established at Clarendon contained not any new claims, but the ancient customs of the kingdom; and he was still at



liberty, notwithstanding the articles of this agreement, to maintain his pretensions. Appeals to the pope were indeed permitted by that treaty; but as the king was also permitted to exact reasonable securities from the parties, and might stretch his demands on this head as far as he pleased, he had it virtually in his power to prevent the pope from reaping any advantage by this seeming concession. And on the whole, the constitutions of Clarendon remained still the law of the realm; though the pope and his legates seem so little to have conceived the king's power to lie under any legal limitations, that they were satisfied with his departing, by treaty, from one of the most momentous articles of these constitutions, without requiring any repeal by the states of the kingdom.

Henry, freed from this dangerous controversy with the ecclesiastics and with the see of Rome, seemed now to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity, and to be equally happy in his domestic situation and in his political government. A numerous progeny of sons and daughters gave both lustre and authority to his crown, prevented the dangers of a disputed succession, and repressed all pretensions of the ambitious barons. The king's precaution also, in establishing the several branches of his family, seemed well calculated to prevent all jealousy among the brothers, and to perpetuate the greatness of his family. He had appointed Henry, his eldest son, to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; territories which lay contiguous, and which, by that means, might easily lead to each other mutual assistance both against intestine commotions and foreign invasions. Richard, his second son, was invested in the duchy of Guienne and county of Poitou; Geoffrey, his third son, inherited in right of his wife, the duchy of Brittany; and the new conquest of Ireland was destined for the appanage of John, his fourth son. He had also negotiated, in favour of this last prince, a marriage with Adelaide, the only daughter of Humbert count of Savoy and Maurienne; and was to receive as her dowry considerable demesnes in Piedmont, Savoy, Bresse, and Dauphiny. But this exaltation of his family excited the jealousy of all his neighbours, who made those very sons, whose fortunes he had so anxiously established, the means of embittering his future life, and disturbing his government.

Young Henry, who was rising to man's estate, began to display his character, and aspire to independence: brave, ambitious, liberal, munificent, affable; he discovered qualities which give great lustre to youth; prognosticate a shining fortune; but, unless tempered in mature age with discretion, are the forerunners of the greatest calamities. It is said, that at the time when this prince received the royal unction, his father, in order to give greater dignity to the ceremony, officiated at table as one of the retinue; and observed to his son, that never king was more royally served. "It is nothing extraordinary," said young Henry to one of his courtiers, "if the son of a count should serve the son of a king." This saying, which might pass only for an innocent pleasantry, or even for an oblique compliment to his father, was however regarded as a symptom of his aspiring temper; and his conduct soon after justified the conjecture.

Henry, agreeably to the promise which he had given both to the pope and French king, per-

mitted his son to be crowned anew by the hands of the archbishop of Rouen, and associated the princess Margaret, wife to young Henry, in the ceremony.\* He afterwards allowed him to pay a visit to his father-in-law at Paris, who took the opportunity of instilling into the young prince those ambitious sentiments to which he was naturally but too much inclined. Though it had been the constant practice of France, ever since the accession of the Capetian line, to crown the son during the lifetime of the father, without conferring on him any present participation of royalty, Lewis persuaded his son-in-law, that, by this ceremony, which in those ages was deemed so important, he had acquired a title to sovereignty, and that the king could not, without injustice, exclude him from immediate possession of the whole, or at least a part, of his dominions. In consequence of these extravagant ideas, young Henry, on his return, desired the king to resign to him either the crown of England, or the duchy of Normandy; discovered great discountenance on the refusal; spake in the most undutiful terms of his father; and soon after, in concert with Lewis, made his escape to Paris, where he was protected and supported by that monarch.

While Henry was alarmed at this accident, and had the prospect of dangerous intrigues, or even of a war, which, whether successful or not, must be extremely calamitous and disagreeable to him, he received intelligence of new misfortunes, which must have affected him in the most sensible manner. Queen Eleanor, who had disgusted her first husband, by her gallantries, was no less offensive to her second by her jealousy; and after this manner carried to extremity, in the different periods of her life, every circumstance of female weakness. She communicated her discontents against Henry to her two younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard; persuaded them that they were also entitled to present possession of the territories assigned to them; engaged them to fly secretly to the court of France; and was mediating herself an escape to the same court, and had even put on man's apparel for that purpose; when she was seized by orders from her husband, and thrown into confinement. Thus Europe saw with astonishment the best and most indulgent of parents at war with his whole family; three boys, scarcely arrived at the age of puberty, require a great monarch, in the full vigour of his age and height of his reputation, to dethrone himself in their favour; and several princes not ashamed to support them in these unnatural and absurd pretensions.

Henry, reduced to this perilous and disagreeable situation, had recourse to the court of Rome: though sensible of the danger attending the interposition of ecclesiastical authority in temporal disputes, he applied to the pope, as his superior lord, to excommunicate his enemies, and by these censures to reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found such reluctance to punish by the sword of the magistrate. Alexander, well pleased to exert his power in so justifiable a cause, issued the bulls required of him: but it was soon found, that these spiritual weapons had not the same force as when employed in a spiritual controversy; and that the clergy were very negligent in supporting a sentence, which was nowise

\* It appears from Madox's History of the Exchequer, that silk garments were then known in England, and that the coronation robes of the young king and queen cost eighty-seven pounds ten shillings and fourpence, money of that age

calculated to promote the immediate interests of their order. The king, after taking in vain this humiliating step, was obliged to have recourse to arms, and to enlist such auxiliaries, as are the usual resource of tyrants, and have seldom been employed by so wise and just a monarch.

The loose government which prevailed in all the states of Europe, the many private wars carried on among the neighbouring nobles, and the impossibility of enforcing any general execution of the laws, had encouraged a tribe of banditti to disturb every where the public peace, to infest the highways, to pillage the open country, and to brave all the efforts of the civil magistrate, and even the excommunications of the church, which were fulminated against them. Troops of them were sometimes enlisted in the service of one prince or baron, sometimes in that of another: they often acted in an independent manner, under leaders of their own: the peaceable and industrious inhabitants, reduced to poverty by their ravages, were frequently obliged for subsistence, to betake themselves to a like disorderly course of life: and a continual intestine war, pernicious to industry, as well as to the execution of justice, was thus carried on in the bowels of every kingdom. Those desperate ruffians received the name sometimes of Brabançons, sometimes of Routiers or Cottereaux; but for what reason is not agreed by historians: and they formed a kind of society or government among themselves, which set at defiance the rest of mankind. The greatest monarchs were not ashamed, on occasion, to have recourse to their assistance; and as their habits of war and depredation had given them experience, hardiness, and courage, they generally composed the most formidable part of those armies, which decided the political quarrels of princes. Several of them were enlisted among the forces levied by Henry's enemies; but the great treasures amassed by that prince enabled him to engage more numerous troops of them in his service; and the situation of his affairs rendered even such banditti the only forces on whose fidelity he could repose any confidence. His licentious barons, disgusted with a vigilant government, were more desirous of being ruled by young princes, ignorant of public affairs, remiss in their conduct, and profuse in their grants; and as the king had ensured to his sons the succession to every particular province of his dominions, the nobles dreaded no danger in adhering to those who, they knew, must some time become their sovereigns. Prompted by these motives, many of the Norman nobility had deserted to his son Henry; the Breton and Gascon barons seemed equally disposed to embrace the quarrel of Geoffrey and Richard. Disaffection had crept in among the English; and the earls of Leicester and Chester in particular had openly declared against the king. Twenty thousand Brabançons, therefore, joined to some troops which he brought over from Ireland, and a few barons of approved fidelity, formed the sole force with which he intended to resist his enemies.

Lewis, in order to bind the confederates in a closer union, summoned at Paris an assembly of the chief vassals of the crown, received their approbation of his measures, and engaged them by oath to adhere to the cause of young Henry. This prince, in return, bound himself by a like tie never to desert his French allies: and having made a new great seal, he lavishly distributed among them many considerable parts of those territories

which he purposed to conquer from his father. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Blois, and Eu, partly moved by the general jealousy, arising from Henry's power and ambition, partly allured by the prospect of reaping advantage from the inconsiderate temper and the necessities of the young prince, declared openly in favour of the latter. William king of Scotland had also entered into this great confederacy; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion on different parts of the king's extensive and factious dominions.

Hostilities were first commenced by the counts of Flanders and Boulogne on the frontiers of Normandy. Those princes laid siege to Aumale, which was delivered into their hands by the treachery of the count of that name: this nobleman surrendered himself prisoner; and on pretence of thereby paying his ransom, opened the gates of all his other fortresses. The two counts next besieged and made themselves masters of Drincourt: but the count of Boulogne was here mortally wounded in the assault; and this incident put some stop to the progress of the Flemish arms.

In another quarter, the king of France being strongly assisted by his vassals, assembled a great army of seven thousand knights and their followers on horseback, and a proportionable number of infantry: carrying young Henry along with him, he laid siege to Verneuil, which was vigorously defended by Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governors. After he had lain a month before the place, the garrison, being straitened for provisions, were obliged to capitulate and they engaged, if not relieved within three days, to surrender the town, and to retire into the citadel. On the last of these days, Henry appeared with his army upon the heights above Verneuil. Lewis, dreading an attack, sent the archbishop of Sens and the count of Blois to the English camp, and desired that next day should be appointed for a conference, in order to establish a general peace, and terminate the difference between Henry and his sons. The king, who passionately desired this accommodation, and suspected no fraud, gave his consent; but Lewis, that morning, obliging the garrison to surrender, according to the capitulation, set fire to the place, and began to retire with his army. Henry, provoked at this artifice, attacked the rear with vigour, put them to rout, did some execution, and took several prisoners. The French army, as their time of service was now expired, immediately dispersed themselves into their several provinces, and left Henry free to prosecute his advantages against his other enemies.

The nobles of Brittany, instigated by the earl of Chester and Ralph de Fougeres, were all in arms; but their progress was checked by a body of Brabançons, which the king, after Lewis's retreat, had sent against them. The two armies came to an action near Dol, where the rebels were defeated, fifteen hundred killed on the spot, and the leaders, the earls of Chester and Fougeres, obliged to take shelter in the town of Dol. Henry hastened to form the siege of that place, and carried on the attack with such ardour, that he obliged the governor and garrison to surrender themselves prisoners. By these vigorous measures and happy successes, the insurrections were entirely quelled in Brittany; and the king, thus fortunate in all quarters, willingly agreed to a conference with Lewis in hopes that his enemies



finding all their mighty efforts entirely frustrated, would terminate hostilities on some moderate and reasonable conditions.

The two monarchs met between Trie and Gisors; and Henry had there the mortification to see his three sons in the retinue of his mortal enemy. As Lewis had no other pretence for war than supporting the claims of the young princes, the king made them such offers as children might be ashamed to insist on, and could be extorted from him by nothing but his parental affection, or by the present necessity of his affairs. He insisted only on retaining the sovereign authority in all his dominions: but offered young Henry half the revenues of England, with some places of surety in that kingdom; or, if he rather chose to reside in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all those of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guienne; he promised to resign Britany to Geoffrey; and if these concessions were not deemed sufficient, he agreed to add to them whatever the pope's legates who were present, should require of him. The earl of Leicester was also present at the negotiation; and either from the impetuosity of his temper, or from a view of abruptly breaking off a conference which must cover the allies with confusion, he gave vent to the most violent reproaches against Henry, and he even put his hand to his sword, as if he meant to attempt some violence against him. This furious action threw the whole company into confusion, and put an end to the treaty.

The chief hopes of Henry's enemies seemed now to depend on the state of affairs in England, where his authority was exposed to the most imminent danger. One article of Prince Henry's agreement with his foreign confederates was, that he should resign Kent, with Dover, and all its other fortresses, into the hands of the earl of Flanders: yet so little national or public spirit prevailed among the independent English nobility, so wholly bent were they on the aggrandizement each of himself and his own family, that, notwithstanding this pernicious concession, which must have produced the ruin of the kingdom, the greater part of them had conspired to make an insurrection, and to support the prince's pretensions. The king's principal resource lay in the church and the bishops, with whom he was now in perfect agreement; whether that the decency of their character made them ashamed of supporting so unnatural a rebellion, or that they were entirely satisfied with Henry's atonement for the murder of Becket, and for his former invasion of ecclesiastical immunities. That prince, however, had resigned none of the essential rights of his crown in the accommodation; he maintained still the same prudent jealousy of the court of Rome; admitted no legate into England, without his swearing to attempt nothing against the royal prerogatives; and he had even obliged the monks of Canterbury, who pretended to a free election on the vacancy made by the death of Becket, to choose Roger, prior of Dover, in the place of that turbulent prelate.

The king of Scotland made an irruption into Northumberland, and committed great devastations; but being opposed by Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm, he retreated into his own country, and agreed to a cessation of arms. This truce enabled the guardian to march southward with his army, in order to oppose an invasion which the earl of Leices-

ter, at the head of a great body of Flemings, had made upon Suffolk. The Flemings had been joined by Hugh Bigod, who made them masters of his castle of Framlingham; and marching into the heart of the kingdom, where they hoped to be supported by Leicester's vassals, they were met by Lucy, who, assisted by Humphrey Bohun, the constable, and the earls of Arundel, Gloucester, and Cornwall, had advanced to Farnham, with a less numerous, but braver army to oppose them. The Flemings, who were mostly weavers and artificers (for manufactures were now beginning to be established in Flanders), were broken in an instant, ten thousand of them were put to the sword, the earl of Leicester was taken prisoner, and the remains of the invaders were glad to compound for a safe retreat into their own country.

This great defeat did not dishearten the malecontents, who, being supported by the alliance of so many foreign princes, and encouraged by the king's own sons, determined to persevere in their enterprise. The earl of Ferrars, Roger de Moubray, Archetel de Mallory, Richard de Moreville, Hamo de Mascie, together with many friends of the earls of Leicester and Chester, rose in arms: the fidelity of the earls of Clare and Gloucester was suspected; and the guardian, though vigorously supported by Geoffrey bishop of Lincoln, the king's natural son by the fair Rosamond, found it difficult to defend himself on all quarters, from so many open and concealed enemies. The more to augment the confusion, the king of Scotland, on the expiration of the truce, broke into the northern provinces with a great army of 20,000 men; which, though undisciplined and disorderly, and better fitted for committing devastation than for executing any military enterprise, was become dangerous from the present factious and turbulent spirit of the kingdom. Henry, who had baffled all his enemies in France, and had put his frontiers in a posture of defence, now found England the seat of danger; and he determined by his presence to overawe the malecontents, or by his conduct and courage to subdue them. He landed at Southampton; and knowing the influence of superstition over the minds of the people, he hastened to Canterbury, in order to make atonement to the ashes of Thomas a Becket, and tender his submissions to a dead enemy. As soon as he came within sight of the church of Canterbury, he dismounted, walked barefoot towards it, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy relics. Not content with this hypocritical devotion towards a man, whose violence and ingratitude had so long disquieted his government, and had been the object of his most inveterate animosity, he submitted to a penance still more singular and humiliating. He assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these ecclesiastics successively inflicted upon him. Next day he received absolution; and departing for London, got soon after the agreeable intelligence of a great victory which his generals had obtained over the Scots, and which being gained, as was reported, on the very day of his absolution, was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with Thomas a Becket.

William king of Scots, though repulsed before

the castle of Prudhoe, and other fortified places, had committed the most horrible depredations upon the northern provinces : but on the approach of Ralph de Glanville, the famous justiciary, seconded by Bernard de Baliol, Robert de Stuteville, Odonel de Umfreville, William de Vesci, and other Norman barons, together with the gallant bishop of Lincoln, he thought proper to retreat nearer his own country, and he fixed his camp at Alnwick. He had here weakened his army extremely, by sending out numerous detachments in order to extend his ravages ; and he lay absolutely safe, as he imagined, from any attack of the enemy. But Glanville, informed of his situation, made a hasty and fatiguing march to New-castle ; and allowing his soldiers only a small interval for refreshment, he immediately set out towards evening for Alnwick. He marched that night above thirty miles ; arrived in the morning, under cover of a mist, near the Scottish camp ; and regardless of the great numbers of the enemy, he began the attack with his small but determined body of cavalry. William was living in such supine security, that he took the English, at first, for a body of his own ravagers, who were returning to the camp : but the sight of their banners convincing him of his mistake, he entered on the action with no greater body than a hundred horse, in confidence that the numerous army which surrounded him would soon hasten to his relief. He was dismounted on the first shock, and taken prisoner ; while his troops, hearing of this disaster, fled on all sides with the utmost precipitation. The dispersed ravagers made the best of their way to their own country ; and discord arising among them, they proceeded even to mutual hostilities, and suffered more from each other's sword, than from that of the enemy.

This great and important victory proved at last decisive in favour of Henry, and entirely broke the spirit of the English rebels. The bishop of Durham, who was preparing to revolt, made his submissions ; Hugh Bigod, though he had received a strong reinforcement of Flemings, was obliged to surrender all his castles, and throw himself on the king's mercy ; no better resource was left to the earl of Ferrars and Roger de Mowbray ; the inferior rebels imitating the example, all England was restored to tranquillity in a few weeks ; and as the king appeared to lie under the immediate protection of Heaven, it was deemed impious any longer to resist him. The clergy exalted anew the merits and powerful intercession of Becket ; and Henry, instead of opposing this superstition, plumed himself on the new friendship of the saint, and propagated an opinion which was so favourable to his interests.

Prince Henry, who was ready to embark at Gravelines, with the earl of Flanders and a great army, hearing that his partisans in England were suppressed, abandoned all thoughts of the enterprise, and joined the camp of Lewis, who, during the absence of the king, had made an irruption into Normandy, and had laid siege to Rouen. The place was defended with great vigour by the inhabitants ; and Lewis, despairing of success by open force, tried to gain the town by a stratagem, which, in that superstitious age, was deemed not very honourable. He proclaimed in his own camp a cessation of arms, on pretence of celebrating the festival of St. Laurence ; and when the citizens, supposing themselves in safety, were so imprudent as to remit their guard, he purposed

to take advantage of their security. Happily, some priests had, from mere curiosity, mounted a steeple, where the alarm-bell hung ; and observing the French camp in motion, they immediately rang the bell, and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran to their several stations. The French, who, on hearing the alarm, hurried to the assault, had already mounted the walls in several places ; but being repulsed by the enraged citizens, were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. Next day Henry, who had hastened to the defence of his Norman dominions, passed over the bridge in triumph, and entered Rouen in sight of the French army. The city was now in absolute safety ; and the king, in order to brave the French monarch, commanded the gates, which had been walled up, to be opened ; and he prepared to push his advantages against the enemy. Lewis saved himself from this perilous situation by a new piece of deceit, not so justifiable. He proposed a conference for adjusting the terms of a general peace, which he knew would be greedily embraced by Henry ; and while the king of England trusted to the execution of his promise, he made a retreat with his army into France.

There was, however, a necessity on both sides for an accommodation. Henry could no longer bear to see his three sons in the hands of his enemy ; and Lewis dreaded, lest this great monarch, victorious in all quarters, crowned with glory, and absolute master of his dominions, might take revenge for the many dangers and disquietudes which the arms, and still more the intrigues, of France, had, in his disputes both with Becket and his sons, found means to raise him. After making a cessation of arms, a conference was agreed on near Tours ; where Henry granted his sons much less advantageous terms than he had formerly offered ; and he received their submissions. The most material of his concessions were some pensions which he stipulated to pay them, and some castles which he granted them for the place of their residence ; together with an indemnity for all their adherents, who were restored to their estates and honours.

Of all those who had embraced the cause of the young prince, William king of Scotland was the only considerable loser by that invidious and unjust enterprise. Henry delivered from confinement, without exacting any ransom, about nine hundred knights whom he had taken prisoners ; but it cost William the ancient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty. He stipulated to do homage to Henry for Scotland and all his other possessions ; he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom should also do homage ; that the bishops should take an oath of fealty ; that both should swear to adhere to the king of England against their native prince, if the latter should break his engagements ; and that the fortresses of Edinburgh, Sterling, Berwick, Roxborough, and Jedborough, should be delivered into Henry's hands till the performances of articles. This severe and humiliating treaty was executed in its full rigour. William being released, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots ; and they did homage to Henry in the cathedral of York, and acknowledged him and his successors for their superior lord. The English monarch stretched still farther the rigour of the conditions which he exacted. He engaged the king and states of Scotland to make a perpe-



tual cession of the fortresses of Berwick and Roxborough, and to allow the castle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time. This was the first great ascendancy which England obtained over Scotland; and indeed the first important transaction which had passed between the kingdoms. Few princes have been so fortunate as to gain considerable advantages over their weaker neighbours with less violence and injustice than were practised by Henry against the king of Scots, whom he had taken prisoner in battle, and who had wantonly engaged in a war, in which all the neighbours of that prince, and even his own family were, without provocation, combined against him.\*

Henry having thus, contrary to expectation, extricated himself with honour from a situation in which his throne was exposed to great danger, was employed for several years in the administration of justice, in the execution of the laws, and in guarding against those inconveniences, which either the past convulsions of his state, or the political institutions of that age, unavoidably occasioned. The provisions which he made, show such largeness of thought as qualified him for being a legislator; and they were commonly calculated as well for the future as the present happiness of his kingdom.

He enacted severe penalties against robbery, murder, false coining, arson; and ordained that these crimes should be punished by the amputation of the right hand and right foot. The pecuniary commutation for crimes, which has a false appearance of lenity, had been gradually disused; and seems to have been entirely abolished by the rigour of these statutes. The superstitious trial by water ordeal, though condemned by the church, still subsisted; but Henry ordained, that any man accused of murder, or any heinous felony, by the oath of the legal knights of the county, should, even though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to abjure the realm.

All advances towards reason and good sense are slow and gradual. Henry, though sensible of the great absurdity attending the trial by duel or battle, did not venture to abolish it: he only admitted either of the parties to challenge a trial by an assize or jury of twelve freeholders. This latter method of trial seems to have been very ancient in England, and was fixed by the laws of King Alfred: but the barbarous and violent genius of the age had of late given more credit to the trial by battle, which had become the general method of deciding all important controversies. It was never abolished by law in England; and there is an instance of it so late as the reign of Elizabeth: but the institution revived by this king, being found more reasonable and more suitable to a civilized people, gradually prevailed over it.

The partition of England into four divisions, and the appointment of itinerant justices to go the circuit in each division, and to decide the causes in the counties, was another important ordinance of this prince, which had a direct tendency to curb the oppressive barons, and to protect the inferior gentry and common people in their property. Those justices were either prelates or

considerable noblemen; who, besides carrying the authority of the king's commission, were able, by the dignity of their own character, to give weight and credit to the laws.

That there might be fewer obstacles to the execution of justice, the king was vigilant in demolishing all the new-erected castles of the nobility, in England as well as in his foreign dominions; and he permitted no fortress to remain in the custody of those whom he found reason to suspect.

But lest the kingdom should be weakened by this demolition of the fortresses the king fixed an assize of arms, by which all his subjects were obliged to put themselves in a situation for defending themselves and the realm. Every man possessed of a knight's fee was ordained to have for each fee a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; every free layman, possessed of goods to the value of sixteen marks, was to be armed in like manner; every one that possessed ten marks was obliged to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; all burgesses were to have a cap of iron, a lance, and a wambais; that is a coat quilted with wool, tow, or such-like materials. It appears that archery, for which the English were afterwards so renowned, had not at this time become very common among them. The spear was the chief weapon employed in battle.

The clergy and the laity were, during that age, in a strange situation with regard to each other, and such as may seem totally incompatible with a civilized, and indeed with any species of government. If a clergyman were guilty of murder, he could be punished by degradation only: if he were murdered, the murderer was exposed to nothing but excommunication and ecclesiastical censures; and the crime was atoned for by penances and submission. Hence the assassin of Thomas a Becket himself, though guilty of the most atrocious wickedness, and the most repugnant to the sentiments of that age, lived securely in their own houses, without being called to account by Henry himself, who was so much concerned both in honour and interest, to punish that crime, and who professed, or affected on all occasions, the most extreme abhorrence of it. It was not till they found their presence shunned by every one as excommunicated persons, that they were induced to take a journey to Rome, to throw themselves at the feet of the pontiff, and to submit to the penances imposed upon them: after which, they continued to possess, without molestation, their honours and fortunes, and seem even to have recovered the countenance and good opinion of the public. But as the king, by the constitutions of Clarendon, which he endeavoured still to maintain, had subjected the clergy to a trial by the civil magistrate, it seemed but just to give them the protection of that power to which they owed obedience: it was enacted, that the murderers of clergymen should be tried before the justiciary, in the presence of the bishop or his official; and besides the usual punishment for murder, should be subjected to a forfeiture of their estates, and a confiscation of their goods and chattels.

The king passed an equitable law, that the goods of a vassal should not be seized for the debt of his lord, unless the vassal be surety for the debt; and that the rents of vassals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himself. It is remarkable, that this law was enacted by the king in council which he held at Verneuil, and

\* Some Scotch historians pretend that William paid, besides, 100,000 pounds of ransom, which is quite incredible. The ransom of Richard I. who, besides England, possessed so many rich territories in France, was only 150,000 marks, and yet was levied with great difficulty. Indeed, two thirds of it only could be paid before his deliverance.

which consisted of some prelates and barons of England, as well as some of Normandy, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Brittany; and the statute took place in all these last-mentioned territories,\* though totally unconnected with each other:† a certain proof how irregular the ancient feudal government was, and how near the sovereigns, in some instances, approached to despotism, though in others they seemed scarcely to possess any authority. If a prince much dreaded and revered, like Henry, obtained but the appearance of general consent to an ordinance which was equitable and just, it became immediately an established law, and all his subjects acquiesced in it. If the prince was hated or despised; if the nobles who supported him had small influence; if the humours of the times disposed the people to question the justice of his ordinance; the fullest and most authentic assembly had no authority. Thus all was confusion and disorder; no regular idea of a constitution; force and violence decided every thing.

The success which had attended Henry in his wars did not much encourage his neighbours to form any attempt against him; and his transactions with them, during several years, contain little memorable. Scotland remained in that state of feudal subjection to which he had reduced it, and gave him no further inquietude. He sent over his fourth son, John, into Ireland, with a view of making a more complete conquest of the island; but the petulance and incapacity of this prince, by which he enraged the Irish chieftains, obliged the king soon after to recall him. The king of France had fallen into an abject superstition; and was induced, by a devotion more sincere than that of Henry, to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in order to obtain his intercession for the cure of Philip, his eldest son. He probably thought himself well entitled to the favour of that saint, on account of their ancient intimacy; and hoped that Becket, whom he had protected while on earth, would not now, when he was so highly exalted in heaven, forget his old friend and benefactor. The monks, sensible that their saint's honour was concerned in the case, failed not to publish that Lewis's prayers were answered, and that the young prince was restored to health by Becket's intercession. That king himself was soon after struck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his understanding: Philip, though a youth of fifteen, took on him the administration, till his father's death, which happened soon after, opened his way to the throne; and he proved the ablest and greatest monarch that had governed that kingdom since the age of Charlemagne. The superior years, however, and experience of Henry, while they moderated his ambition, gave him such an ascendancy over this prince, that no dangerous rivalry, for a long time, arose between them. The English monarch, instead of taking advantage of his own situation, rather employed his good offices in composing the quarrels which arose in the royal family of France; and he was successful in mediating a reconciliation between Philip and his mother and uncles.

These services were but ill requited by Philip, who, when he came to man's estate, fomented all the domestic discords in the royal family of England, and encouraged Henry's sons in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards him.

Prince Henry, equally impatient of obtaining power, and incapable of using it, renewed to the king the demand of his resigning Normandy; and on meeting with a refusal, he fled with his consort to the court of France; but not finding Philip at that time disposed to enter into war for his sake, he accepted of his father's offers of reconciliation, and made him submissions. It was a cruel circumstance in the king's fortune, that he could hope for no tranquillity from the criminal enterprises of his sons but by their mutual discord and animosities, which disturbed his family, and threw his state into convulsions. Richard, whom he had made master of Guienne, and who had displayed his valour and military genius by suppressing the revolts of his mutinous barons, refused to obey Henry's orders, in doing homage to his elder brother for that duchy; and he defended himself against young Henry and Geoffrey, who, uniting their arms, carried war into his territories. The king, with some difficulty, composed this difference; but immediately found his eldest son engaged in conspiracies, and ready to take arms against himself. While the young prince was conducting these criminal intrigues, he was seized with a fever at Martel, a castle near Turenne, to which he had retired in discontent; and seeing the approaches of death, he was at last struck with remorse for his undutiful behaviour towards his father. He sent a message to the king, who was not far distant; expressed his contrition for his faults; and entreated the favour of a visit, that he might at least die with the satisfaction of having obtained his forgiveness. Henry, who had so often experienced the prince's ingratitude and violence, apprehended that his sickness was entirely feigned, and he durst not intrust himself into his son's hands; but when he soon after received intelligence of young Henry's death, and the proofs of his sincere repentance, this good prince was affected with the deepest sorrow; he thrice fainted away; he accused his own hard-heartedness in refusing the dying request of his son; and he lamented that he had deprived that prince of the last opportunity of making atonement for his offences, and of pouring out his soul in the bosom of his reconciled father. This prince died in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

The behaviour of his surviving children did not tend to give the king any consolation for the loss. As Prince Henry had left no posterity, Richard was become heir to all his dominions, and the king intended that John, his third surviving son and favourite should inherit Guienne as an appanage: but Richard refused his consent, fled into that duchy, and even made preparations for carrying on war, as well against his father as against his brother Geoffrey, who was now put in possession of Brittany. Henry sent for Eleanor his queen, the heiress of Guienne, and required Richard to deliver up to her the dominion of these territories; which that prince, either dreading an insurrection of the Gascons in her favour, or retaining some sense of duty towards her, readily performed; and he peaceably returned to his father's court. No sooner was this quarrel accommodated, than Geoffrey, the most vicious perhaps of all Henry's unhappy family, broke out into violence:

\* It was usual for the kings of England, after the conquest of Ireland, to summon barons and members of that country to the English parliament.

† Spelman even doubts whether the law was not also extended to England. If it were not, it could only be because Henry did not choose it; for his authority was greater in that kingdom than in his transmarine dominions.



demanding Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Britany; and on meeting with a refusal, fled to the court of France, and levied forces against his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his son's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris. The widow of Geoffrey, soon after his decease, was delivered of a son, who received the name of Arthur, and was invested in the duchy of Britany, under the guardianship of his grandfather, who, as duke of Normandy, was also superior lord of that territory. Philip, as lord paramount, disputed some time his title to this wardship; but was obliged to yield to the inclinations of the Bretons, who preferred the government of Henry.

But the rivalry between these potent princes, and all their inferior interest, seemed now to have given place to the general passion for the relief of the Holy Land, and the expulsion of the Saracens. Those infidels, though obliged to yield to the immense inundation of Christians in the first crusade, had recovered courage after the torrent was past; and attacking on all quarters the settlements of the Europeans, had reduced these adventurers to great difficulties, and obliged them to apply again for succours for the West. A second crusade, under the emperor Conrad, and Lewis VII. king of France, in which there perished about 200,000 men, brought them but a temporary relief; and those princes, after losing such immense armies, and seeing the flower of their nobility fall by their side, returned with little honour into Europe. But these repeated misfortunes, which drained the western world of its people and treasure, were not yet sufficient to cure men of their passion for those spiritual adventures; and a new incident rekindled with fresh fury the zeal of the ecclesiastics and military adventurers among the Latin Christians. Saladin, a prince of great generosity, bravery, and conduct, having fixed himself on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquests over the East; and finding the settlement of the Christians in Palestine an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to subdue that small and barren, but important territory. Taking advantage of dissensions which prevailed among the champions of the cross, and having secretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with a mighty power; and aided by the treachery of that count, gained over them at Tiberiade a complete victory, which utterly annihilated the force of the already languishing kingdom of Jerusalem. The holy city itself fell into his hands, after a feeble resistance; the kingdom of Antioch was almost entirely subdued; and except some maritime towns, nothing considerable remained of those boasted conquests, which, near a century before, it had cost the efforts of all Europe to acquire.

The western Christians were astonished on receiving this dismal intelligence. Pope Urban III. it is pretended, died of grief; and his successor, Gregory VIII. employed the whole time of his short pontificate in rousing to arms all the Christians who acknowledged his authority. The general cry was, that they were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven, who did not vindicate from the dominion of the infidels the inheritance of God on earth, and deliver from slavery that country which had been consecrated by the footsteps of their Redeemer. William archbishop

of Tyre, having procured a conference between Henry and Philip near Gisors, enforced all these topics; gave a pathetic description of the miserable state of the eastern Christians; and employed every argument to excite the ruling passions of the age, superstition, and jealousy of military honour. The two monarchs immediately took the cross; many of their most considerable vassals imitated the example; and as the Emperor Frederic I. entered into the same confederacy, some well-grounded hopes of success were entertained; and men flattered themselves, that an enterprise which had failed under the conduct of many independent leaders, or of imprudent princes, might at last, by the efforts of such potent and able monarchs, be brought to a happy issue.

The kings of France and England imposed a tax, amounting to the tenth of all moveable goods, on such as remained at home; but as they exempted from this burden most of the regular clergy, the secular aspired to the same immunity; pretended that their duty obliged them to assist the crusade with their prayers alone; and it was with some difficulty they were constrained to desist from an opposition, which in them, who had been the chief promoters of those pious enterprises, appeared with the worst grace imaginable. This backwardness of the clergy is perhaps a symptom, that the enthusiastic ardour which had at first seized the people for crusades, was now by time and ill success considerably abated; and that the frenzy was chiefly supported by the military genius and love of glory in the monarchs.

But before this great machine could be put in motion, there were still many obstacles to surmount. Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private confederacy with young Richard; and, working on his ambitious and impatient temper, persuaded him, instead of supporting and aggrandizing that monarchy which he was one day to inherit, to seek present power and independence by disturbing and dismembering it. In order to give a pretence for hostilities between the two kings, Richard broke into the territories of Raymond count of Toulouse, who immediately carried complaints of this violence before the king of France as his superior lord. Philip remonstrated with Henry; but received for answer, that Richard had confessed to the archbishop of Dublin, that his enterprise against Raymond had been undertaken by the approbation of Philip himself, and was conducted by his authority. The king of France, who might have been covered with shame and confusion by his detection, still prosecuted his design, and invaded the provinces of Berri and Auvergne, under colour of revenging the quarrel of the count of Toulouse. Henry retaliated, by making inroads upon the frontiers of France, and burning Dreux. As this war, which destroyed all hopes of success in the projected crusade, gave great scandal, the two kings held a conference at the accustomed place between Gisors and Trie, in order to find means of accommodating their differences; they separated on worse terms than before; and Philip, to show his disgust, ordered a great elm, under which the conferences had been usually held, to be cut down; as if he had renounced all desire of accommodation, and was determined to carry the war to extremities against the king of England. But his own vassals refused to serve under

him in so invidious a cause; and he was obliged to come anew to a conference with Henry, and to offer terms of peace. These terms were such as entirely opened the eyes of the king of England, and fully convinced him of the perfidy of his son, and his secret alliance with Philip, of which he had before only entertained some suspicion. The king of France required that Richard should be crowned king of England in the lifetime of his father, should be invested in all his transmarine dominions, and should immediately espouse Alice, Philip's sister, to whom he had formerly been affianced, and who had already been conducted into England. Henry had experienced such fatal effects, both from the crowning of his eldest son, and from that prince's alliance with the royal family of France, that he rejected these terms; and Richard, in consequence of his secret agreement with Philip, immediately revolted from him, did homage to the king of France for all the dominions which Henry held of that crown, and received the investitures as if he had already been the lawful possessor. Several historians assert, that Henry himself had become enamoured of young Alice, and mention this as an additional reason for his refusing these conditions: but he had so many other just and equitable motives for his conduct, that it is superfluous to assign a cause, which the great prudence and advanced age of that monarch render somewhat improbable.

Cardinal Albano, the pope's legate, displeased with these increasing obstacles to the crusade, excommunicated Richard, as the chief spring of discord: but the sentence of excommunication, which, when it was properly prepared, and was zealously supported by the clergy, had often great influence in that age, proved entirely ineffectual in the present case. The chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Normandy, and Anjou, being attached to the young prince, and finding that he had now received the investiture from their superior lord, declared for him, and made inroads into the territories of such as still adhered to the king. Henry, disquieted by the daily revolts of his mutinous subjects, and dreading still worse effects from their turbulent dispositions, had again recourse to papal authority; and engaged the Cardinal Anagni, who had succeeded Albano in the legateship, to threaten Philip with laying an interdiction on all his dominions. But Philip, who was a prince of great vigour and capacity, despised the menace, and told Anagni, that it belouged not to the pope to interpose in the temporal disputes of princes, much less between him and his rebellious vassal. He even proceeded so far as to reproach him with partiality, and with receiving bribes from the king of England; while Richard, still more outrageous, offered to draw his sword against the legate, and was hindered by the interposition alone of the company from committing violence upon him.

The king of England was now obliged to defend his dominions by arms, and to engage in a war with France, and with his eldest son, a prince of great valour, on such disadvantageous terms. Ferte-Bernard fell first into the hands of the enemy: Mans was next taken by assault; and Henry, who had thrown himself into that place, escaped with some difficulty: Amboise, Chaumont, and Chateau de Loire, opened their gates on the appearance of Philip and Richard: Tours was menaced; and the king who had retired to Saumur, and had daily instances of the cowardice

or infidelity of his governors, expected the most dismal issue to all his enterprises. While he was in this state of despondency, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Flanders, and the archbishop of Rheims, interposed with their good offices; and the intelligence which he received of the taking of Tours, and which made him fully sensible of the desperate situation of his affairs, so subdued his spirit, that he submitted to all the rigorous terms which were imposed upon him. He agreed, that Richard should marry the Princess Alice; that that prince should receive the homage and oath of fealty of all his subjects both in England and his transmarine dominions; that he himself should pay twenty thousand marks to the king of France as a compensation for the charges of the war; that his own barons should engage to make him observe this treaty by force, and in case of his violating it, should promise to join Philip and Richard against him; and that all his vassals who had entered into confederacy with Richard, should receive an indemnity for the offence.

But the mortification which Henry, who had been accustomed to give the law in most treaties, received from these disadvantageous terms, was the least that he met with on this occasion. When he demanded a list of those barons to whom he was bound to grant a pardon for their connexions with Richard, he was astonished to find at the head of them the name of his second son John; who had always been his favourite, whose interests he had ever anxiously at heart, and who had even on account of his ascendancy over him, often excited the jealousy of Richard. The unhappy father, already overloaded with cares and sorrows, finding his last disappointment in his domestic tenderness, broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day in which he received his miserable being, and bestowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction which he never could be prevailed on to retract. The more his heart was disposed to friendship and affection, the more he resented the barbarous return which his four sons had successively made to his parental care; and this finishing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his spirit, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired at the castle of Chinon near Saumur. His natural son Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutifully towards him, attended his corpse to the nunnery of Fontevrault; where it lay in state in the abbey-church. Next day Richard, who came to visit the dead body of his father, and who, notwithstanding his criminal conduct, was not wholly destitute of generosity, was struck with horror and remorse at the sight; and as the attendants observed, that at that very instant, blood gushed from the mouth and nostrils of the corpse, he exclaimed, agreeably to a vulgar superstition, that he was his father's murderer; and he expressed a deep sense, though too late, of that undutiful behaviour which had brought his parent to an untimely grave.

Thus died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign, the greatest prince of his time for wisdom, virtue, and abilities, and the most powerful in extent of dominion of all those that had ever filled the throne of England. His character, in private as well as in public life, is almost without a blemish; and he seems to have possessed every accomplishment, both of body and mind, which makes a man either estimable



or amiable. He was of a middle stature, strong and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable and entertaining; his elocution easy, persuasive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity; severe in the execution of justice without rigour; and temperate without austerity. He preserved health, and kept himself from corpulency, to which he was somewhat inclined, by an abstemious diet, and by frequent exercise, particularly hunting. When he could enjoy leisure, he recreated himself either in learned conversation or in reading; and he cultivated his natural talents by study, above any prince of his time. His affections, as well as his enmities, were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of men never destroyed the natural sensibility of his temper, which disposed him to friendship and society. His character has been transmitted to us by several writers who were his contemporaries; and it extremely resembles, in its most remarkable features, that of his maternal grandfather Henry I.: excepting only, that ambition, which was a ruling passion in both, found not in the first Henry such unexceptionable means of exerting itself, and pushed that prince into measures which were both criminal in themselves, and were the cause of further crimes, from which his grandson's conduct was happily exempted.

His character is somewhat less favourably drawn by Lingard, but it must be remembered he has drawn his information more largely from the statements of ecclesiastics, than Hume. He says, "The stature of Henry was moderate, his countenance majestic, and his complexion florid; but his person was disfigured by an unseemly protuberance of the abdomen, which he sought to contract by the united aid of exercise and sobriety. Few persons have equalled him in abstemiousness, none perhaps in activity. He was perpetually in motion on foot or on horseback. Every moment which could be spared from more important concerns, he devoted to hunting; but no fatigue could subdue his restlessness: after the chase he would snatch a hasty repast, and then rising from table, in spite of the murmurs of his attendants, keep them walking or standing till bed-time. During his education in the castle of Gloucester he had acquired a knowledge of letters; and after his accession delighted in the conversation of the learned. Such was the power of his memory, that he is said to have retained whatever he had heard or read, and to have recognised at the first glance every person whom he had previously seen. He was eloquent, affable, facetious, uniting with the dignity of the prince the manners of a gentleman; but under this fascinating outside was concealed a heart that could descend to the basest artifices, and sport with its own honour and veracity. No one would believe his assertions or trust his promises; yet he justified this habit of duplicity by the maxim, that it is better to repent of words than of facts; to be guilty of falsehood than to fail in a favourite pursuit. Though possessed of ample dominions, and desirous of extending them, he never obtained the laurels of a conqueror. His ambition was checked by his caution. Even in the full tide of prosperity he would stop to calculate the chances against him, and frequently plunged himself into real, to avoid imaginary evils. Hence the characteristic

feature of his policy was delay: a hasty decision could not be recalled; but he persuaded himself that procrastination would allow him to improve every advantage which accident might offer. In his own dominions he wished, says a contemporary, to concentrate all power within his own person. He was jealous of every species of authority which did not emanate from himself, and which was not subservient to his will. His pride delighted in confounding the most haughty of his nobles, and depressing the most powerful families. He abridged their rights, divided their possessions, and married their heiresses to men of inferior rank. He was careful that his favourites should owe every thing to himself, and gloried in the parade of their power and opulence, because they were of his own creation. But if he was a bountiful master, he was a most vindictive enemy. His temper could not brook contradiction. Whoever hesitated to obey his will or presumed to thwart his desires, was marked out for his victim, and was pursued with the most unrelenting vengeance. His passion was the raving of a madman, the fury of a savage beast. In its paroxysms his eyes were spotted with blood, his countenance seemed of flame, his tongue poured a torrent of abuse and imprecations, and his hands were employed to inflict vengeance on whatever came within his reach. On one occasion Humet, a favourite minister, had ventured to offer a plea, in justification of the king of Scots. Henry's anger was instantly kindled. He called Humet a traitor, threw down his cap, ungirt his sword, tore off his clothes, pulled the silk coverlet from his couch, and unable to do more mischief sat down, and gnawed the straw on the floor. Hence the reader will perceive that pride and passion, caution and duplicity, formed the distinguishing traits in his character." So concludes Dr. Lingard; but the unprejudiced reader will not fail to remember, the times in which he lived, the liberality and even generosity he frequently displayed, or the ability by which he subdued an ambitious clergy and a turbulent aristocracy into some submission into reason and justice.

This prince, like most of his predecessors of the Norman line, except Stephen, passed more of his time on the continent than in this island: he was surrounded with the English gentry and nobility, when abroad: the French gentry and nobility attending him when he resided in England: both nations acted in the government, as if they were the same people; and, on many occasions, the legislatures seem not to have been distinguished. As the king and all the English barons were of French extraction, the manners of that people acquired the ascendancy, and were regarded as the models of imitation. All foreign improvements, therefore, such as they were, in literature and politeness, in laws and arts, seem now to have been, in a good measure, transplanted into England; and that kingdom was become little inferior in all the fashionable accomplishments, to any of its neighbours on the continent. The more homely but more sensible manners and principles of the Saxons, were exchanged for the affectations of chivalry, and the subtleties of school philosophy: the feudal ideas of civil government, the Romish sentiments in religion, had taken entire possession of the people: by the former, the sense of submission towards princes was somewhat diminished in the barons by the latter, the devoted attachment to papal authority

was much augmented among the clergy. The Norman and other foreign families established in England, had now struck deep root; and being entirely incorporated with the people, whom at first they oppressed and despised, they no longer thought that they needed the protection of the crown for the enjoyment of their possessions, or considered their tenure as precarious. They aspired to the same liberty and independence which they saw enjoyed by their brethren on the continent, and desired to restrain those exorbitant prerogatives and arbitrary practices, which the necessities of war, and the violence of conquest, had at first obliged them to indulge in their monarch. That memory also of a more equal government under the Saxon princes, which remained with the English, diffused still further the spirit of liberty, and made the barons both desirous of more independence to themselves, and willing to indulge it to the people. And it was not long ere this secret revolution in the sentiments of men produced first violent convulsions in the state, then an evident alteration in the maxims of government.

The history of all the preceding kings of England since the conquest, gives evident proofs of the disorders attending the feudal institutions; the licentiousness of the barons, their spirit of rebellion against the prince and laws, and of animosity against each other: the conduct of the barons in the transmarine dominions of those monarchs, afforded perhaps still more flagrant instances of these convulsions; and the history of France, during several ages, consists almost entirely of variations of this nature. The cities, during the continuance of this violent government, could neither be very numerous nor populous; and there occur instances which seem to evince, that, though these are always the first seat of law and liberty, their police was in general loose and irregular, and exposed to the same disorders with those by which the country was generally infested. It was a custom in London for great numbers, to the amount of a hundred or more, of the sons and relations of considerable citizens, to form themselves into a licentious confederacy, to break into rich houses and plunder them, to rob and murder the passengers, and to commit with impunity all sorts of disorder. By these crimes, it had become so dangerous to walk the streets by night, that the citizens durst no more venture abroad after sun-set, than if they had been exposed to the incursions of a public enemy. The brother of the earl of Ferrars had been murdered by some of those nocturnal rioters; and the death of so eminent a person, which was much more regarded than that of many thousands of an inferior station, so provoked the king, that he swore vengeance against the criminals, and became thenceforth more rigorous in the execution of the laws.

There is another instance given by historians, which proves to what a height such riots had proceeded, and how open these criminals were in committing their robberies. A bad of them had attacked the house of a rich citizen, with an intention of plundering it; had broken through a stone wall with hammers and wedges; and had already entered the house sword in hand; when the citizen, armed cap-a-pie, and supported by his faithful servants, appeared in the passage to oppose them: he cut off the right hand of the first robber that entered; and made such stout resistance, that his neighbours had leisure to

assemble, and come to his relief. The man who lost his hand was taken; and was tempted by the promise of pardon to reveal his confederates; among whom was one John Senex, esteemed among the richest and best-born citizens in London. He was convicted by the ordeal; and though he offered five hundred marks for his life, the king refused the money, and ordered him to be hanged. It appears from a statute of Edward I., that these disorders were not remedied even in that reign. It was then made penal to go out at night after the hour of the curfew, to carry a weapon, or to walk without a light or lantern. It is said in the preamble to this law, that, both by night and day, there were continual frays in the streets of London.

Henry's care in administering justice had gained him so great a reputation, that even foreign and distant princes made him arbiter, and submitted their differences to his judgment. Sanchez king of Navarre, having some controversies with Alfonso king of Castile, was contented, though Alfonso had married the daughter of Henry, to choose this prince for a referee; and they agreed, each of them to consign three castles into neutral hands, as a pledge of their not departing from his award. Henry made the cause be examined before his great council, and gave a sentence, which was submitted to by both parties. These two Spanish kings sent each a stout champion to the court of England, in order to defend his cause by arms, in case the way of duel had been chosen by Henry.

Henry so far abolished the barbarous and absurd practice of confiscating ships which had been wrecked on the coast, that he ordained, if one man or animal were alive in the ship, that the vessel and goods should be restored to the owners.

The reign of Henry was remarkable also for an innovation which was afterwards carried further by his successors, and was attended with the most important consequences. This prince was disgusted with the species of military force which was established by the feudal institutions, and which, though it was extremely burdensome to the subject, yet rendered very little service to the sovereign. The barons, or military tenants, came late into the field; they were obliged to serve only forty days; they were unskilful and disorderly in all their operations; and they were apt to carry into the camp the same refractory and independent spirit, to which they were accustomed in their civil government. Henry, therefore, introduced the practice of making a commutation of their military service for money; and he levied scutages from his baronies and knights fees, instead of requiring the personal attendance of his vassals. There is mention made in the history of the exchequer, of these scutages in his second, fifth, and eighteenth year; and other writers give us an account of three more of them. When the prince had thus obtained money, he made a contract with some of those adventurers in which Europe at that time abounded: they found him soldiers of the same character with themselves, who were bound to serve for a stipulated time: the armies were less numerous, but more useful, than when composed of all the military vassals of the crown: the feudal institutions began to relax: the kings became rapacious for money, on which all their power depended: the barons, seeing no end of exactions, sought to



defend their property: and as the same causes had nearly the same effects in the different countries of Europe, the several crowns either lost or acquired authority, according to their different success in the contest.

This prince was also the first that levied a tax on the moveables or personal estates of his subjects, nobles as well as commons. Their zeal for the holy wars made them submit to this innovation; and a precedent being once obtained, this taxation became, in following reigns, the usual method of supplying the necessities of the crown. The tax of Danegelt, so generally odious to the nation, was remitted in this reign.

It was a usual practice of the kings of England to repeat the ceremony of their coronation thrice every year, on assembling the states at the three great festivals. Henry, after the first year of his reign, never renewed this ceremony, which was found to be very expensive and very useless. None of his successors revived it. It is considered as a great act of grace in this prince, that he mitigated the rigour of the forest laws, and punished any transgressions of them, not capitally, but by fines, imprisonments, and other more moderate penalties.

Since we are here collecting some detached incidents, which show the genius of the age, and which could not so well enter into the body of our history, it may not be improper to mention the quarrel between Roger archbishop of York, and Richard archbishop of Canterbury. We may judge of the violence of military men and laymen, when ecclesiastics could proceed to such extremities. Cardinal Haguëzun being sent, in 1176, as legate into Britain, summoned an assembly of the clergy at London; and as both the archbishops pretended to sit on his right hand, this question of precedence begat a controversy between them. The monks and retainers of Archbishop Richard fell upon Roger, in the presence of the cardinal and of the synod, threw him to the ground, trampled him under foot, and so bruised him with blows, that he was taken up half dead, and his life was, with difficulty, saved from their violence. The archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to pay a large sum of money to the legate, in order to suppress all complaints with regard to this enormity.

We are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, that the monks and prior of St. Swithin threw themselves, one day, prostrate on the ground and in the mire before Henry, complaining with many tears and much doleful lamentation, that the bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off three dishes from their table. How many has he left you? said the king. Ten only, replied the disconsolate monks. I myself, exclaimed the king, never have more than three; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same number.

This king left only two legitimate sons, Richard who succeeded him, and John who inherited no territory, though his father had often intended to leave him a part of his extensive dominions. He was thence commonly denominated Lackland. Henry left three legitimate daughters; Maud, born in 1156, and married to Henry duke of Saxony; Eleanor, born in 1162, and married to Alfonso king of Castile; Joan, born in 1165, and married to William king of Sicily.

Henry is said by ancient historians to have been of a very amorous disposition: they mention two of his natural sons by Rosamond, daugh-

ter of Lord Clifford, namely, Richard Longespée, or Long-sword (so called from the sword he usually wore), who was afterwards married to Ela, the daughter and heir of the earl of Salisbury; and Geoffrey, first bishop of Lincoln, then archbishop of York. All the other circumstances of the story, commonly told of that lady, seem to be fabulous.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### RICHARD I.

*The king's coronation—Preparation for the crusade—Sets out on the crusade—Transactions in Sicily—King's arrival in Palestine—State of Palestine—Disorders in England—The king's heroic actions in Palestine—His return from Palestine—Captivity in Germany—War with France—The king's delivery—Return to England—War with France—Death and character of the king—Miscellaneous transactions of this reign.*

THE compunction of Richard for his undutiful behaviour towards his father was durable, and influenced him in the choice of his ministers and servants after his accession. Those who had seceded and favoured his rebellion, instead of meeting with that trust and honour which they expected, were surprised to find that they lay under disgrace with the new king, and were on all occasions hated and despised by him. The faithful ministers of Henry, who had vigorously opposed all the enterprises of his sons, were received with open arms, and were continued in those offices which they had honourably discharged to their former master. This prudent conduct might be the result of reflection; but in a prince, like Richard, so much guided by passion, and so little by policy, it was commonly ascribed to a principle still more virtuous and more honourable.

Richard, that he might make atonement to one parent for his breach of duty to the other, immediately sent orders for releasing the queen-dowager from the confinement in which she had long been detained; and he intrusted her with the government of England till his arrival in that kingdom. His bounty to his brother John was rather profuse and imprudent. Besides bestowing on him the county of Mortaigne in Normandy, granting him a pension, of four thousand marks a-year, and marrying him to Avisa the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, by whom he inherited all the possessions of that opulent family, he increased his appenage, which the late king had destined him, by other extensive grants and concessions. He conferred on him the whole estate of William Peverell, which had escheated to the crown: he put him in possession of eight castles, with all the forests and honours annexed to them: he delivered over to him no less than six earldoms, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Nottingham, Dorset, Lancaster, and Derby: and endeavouring, by favours, to fix that vicious prince in his duty, he put it too much in his power whenever he pleased, to depart from it.

Lingard says he gives a description of Richard's coronation, because it is the most early account of that ceremony which has come down to us, and it is transcribed here for the same reason.



Penny, sculp.

RICHARD I.





By the queen mother's invitation the barons and prelates assembled at Winchester, and the 3rd of September, 1189, was fixed for the day of coronation.

"At the appointed hour the procession moved from the king's chambers in the palace of Westminster. The whole way to the high altar in the church had been previously covered with crimson cloth. First came the clergy, abbots, and bishops, followed by two barons with the cap of state, and golden spurs, and two earls carrying the rod and sceptre. The three swords were borne by John, the king's brother, David brother to the king of Scotland, and William earl of Salisbury: and to these succeeded six earls and six barons, carrying on their shoulders the different articles of royal apparel. The crown had been intrusted to the hands of the earl of Albemarle, who was followed by Richard himself, supported by the bishops of Durham and Bath. Over his head was borne a canopy of silk, stretched on four spears, and carried by four barons. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, received the king at the altar, and administered to him the usual oath. Richard then threw off his upper garment, put on sandals of gold, was anointed on the head, breast, and shoulders, and received successively from the proper officers, the cap, tunic, dalmatic, sword, spurs, and mantle. Thus arrayed he was led to the altar, and solemnly adjured by the archbishop, not to assume the royal dignity, unless he were resolved to observe the regal oath. He renewed his promise, took the crown from the altar, and gave it to the prelate, who immediately placed it on his head. The ceremony of the coronation was now completed. Richard repaired to the throne; and after the celebration of the mass, was reconducted in state to his apartments."

The king, impelled more by the love of military glory than by superstition, acted, from the beginning of his reign, as if the sole purpose of his government had been the relief of the Holy Land, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. This zeal against infidels, being communicated to his subjects, had broke out in London on the day of his coronation, and made them find a crusade less dangerous, and attended with more immediate profit. The prejudices of the age had made the lending of money on interest pass by the invidious name of usury. Yet the necessity of the practice had still continued it, and the greater part of that kind of dealing fell every where into the hands of the Jews; who, being already infamous on account of their religion, had no honour to lose, and were apt to exercise a profession, odious in itself, by every kind of rigour, and even sometimes by rapine and extortion. The industry and frugality of this people had put them in possession of all the ready money, which the idleness and profusion common to the English with other European nations, enabled them to lend at exorbitant and unequal interest. The monkish writers represent it as a great stain on the wise and equitable government of Henry, that he had carefully protected this infidel race from all injuries and insults; but the zeal of Richard afforded the populace, a pretence for venting their animosity against them. The king had issued an edict prohibiting their appearance at his coronation; but some of them bringing him large presents from their nation, presumed, in confidence of that merit, to approach the hall in which he dined: being discovered,

they were exposed to the insults of the bystanders; they took to flight; the people pursued them. the rumour was spread, that the king had issued orders to massacre all the Jews; a command so agreeable was executed in an instant on such as fell into the hands of the populace; those who had kept at home were exposed to equal danger; the people, moved by rapacity and zeal, broke into their houses, which they plundered, after having murdered the owners; where the Jews barricaded their doors and defended themselves with vigour, the rabble set fire to the houses, and made way through the flames to exercise their pillage and violence; the usual licentiousness of London, which the sovereign power with difficulty restrained, broke out with fury, and continued these outrages; the houses of the rich citizens, though Christians, were next attacked and plundered; and weariness and satiety at last put an end to the disorder; yet, when the king empowered Glanville, the justiciary, to inquire into the authors of these crimes, the guilt was found to involve so many of the most considerable citizens, that it was deemed more prudent to drop the prosecution; and very few suffered the punishment due to this enormity. But the disorder stopped not at London. The inhabitants of the other cities of England, hearing of this slaughter of the Jews, imitated the example: in York, five hundred of that nation, who had retired into the castle for safety, and found themselves unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, threw the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, and then setting fire to the houses, perished in the flames. The gentry of the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, ran to the cathedral, where their bonds were kept, and made a solemn bonfire of the papers before the altar. The compiler of the Annals of Waverley, in relating these events, blesses the Almighty for thus delivering over this impious race to destruction.

The ancient situation of England, when the people possessed little riches and the public no credit, made it impossible for sovereigns to bear the expense of a steady or durable war, even on their frontiers; much less could they find regular means for the support of distant expeditions like those into Palestine, which were more the result of popular frenzy than of sober reason or deliberate policy. Richard, therefore, knew that he must carry with him all the treasure necessary for his enterprise, and that both the remoteness of his own country and its poverty made it unable to furnish him with those continued supplies which the exigencies of so perilous a war must necessarily require. His father had left him a treasure of above a hundred thousand marks; and the king, negligent of every consideration but his present object, endeavoured to augment this sum by all expedients, how pernicious soever to the public, or dangerous to royal authority. He put to sale the revenues and manors of the crown; the officers of greatest trust and power, even those of forester and sheriff, which anciently were so important,\* became venal, the dignity of chief justiciary, in whose hands was lodged the whole execution of the laws, was sold to Hugh de Puzas, bishop of Durham, for a thousand

\* The sheriff had anciently both the administration of justice and the management of the king's revenue committed to him in the county.



marks; the same prelate bought the earldom of Northumberland for life; many of the champions of the cross, who had repented of their vow, purchased the liberty of violating it; and Richard, who stood less in need of men than of money, dispensed, on these conditions, with their attendance. Elated with the hopes of fame, which in that age attended no wars but those against the infidels, he was blind to every other consideration; and when some of his wiser ministers objected to this dissipation of the revenue and power of the crown, he replied, that he would sell London itself, could he find a purchaser. Nothing indeed could be a stronger proof how negligent he was of all future interests in comparison of the crusade, than his selling, for so small a sum as 10,000 marks, the vassalage of Scotland, together with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwick, the greatest acquisition that had been made by his father during the course of his victorious reign; and his accepting the homage of William in the usual terms, merely for the territories which that prince held in England. The English, of all ranks and stations, were oppressed by numerous exactions: menaces were employed, both against the innocent and the guilty, in order to extort money from them: and where a pretence was wanting against the rich, the king obliged them, by the fear of his displeasure, to lend him sums, which he knew it would never be in his power to repay.

But Richard, though he sacrificed every interest, and consideration to the success of the pious enterprise, carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that Fulk, curate of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the crusade, who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious vices, particularly his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which he called the king's three favourite daughters. "You counsel well," replied Richard, "and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my prelates."

Richard, jealous of attempts which might be made on England during his absence, laid Prince John, as well as his natural brother Geoffrey archbishop of York, under engagements, confirmed by their oaths, that neither of them should enter the kingdom till his return; though he thought proper, before his departure, to withdraw this prohibition. The administration was left in the hands of Hugh bishop of Durham, and of Longchamp bishop of Ely, whom he appointed justiciaries and guardians of the realm. The latter was a Frenchman of mean birth, and of a violent character; who by art and address had insinuated himself into favour, whom Richard had created chancellor, and whom he had engaged the pope also to invest with the legantine authority, that, by centering every kind of power in his person, he might the better ensure the public tranquillity. All the military and turbulent spirits flocked about the person of the king, and were impatient to distinguish themselves against the infidels in Asia; whither his inclinations, his engagements, led him, and whither he was impelled by messages from the king of France, ready to embark in this enterprise.

The Emperor Frederick, a prince of great spirit and conduct, had already taken the road to Palestine at the head of 150,000 men, collected from

Germany and all the northern states. Having surmounted every obstacle thrown in his way by the artifices of the Greeks and the power of the infidels, he had penetrated to the borders of Syria; when, bathing in the cold river Cydnus during the greatest heat of the summer season, he was seized with a mortal distemper, which put an end to his life and his rash enterprise. His army, under the command of his son Conrad, reached Palestine; but was so diminished by fatigue, famine, maladies, and the sword, that it scarcely amounted to eight thousand men; and was unable to make any progress against the great power, valour, and conduct of Saladin. These reiterated calamities attending the crusades had taught the kings of France and England the necessity of trying another road to the Holy Land; and they determined to conduct their armies thither by sea, to carry provisions along with them, and by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own states, and with the western parts of Europe. The place of rendezvous was appointed in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy. Philip and Richard, on their arrival there, found their combined army amount to 100,000 men; a mighty force animated with glory and religion, conducted by two warlike monarchs, provided with everything which their several dominions could supply, and not to be overcome but by their own misconduct, or by the insurmountable obstacles of nature.

The French prince and the English here reiterated their promises of cordial friendship, pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the crusade, mutually exchanged the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the same effect, and subjected themselves to the penalty of interdicts and excommunications, if they should ever violate this public and solemn engagement. They then separated; Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that of Marseilles, with a view of meeting their fleets, which were severally appointed to rendezvous in these harbours. They put to sea; and, nearly about the same time, were obliged, by stress of weather, to take shelter in Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. This incident laid the foundation of animosities which proved fatal to their enterprise.

Richard and Philip were, by the situation and extent of their dominions, rivals in power; by their age and inclinations, competitors for glory; and these causes of emulation which, had the princes been employed in the field against the common enemy, might have stimulated them to martial enterprises, soon excited, during the present leisure and repose, quarrels between monarchs of such a fiery character. Equally haughty, ambitious, intrepid, and inflexible, they were irritated with the least appearance of injury, and were incapable, by mutual condescensions, to efface those causes of complaint which unavoidably arose between them. Richard, candid, sincere, undesigning, impolitic, violent, laid himself open, on every occasion, to the designs of his antagonist; who, provident, interested, intriguing, failed not to take all advantages against him: and thus, both the circumstances of their disposition in which they were similar, and those in which they differed, rendered it impossible for them to persevere in that harmony which was so necessary to the success of their undertaking.

The last king of Sicily and Naples was William II., who had married Joan, sister to Richard, and

who dying without issue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal aunt Coustantia, the only legitimate descendant surviving of Roger, the first sovereign of those states who had been honoured with the royal title. This princess had, in expectation of that rich inheritance, been married to Henry VI. the reigning emperor; but Tancred, her natural brother, had fixed such an interest among the barons, that, taking advantage of Henry's absence, he had acquired possession of the throne, and maintained his claim, by force of arms, against all the efforts of the Germans. The approach of the crusaders naturally gave him apprehensions for his unstable government; and he was uncertain, whether he had most reason to dread the presence of the French or of the English monarch. Philip was engaged in a strict alliance with the emperor his competitor: Richard was disgusted by his rigours towards the queen-dowager, whom the Sicilian prince had confined in Palermo; because she had opposed with all her interest his succession to the crown. Tancred, therefore, sensible of the present necessity, resolved to pay court to both these formidable princes; and he was not unsuccessful in his endeavours. He persuaded Philip that it was highly improper for him to interrupt his enterprise against the infidels, by any attempt against a Christian state: he restored Queen Joan to her liberty; and even found means to make an alliance with Richard, who stipulated by treaty to marry his nephew, Arthur, the young duke of Brittany, to one of the daughters of Tancred. But before these terms of friendship were settled, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and of the inhabitants of Messina, had taken up his quarters in the suburbs, and had possessed himself of a small fort which commanded the harbour; and he kept himself extremely on his guard against their enterprises. The citizens took umbrage. Mutual insults and attacks passed between them and the English. Philip, who had quartered his troops in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel, and held a conference with Richard for that purpose. While the two kings, meeting in the open fields, were engaged in discourse on this subject, a body of those Sicilians seemed to be drawing towards them; and Richard pushed forwards, in order to inquire into the reason of this extraordinary movement. The English, insolent from their power, and inflamed with former animosities, wanted but a pretence for attacking the Messinese: they soon chased them off the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates. The king employed his authority to restrain them from pillaging and massacring the defenceless inhabitants; but he gave orders, in token of his victory, that the standard of England should be erected on the walls. Philip, who considered that place as his quarters, exclaimed against the insult, and ordered some of his troops to pull down the standard: but Richard informed him by a messenger, that, though he himself would willingly remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others; and if the French king attempted such an insult upon him, he should not succeed but by the utmost effusion of blood. Philip, content with this species of haughty submission, recalled his orders: the difference was seemingly accommodated; but still left the remains of rancour and jealousy in the breasts of the two monarchs.

Tancred, who, for his own security, desired to

inflame their mutual hatred, employed an artifice which might have been attended with consequences still more fatal. He showed Richard a letter, signed by the French king, and delivered to him, as he pretended, by the duke of Burgundy; in which that monarch desired Tancred to fall upon the quarters of the English, and promised to assist him in putting them to the sword, as common enemies. The unwary Richard gave credit to the information; but was too candid not to betray his discontent to Philip, who absolutely denied the letter, and charged the Sicilian prince with forgery and falsehood. Richard either was, or pretended to be, entirely satisfied.

Least these jealousies and complaints should multiply between them, it was proposed, that they should, by a solemn treaty, obviate all future differences, and adjust every point that could possibly hereafter become a controversy between them. But this expedient started a new dispute, which might have proved more dangerous than any of the foregoing, and which deeply concerned the honour of Philip's family. When Richard, in every treaty with the late king, insisted so strenuously on being allowed to marry Alice of France, he had only sought a pretence for quarrelling; and never meant to take to his bed a princess suspected of a criminal amour with his own father. After he became master, he no longer spake of that alliance: he even took measures for espousing Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, with whom he had become enamoured during his abode in Guienne: Queen Eleanor was daily expected with that princess at Messina: and when Philip renewed to him his applications for espousing his sister Alice, Richard was obliged to give him an absolute refusal. It is pretended by Hoveden, and other historians, that he was able to produce such convincing proofs of Alice's infidelity, and even of her having born a child to Henry, that her brother desisted from his applications, and chose to wrap up the dishonour of his family in silence and oblivion. It is certain, from the treaty itself, which remains, that, whatever were his motives, he permitted Richard to give his hand to Berengaria; and having settled all other controversies with that prince, he immediately set sail for the Holy Land. Richard waited some time the arrival of his mother and bride; and when they joined him, he separated his fleet into two squadrons, and set forward on his enterprise. Queen Eleanor returned to England; but Berengaria, and the queen dowager of Sicily, his sister, attended him on the expedition.

The English fleet, on leaving the port of Messina, met with a furious tempest; and the squadron on which the two princesses were embarked, was driven on the coast of Cyprus, and some of the vessels were wrecked near Limisso in that island. Isaac, prince of Cyprus, who assumed the magnificent title of Emperor, pillaged the ships that were stranded, threw the seamen and passengers into prison, and even refused to the princesses, in their dangerous situation, the liberty of entering the harbour of Limisso. But Richard, who arrived soon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He disembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant, who opposed his landing; entered Limisso by storm; gained next day a second victory; obliged Isaac to surrender at discretion; and established governors over the island. The Greek prince, being thrown into prison and loaded with irons, complained of the



little regard with which he was treated: upon which, Richard ordered silver fetters to be made for him; and this emperor, pleased with the distinction, expressed a sense of the generosity of his conqueror. The king here espoused Berengaria, who, immediately embarking, carried along with her to Palestine the daughter of the Cypriot prince; a dangerous rival, who was believed to have seduced the affections of her husband. Such were the libertine character and conduct of the heroes engaged in this pious enterprise!

The English army arrived in time to partake in the glory of the siege of Acre or Ptolemais, which had been attacked for above two years by the united force of all the Christians in Palestine, and had been defended by the utmost efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The remains of the German army, conducted by the Emperor Frederick, and the separate bodies of adventurers who continually poured in from the West, had enabled the king of Jerusalem to form this important enterprise: but Saladin, having thrown a strong garrison into the place under the command of Caracos, his own master in the art of war, and molesting the besiegers with continual attacks and sallies, had protracted the success of the enterprise, and wasted the force of his enemies. The arrival of Philip and Richard inspired new life into the Christians; and these princes, acting by concert, and sharing the honour and danger of every action, gave hopes of a final victory over the infidels. They agreed on this plan of operations: when the French monarch attacked the town, the English guarded the trenches: next day when the English prince conducted the assault, the French succeeded him in providing for the safety of the assailants. The emulation between those rival kings and rival nations produced extraordinary acts of valour: Richard in particular, animated with a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew to himself the general attention, and acquired a great and splendid reputation. But this harmony was of short duration; and occasional of discord soon arose between these jealous and haughty princes.

The family of Bouillon, which had first been placed on the throne of Jerusalem, ending in a female, Fulk, count of Anjou, grandfather to Henry II. of England, married the heiress of that kingdom, and transmitted his title to the younger branches of his family. The Angevin race ending also in a female, Guy de Lusignan, by espousing Sibylla, the heiress, had succeeded to the title; and though he lost his kingdom by the invasion of Saladin, he was still acknowledged by all the Christians for king of Jerusalem. But as Sibylla died without issue, during the siege of Acre, Isabella, her youngest sister, put in her claim to that titular kingdom, and required Lusignan to resign his pretensions to her husband Courade marquis of Montferrat. Lusignan, maintaining that the royal title was unalienable and indefeasible, had recourse to the protection of Richard, attended on him before he left Cyprus, and engaged him to embrace his cause. There needed no other reason for throwing Philip into the party of Courade; and the opposite views of these great monarchs brought faction and dissension into the Christian army, and retarded all its operations. The Templars, the Genoese, and the Germans, advanced for Philip and Courade; the Flemings, the Pisans, the knights of the hospital of St. John,

adhered to Richard and Lusignan. But notwithstanding these disputes, as the length of the siege had reduced the Saracen garrison to the last extremity, they surrendered themselves prisoners; stipulated in return for their lives, other advantages to the Christians, such as the restoring of the Christian prisoners, and the delivery of the wood of the true cross;\* and this great enterprise, which had long engaged the attention of all Europe and Asia, was at last, after the loss of 300,000 men, brought to a happy period.

But Philip, instead of pursuing the hopes of further conquest, and of redeeming the holy city from slavery, being disgusted with the ascendancy assumed and acquired by Richard, and having views of many advantages which he might reap by his presence in Europe, declared his resolution of returning to France; and he pleaded his bad state of health as an excuse for his desertion of the common cause. He left, however, to Richard, ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy; and he renewed his oath never to commence hostilities against that prince's dominions during his absence. But he had no sooner reached Italy than he applied, it is pretended, to Pope Celestine III. for a dispensation from this vow; and when denied that request, he still proceeded, though after a covert manner, in a project, which the present situation of England render inviting, and which gratified, in an eminent degree, both his resentment and his ambition.

Immediately after Richard had left England, and begun his progress to the Holy Land, the two prelates, whom he had appointed guardians of the realm, broke out into animosities against each other, and threw the kingdom into combustion. Longchamp, presumptuous in his nature, elated by the favour which he enjoyed with his master, and armed with the legatine commission, could not submit to an equality with the bishop of Durham: he even went so far as to arrest his colleague, and to extort from him a resignation of the earldom of Northumberland, and of his other dignities, as the price of his liberty. The king, informed of these dissensions, ordered, by letters from Marseilles, that the bishop should be reinstated in his offices; but Longchamp had still the boldness to refuse compliance, on pretence that he himself was better acquainted with the king's secret intentions. He proceeded to govern the kingdom by his sole authority; to treat all the nobility with arrogance; and to display his power and riches with an invidious ostentation. He never travelled without a strong guard of fifteen hundred foreign soldiers, collected from that licentious tribe with which the age was generally infested: nobles and knights were proud of being admitted into his train: his retinue wore the aspect of royal magnificence: and when, in his progress through the kingdom, he lodged in any monastery, his attendants, it is said, were sufficient to devour, in one night, the revenue of several years. The king, who was detained in Europe longer than the haughty prelate expected, hearing of this ostentation,

\* This true cross was lost in the battle of Tiberiade, to which it had been carried by the crusaders for their protection. Rigord, an author of that age, says, that after this dismal event, all the children who were born throughout all Christendom, had only twenty or twenty-two teeth, instead of thirty or thirty-two, which was their former complement.

taion, which exceeded even what the habits of that age indulged in ecclesiastics; being also informed of the insolent tyrannical conduct of his minister; thought proper to restrain his power: he sent new orders appointing Walter archbishop of Rouen, William Mareschal earl of Strigul, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Briwere, and Hugh Bardolf, counsellors to Longchamp, and commanded him to take no measure of importance without their concurrence and approbation. But such general terror had this man impressed by his violent conduct, that even the archbishop of Rouen and the earl of Strigul durst not produce this mandate of the king; and Longchamp still maintained an uncontrolled authority over the nation. But when he proceeded so far as to throw into prison Geoffrey archbishop of York, who had opposed his measures, this breach of ecclesiastical privileges excited such a universal ferment, that Prince John, disgusted with the small share he possessed in the government, and personally disoblged by Longchamp, ventured to summon at Reading a general council of the nobility and prelates, and cite him to appear before them. Longchamp thought it dangerous to intrust his person in their hands, and he shut himself up in the Tower of London; but being soon obliged to surrender that fortress, he fled beyond sea, concealed under a female habit, and was deprived of his offices of chancellor and chief justiciary; the last of which was conferred on the archbishop of Rouen, a prelate of prudence and moderation. The commission of legate, however, which had been renewed to Longchamp by Pope Celestine, still gave him, notwithstanding his absence, great authority in the kingdom, enabled him to disturb the government, and forwarded the views of Philip, who watched every opportunity of annoying Richard's dominions. That monarch first attempted to carry open war into Normandy; but as the French nobility refused to follow him in an invasion of a state which they had sworn to protect, and as the pope, who was the general guardian of all princes that had taken the cross, threatened him with ecclesiastical censures, he desisted from his enterprise, and employed against England the expedient of secret policy and intrigue. He debauched Prince John from his allegiance; promised him his sister Alice in marriage; offered to give him possession of all Richard's transmarine dominions; and had not the authority of Queen Eleanor, and the menaces of the English council, prevailed over the inclinations of that turbulent prince, he was ready to have crossed the seas, and to have put in execution his criminal enterprises.

The jealousy of Philip was every moment excited by the glory which the great actions of Richard were gaining him in the East, and which, being compared to his own desertion of that popular cause, threw a double lustre on his rival. His envy, therefore, prompted him to obscure that fame which he had not equalled; and he embraced every pretence of throwing the most violent and most improbable calumnies on the king of England. There was a petty prince in Asia commonly called "The old man of the mountain," who had acquired such an ascendancy over his fanatical subjects, that they paid the most implicit deference to his commands; esteemed assassination meritorious, when sanctioned by his mandate; courted danger, and even certain death, in the execution of his orders; and

fancied, that when they sacrificed their lives for his sake, the highest joys of paradise were the infallible reward of their devoted obedience. It was the custom of this prince, when he imagined himself injured, to dispatch secretly some of his subjects against the aggressor, to charge them with the execution of his revenge, to instruct them in every art of disguising their purpose; and no precaution was sufficient to guard any man, however powerful, against the attempts of those subtle and determined ruffians. The greatest monarchs stood in awe of this prince of the assassins (for that was the name of his people; whence the word has passed into most European languages), and it was the highest indiscretion in Conrad marquis of Montferrat to offend and affront him. The inhabitants of Tyre, who were governed by that nobleman, had put to death some of this dangerous people: the prince demanded satisfaction; for, as he piqued himself on never beginning any offence, he had his regular and established formalities in requiring atonement: Conrad treated his messengers with disdain: the prince issued the fatal orders: two of his subjects, who had insinuated themselves in disguise among Conrad's guards, openly, in the streets of Sidon, wounded him mortally; and when they were seized and put to the most cruel tortures, they triumphed amidst their agonies, and rejoiced that they had been destined by Heaven to suffer in so just and meritorious a cause.

Every one in Palestine knew from what hand the blow came. Richard was entirely free from suspicion. Though that monarch had formerly maintained the cause of Lusignan against Conrad, he had become sensible of the bad effects attending those dissensions, and had voluntarily conferred on the former the kingdom of Cyprus, on condition that he should resign to his rival all pretensions to the crown of Jerusalem. Conrad himself, with his dying breath, had recommended his widow to the protection of Richard; the prince of the assassins avowed the action in a formal narrative which he sent to Europe; yet on this foundation the king of France thought fit to build the most egregious calumnies, and to impute to Richard the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, whose elevation he had once openly opposed. He filled all Europe with exclamations against the crime; appointed a guard for his own person, in order to defend himself against a like attempt; and endeavoured, by these shallow artifices, to cover the infamy of attacking the dominions of a prince whom he himself had deserted, and who was engaged with so much glory in a war, universally acknowledged to be the common cause of Christendom.

But Richard's heroic actions in Palestine were the best apology for his conduct. The Christian adventurers under his command determined, on opening the campaign, to attempt the siege of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jerusalem; and they marched along the sea-coast with that intention. Saladin purposed to intercept their passage; and he placed himself on the road with an army amounting to 300,000 combatants. On this occasion was fought one of the greatest battles of that age; and the most celebrated, for the military genius of the commanders, for the number and valour of the troops, and for the great variety of events which attended it. Both the right wing of the Christians, commanded by D'Avesnes, and the left, conducted by



the duke of Burgundy, were, in the beginning of the day, broken and defeated; when Richard, who led on the main body, restored the battle; attacked the enemy with intrepidity and presence of mind; performed the part both of a consummate general and gallant soldier; and not only gave his two wings leisure to recover from their confusion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, of whom forty thousand are said to have perished in the field. Ascalon soon after fell into the hands of the Christians: other sieges were carried on with equal success: Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the object of his enterprise; when he had the mortification to find, that he must abandon all hopes of immediate success, and must put a stop to his career of victory. The crusaders, animated with an enthusiastic ardour for the holy wars, broke at first through all regards to safety or interest in the prosecution of their purpose; and trusting to the immediate assistance of Heaven, set nothing before their eyes but fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next. But long absence from home, fatigue, disease, want, and the variety of incidents which naturally attend war, had gradually abated that fury which nothing was able directly to withstand; and every one, except the king of England, expressed a desire of speedily returning into Europe. The Germans and the Italians declared their resolution of desisting from the enterprise: the French were still more obstinate in this purpose: the duke of Burgundy, in order to pay court to Philip, took all opportunities of mortifying and opposing Richard: and there appeared an absolute necessity of abandoning for the present all hopes of further conquest, and of securing the acquisitions of the Christians by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard, therefore, concluded a truce with that monarch, and stipulated, that Acre, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, which had probably been devised by the Europeans, and which was suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war.

The liberty in which Saladin indulged the Christians to perform their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, was an easy sacrifice on his part; and the furious wars which he waged in defence of the barren territory of Judea, were not with him, as with the European adventurers, the result of superstition, but of policy. The advantage indeed of science, moderation, humanity, was at that time entirely on the side of the Saracens; and this gallant emperor, in particular, displayed, during the course of the war, a spirit and generosity, which even his bigoted enemies were obliged to acknowledge and admire. Richard, equally martial and brave, carried with him more of the barbarian character; and was guilty of acts of ferocity, which threw a stain on his celebrated victories. When Saladin refused to ratify the capitulation of Acre, the king of England ordered all his prisoners, to the number of five thousand, to be butchered; and the Saracens found themselves obliged to retaliate upon the Christians by a like cruelty. Saladin died at Damascus soon after concluding this truce with the

princes of the crusade: it is memorable, that, before he expired, he ordered his winding sheet to be carried as a standard through every street of the city; while a crier went before, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East." By his last will he ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew, Christian, or Mahometan.

There remained, after the truce, no business of importance to detain Richard in Palestine; and the intelligence which he received, concerning the intrigues of his brother John, and those of the king of France, made him sensible, that his presence was necessary in Europe. As he dared not to pass through France, he sailed to the Adriatic; and being shipwrecked near Acquileia, he put on the disguise of a pilgrim, with a purpose of taking his journey secretly through Germany. Pursued by the governor of Istria, he was forced out of the direct road to England, and was obliged to pass by Vienna; where his expenses and liberalities betrayed the monarch in the habit of the pilgrim; and he was arrested by orders of Leopold duke of Austria. This prince had served under Richard at the siege of Acre; but being disgusted by some insult of that haughty monarch, he was so ungenerous as to seize the present opportunity of gratifying at once his avarice and revenge; and he threw the king into prison. The emperor Henry VI., who also considered Richard as an enemy, on account of the alliance contracted by him with Tancred king of Sicily, dispatched messengers to the duke of Austria, required the royal captive to be delivered to him, and stipulated a large sum of money as a reward for this service. Thus the king of England, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himself, during the most critical state of his affairs, confined in a dungeon, and loaded with irons, in the heart of Germany, and entirely at the mercy of his enemies, the basest and most sordid of mankind.

The English council was astonished on receiving this fatal intelligence; and foresaw all the dangerous consequences which might naturally arise from that event. The queen-dowager wrote reiterated letters to Pope Celestine, exclaiming against the injury which her son had sustained; representing the impiety of detaining in prison the most illustrious prince that had yet carried the banners of Christ into the Holy Land; claiming the protection of the apostolic see, which was due even to the meanest of those adventurers, and upbraiding the pope, that, in a cause where justice, religion, and the dignity of the church, were so much concerned, a cause which it might well befit his holiness himself to support by taking in person a journey to Germany, the spiritual thunders should so long be suspended over those sacrilegious offenders. The zeal of Celestine corresponded not to the impatience of the queen-mother; and the regency of England were, for a long time, left to struggle alone with all their domestic and foreign enemies.

The king of France, quickly informed of Richard's confinement by a message from the emperor, prepared himself to take advantage of the incident; and he employed every means of force and intrigue, of war and negotiation, against the dominions and the person of his unfortunate rival. He revived the calumny of Richard's assassinating the marquis of Montferrat; and by that ab-

surd pretence he induced his barons to violate their oaths, by which they had engaged that, during the crusade, they never would, on any account, attack the dominions of the king of England. He made the emperor the largest offers, if he would deliver into his hands the royal prisoner, or at least detain him in perpetual captivity; he even formed an alliance by marriage with the king of Denmark, desired that the ancient Danish claim to the crown of England should be transferred to him, and solicited a supply of shipping to maintain it. But the most successful of Philip's negotiations was with Prince John, who, forgetting every tie to his brother, his sovereign, and his benefactor, thought of nothing but how to make his own advantage of the public calamities. That traitor, on the first invitation from the court of France, suddenly went abroad, had a conference with Philip, and made a treaty, of which the object was the perpetual ruin of his unhappy brother. He stipulated to deliver into Philip's hands a great part of Normandy; he received, in return, the investiture of all Richard's transmarine dominions; and it is reported by several historians, that he even did homage to the French king for the crown of England.

In consequence of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy; and by the treachery of John's emissaries, made himself master, without opposition, of many fortresses, Neufchatel, Neufle, Gisors, Pacey, Ivree: he subdued the counties of Eu and Aumale; and advancing to form the siege of Rouen, he threatened to put all the inhabitants to the sword, if they dared to make resistance. Happily, Robert earl of Leicester appeared in that critical moment; a gallant nobleman, who had acquired great honour during the crusade, and who, being more fortunate than his master in finding his passage homewards, took on him the command in Rouen, and exerted himself, by his exhortations and example, to infuse courage into the dismayed Normans. Philip was repulsed in every attack; the time of service from his vassals expired; and he consented to a truce with the English regency, received in return the promise of 20,000 marks, and had four castles put into his hands, as security for the payment.

Prince John, who, with a view of increasing the general confusion, went over to England, was still less successful in his enterprises. He was only able to make himself master of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, but when he arrived in London, and claimed the kingdom as heir to his brother, of whose death he pretended to have received certain intelligence, he was rejected by all the barons, and measures were taken to oppose and subdue him. The justiciaries supported by the general affection of the people, provided so well for the defence of the kingdom, that John was obliged, after some fruitless efforts, to conclude a truce with them; and before its expiration, he thought it prudent to return into France, where he openly avowed his alliance with Philip.

Meanwhile the high spirit of Richard suffered in Germany every kind of insult and indignity. The French ambassadors, in their master's name, denounced him as a vassal to the crown of France, and declared all his fiefs to be forfeited to his liege lord. The emperor, that he might render him more impatient for the recovery of his liberty, and make him submit to the payment of a larger

ransom, treated him with the greatest severity, and reduced him to a condition worse than that of the meanest malefactor. He was even produced before the diet of the empire at Worms, and accused by Henry of many crimes and misdemeanors; of making an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily; of turning the arms of the crusade against a Christian prince, and subduing Cyprus; of affronting the duke of Austria before Acre; of obstructing the progress of the Christian arms by his quarrels with the king of France; of assassinating Conrad marquis of Montferrat; and of concluding a truce with Saladin, and leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Saracen emperor. Richard, whose spirit was not broken by his misfortunes, and whose genius was rather roused by these frivolous or scandalous imputations; after premising, that his dignity exempted him from answering before any jurisdiction, except that of Heaven; yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that great assembly. He observed, that he had no hand in Tancred's elevation, and only concluded a treaty with a prince, whom he found in possession of the throne: that the king, or rather tyrant of Cyprus, had provoked his indignation by the most ungenerous and unjust proceedings; and though he chastised this aggressor, he had not retarded a moment the progress of his chief enterprise: that if he had at any time been wanting in civility to the duke of Austria, he had already been sufficiently punished for that sally of passion; and it better became men, embarked together in so holy a cause, to forgive each other's infirmities, than to pursue a slight offence with such unrelenting vengeance: that it had sufficiently appeared by the event, whether the king of France or he were most zealous for the conquest of the Holy Land, and were most likely to sacrifice private passions and animosities to that great object: that if the whole tenor of his life had not shown him incapable of a base assassination, and justified him from that imputation in the eyes of his very enemies, it was in vain for him, at present, to make his apology, or plead the many irrefragable arguments which he could produce in his own favour: and that, however he might regret the necessity, he was so far from being ashamed of his truce with Saladin, that he rather gloried in that event; and thought it extremely honourable, that, though abandoned by all the world, supported only by his own courage, and by the small remains of his national troops, he could yet obtain such conditions from the most powerful and most warlike emperor that the East had ever yet produced. Richard, after thus deigning to apologize for his conduct, burst out into indignation at the cruel treatment which he had met with; that he, the champion of the cross, still wearing that honourable badge, should, after expending the blood and treasure of his subjects in the common cause of Christendom, be intercepted by Christian princes in his return to his own country, be thrown into a dungeon, be loaded with irons, be obliged to plead his cause, as if he were a subject and a malefactor; and, what he still more regretted, be thereby prevented from making preparations for a new crusade, which he had projected after the expiration of the truce, and from redeeming the sepulchre of Christ, which had so long been profaned by the dominion of infidels. The spirit and eloquence of Richard made such impression on the German princes, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of



the emperor; the pope threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had hearkened to the proposals of the king of France and Prince John, found that it would be impracticable for him to execute his and their base purposes, or to detain the king of England any longer in captivity. He therefore concluded with him a treaty for his ransom, and agreed to restore him to his freedom for the sum of 150,000 marks, about 300,000 pounds of our present money; of which 100,000 marks were to be paid before he received his liberty, and sixty-seven hostages delivered for the remainder. The emperor, as if to gloss over the infamy of this transaction, made at the same time a present to Richard of the kingdom of Arles, comprehending Provence, Dauphiny, Narbonne, and other states, over which the empire had some antiquated claims; a present which the king very wisely neglected.

The captivity of the superior lord was one of the cases provided for by the feudal tenures: and all the vassals were in that event obliged to give an aid for his ransom. Twenty shillings were therefore levied on each knight's fee in England; but as this money came in slowly, and was not sufficient for the intended purpose, the voluntary zeal of the people readily supplied the deficiency. The churches and monasteries melted down their plate to the amount of 30,000 marks; the bishops, abbots, and nobles, readily paid a fourth of their yearly rent; the parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes; and the requisite sum being thus collected, Queen Eleanor, and Walter archbishop of Rouen, set out with it for Germany; paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Austria at Mentz; delivered them hostages for the remainder; and freed Richard from his captivity. His escape was very critical. Henry had been detected in the assassination of the bishop of Liege, and in an attempt of a like nature on the duke of Louvaine; and finding himself extremely obnoxious to the German princes on account of these odious practices, he had determined to seek support from an alliance with the king of France; to detain Richard, the enemy of that prince, in perpetual captivity; to keep in his hands the money which he had already received for his ransom; and to extort fresh sums from Philip and Prince John, who were very liberal in their offers to him. He therefore gave orders that Richard should be pursued and arrested; but the king, making all imaginable haste, had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheldt, and was out of sight of land when the messengers of the emperor reached Antwerp.

The joy of the English was extreme on the appearance of their monarch, who had suffered so many calamities, who had acquired so much glory, and who had spread the reputation of their name into the farthest East, whither their fame had never before been able to extend. He gave them soon after his arrival, an opportunity of publicly displaying their exultation, by ordering himself to be crowned anew at Winchester; as if he intended, by that ceremony, to reinstate himself in his throne, and to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity. Their satisfaction was not damped, even when he declared his purpose of resuming all those exorbitant grants, which he had been necessitated to make before his departure for the Holy Land. The barons also, in a great council, confiscated, on account of his treason, all Prince John's possessions in England; and they assisted

the king in reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents. Richard, having settled every thing in England, passed over with an army into Normandy; being impatient to make war on Philip, and to revenge himself for the many injuries which he had received from that monarch. As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance from captivity, he wrote to his confederate John, in these terms: "Take care of yourself: the devil is broken loose."

When we consider such powerful and martial monarchs inflamed with personal animosity against each other, enraged by mutual injuries, excited by rivalry, impelled by opposite interests, and instigated by the pride and violence of their own temper; our curiosity is naturally raised, and we expect an obstinate and furious war, distinguished by the greatest events, and concluded by some remarkable catastrophe. Yet are the incidents which attend those hostilities so frivolous, that scarce any historian can entertain such a passion for military descriptions as to venture on a detail of them: a certain proof of the extreme weakness of princes in those ages, and of the little authority they possessed over their refractory vassals. The whole amount of the exploits on both sides is, the taking of a castle, the surprise of a straggling party, a rencounter of horse, which resembles more a rout than a battle. Richard obliged Philip to raise the siege of Verueuil: he took Loches, a small town in Anjou; he made himself master of Beaumont, and some other places of little consequence; and after these trivial exploits, the two kings began already to hold conferences for an accommodation. Philip insisted that, if a general peace were concluded, the barons on each side should, for the future, be prohibited from carrying on private wars against each other: but Richard replied, that this was a right claimed by his vassals, and he could not debar them from it. After this fruitless negotiation, there ensued an action between the French and English cavalry at Fretelval, in which the former were routed, and the king of France's cartulary and records, which commonly at that time attended his person, were taken. But this victory leading to no important advantages, a truce for a year was at last, from mutual weakness, concluded between the two monarchs.

During this war, Prince John deserted from Philip, threw himself at his brother's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and by the intercession of Queen Eleanor was received into favour. "I forgive him," said the king, "and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will my pardon." John was incapable even of returning to his duty, without committing a baseness. Before he left Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison which that prince had placed in the citadel of Evreux; he massacred them during the entertainment; fell, with the assistance of the townsmen, on the garrison, whom he put to the sword; and then delivered up the place to his brother.

The king of France was the great object of Richard's resentment and animosity: the conduct of John, as well as that of the emperor and duke of Austria, had been so base, and was exposed to such general odium and reproach, that the king deemed himself sufficiently revenged for their injuries; and he seems never to have entertained any project of vengeance against any of them.

The duke of Austria, about this time, having crushed his leg by the fall of his horse at a tournament, was thrown into a fever; and being struck, on the approaches of death, with remorse for his injustice to Richard, he ordered, by will, all the English hostages in his hands to be set at liberty, and the remainder of the debt due to him to be remitted: his son, who seemed inclined to disobey these orders, was constrained by his ecclesiastics to execute them. The emperor also made advances for Richard's friendship, and offered to give him a discharge of all the debt not yet paid to him, provided he would enter into an offensive alliance against the king of France; a proposal which was very acceptable to Richard, and was greedily embraced by him. The treaty with the emperor took no effect; but it served to rekindle the war between France and England before the expiration of the truce. This war was not distinguished by any more remarkable incidents than the foregoing. After mutually ravaging the open country, and taking a few insignificant castles, the two kings concluded a peace at Louviers, and made an exchange of some territories with each other. Their inability to wage war occasioned the peace: their mutual antipathy engaged them again in war before two months expired. Richard imagined that he had now found an opportunity of gaining great advantages over his rival, by forming an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Toulouse, Boulogne, Champagne, and other considerable vassals of the crown of France. But he soon experienced the insincerity of those princes: and was not able to make any impression on that kingdom, while governed by a monarch of so much vigour and activity as Philip. The most remarkable incident in this war was the taking prisoner in battle the bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, who was of the family of Dreux, and a near relation of the French king. Richard, who hated that bishop, threw him into prison, and loaded him with ills; and when the pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his son, the king sent to his holiness the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all besmeared with blood: and he replied to him, in the terms employed by Jacob's sons to that patriarch, "This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no." This new war between England and France, though carried on with such animosity that both kings frequently put out the eyes of their prisoners, was soon finished by a truce of five years; and immediately after signing this treaty, the kings were ready, on some new offence, to break out again into hostilities; when the mediation of the cardinal of St. Mary, the pope's legate, accommodated the difference. This prelate even engaged the princes to commence a treaty for a more durable peace; but the death of Richard put an end to the negotiation.

Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, a vassal of the king, had found a treasure, of which he sent part to that prince as a present. Richard, as superior lord, claimed the whole; and at the head of some Brabançons, besieged the viscount in the castle of Chalus, near Limoges, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garrison offered to surrender; but the king replied, that, since he had taken the pains to come thither and besiege the place in person, he would take it by force, and would hang every one of them. The same day, Richard, accompanied by Marcadée,

leader of his Brabançons, approached the castle in order to survey it; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the assault, took the place, and hanged all the garrison, except Gourdon, who had wounded him, and whom he reserved for a more deliberate and more cruel execution.

The wound was not in itself dangerous; but the unskilfulness of the surgeon made it mortal: he so rankled Richard's shoulder in pulling out the arrow, that a gangrene ensued; and that prince was now sensible that his life was drawing towards a period. He sent for Gourdon, and asked him, "Wretch, what have I ever done to you, to oblige you to seek my life?"—"What have you done to me?" coolly replied the prisoner: "you killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers; and you intended to have hanged myself: I am now in your power, and you may take revenge, by inflicting on me the most severe torments: but I shall endure them all with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a nuisance." Richard, struck with the reasonableness of this reply, and humbled by the near approach of death, ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him; but Marcadée, unknown to him, seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him. Richard died in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age; and he left no issue behind him.

The most shining part of this prince's character are his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried personal courage and intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality gained him the appellation of the lion-hearted, *cœur de lion*. He passionately loved glory, chiefly military glory; and as his conduct in the field was not inferior to his valour, he seems to have possessed every talent necessary for acquiring it. His resentments also were high; his pride unconquerable; and his subjects, as well as his neighbours, had reason therefore to apprehend, from the continuance of his reign, a perpetual scene of blood and violence. Of an impetuous and vehement spirit, he was distinguished by all the good, as well as the bad qualities, incident to that character: he was open, frank, generous, sincere, and brave; he was revengeful, domineering, ambitious, haughty, and cruel; and was much better calculated to dazzle men by the splendour of his enterprises, than either to promote their happiness or his own grandeur, by a sound and well-regulated policy. As military talents make great impression on the people, he seems to have been much beloved by his English subjects; and he is remarked to have been the first prince of the Norman line that bore any sincere regard to them. He passed, however, only four months of his reign in England: the crusade employed him near three years; he was detained about fourteen months in captivity; the rest of his reign was spent either in war, or preparations for war, against France; and he was so well pleased with the fame which he had acquired in the East, that he determined, notwithstanding his past misfortunes, to have further exhausted his kingdom, and to have exposed himself to new hazards, by conducting another expedition against the infidels.

Though the English pleased themselves with the glory which the king's martial genius pro-



cured them, his reign was very oppressive, and somewhat arbitrary, by the high taxes which he levied on them, and often without consent of the states or great council. In the ninth year of his reign, he levied five shillings on each hide of land; and because the clergy refused to contribute their share, he put them out of the protection of law, and ordered the civil courts to give them no sentence for any debts which they might claim. Twice in his reign he ordered all his charters to be sealed anew, and the parties to pay fees for the renewal. It is said that Hubert, his justiciary, sent him over to France, in the space of two years, no less a sum than 1,100,000 marks, besides bearing all the charges of the government in England. But this account is quite incredible, unless we suppose that Richard made a thorough dilapidation of the demesnes of the crown, which it is not likely he could do with any advantage after his former resumption of all grants. A king possessed of such a revenue, could never have endured fourteen months' captivity, for not paying 150,000 marks to the emperor, and be obliged at last to leave hostages for a third of the sum. The prices of commodities in this reign are also a certain proof that no such enormous sum could be levied on the people. A hide of land, or about a hundred and twenty acres, was commonly let at twenty shillings a-year, money of that time. As there were 243,600 hides in England, it is easy to compute the amount of all the landed rents of the kingdom. The general and stated price of an ox was four shillings: of a labouring horse the same; of a sow, one shilling; of a sheep with fine wool, tenpence; with coarse wool, sixpence. These commodities seem not to have advanced in their prices since the conquest.\*

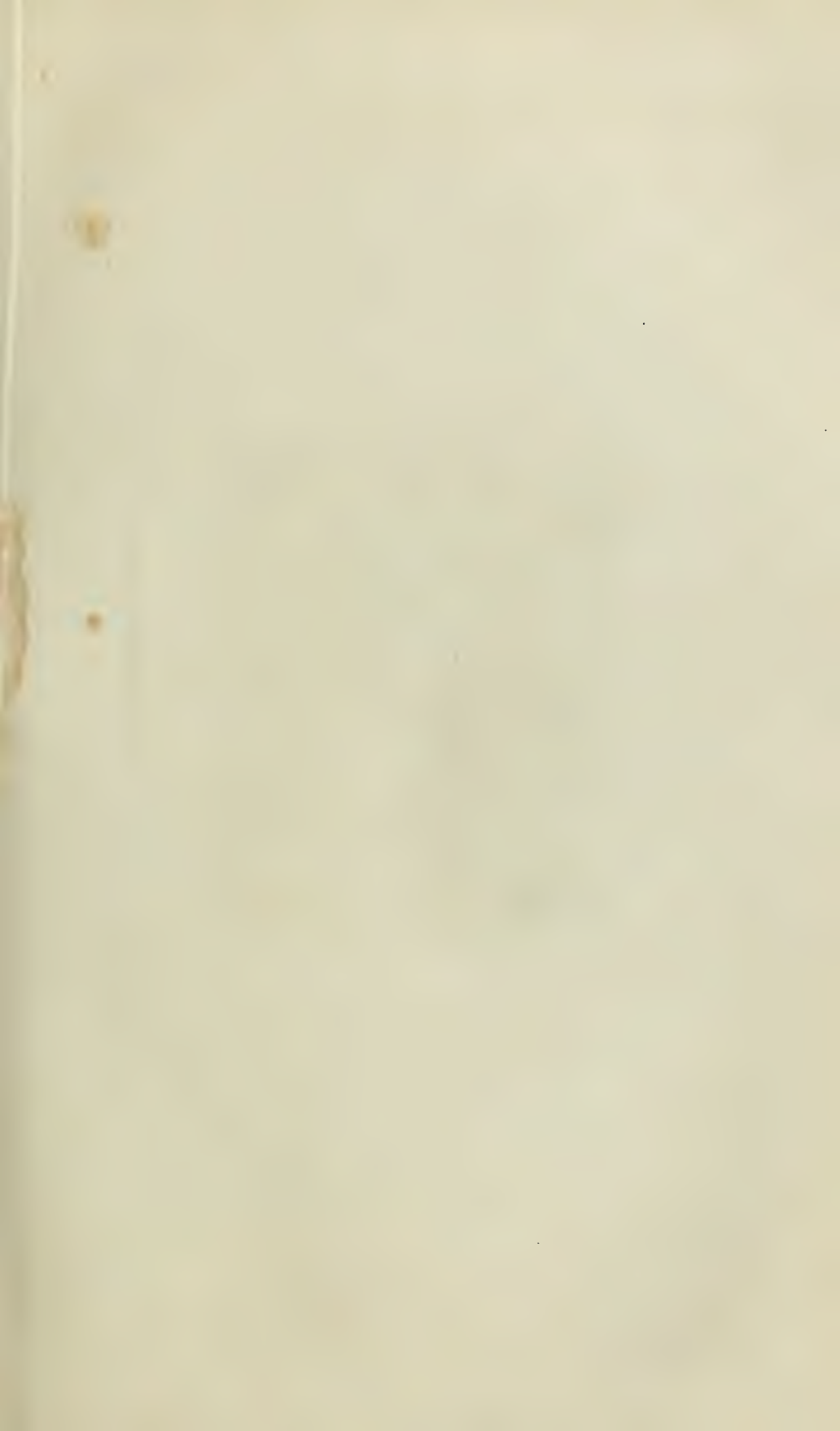
Lingard states, without expressing any doubt as to the fact, that the enormous sum stated by the old historians, of 1,100,000 pounds, was actually levied on the people during the period mentioned, and gives the following account of the expedients used to raise it. "1st. Before his departure for Palestine the king had sold many of the lands and offices belonging to the crown. These were resumed; and to palliate the injustice of the measure, it was pretended that the purchasers had been indemnified by the profits which they had made in the interval. 2nd. The tax of two shillings on every carucate of land, imposed in the council at Nottingham, had been afterwards increased to five. The carucate was fixed at one hundred acres, and commissioners were appointed to inquire upon oath, and to enrol the number of such caracutes, with the names of the proprietors in every hundred or wapentake. To ensure payment the lord was authorised to distrain his tenant: and if any deficiency remained, the sheriff was ordered to make it good by levying distress on the demesne lands of the lord. 3d. Tournaments had been introduced into England in the turbulent reign of Stephen, and prohibited by the policy of his successor: Richard revived them, on

the plea that they were necessary to teach the use of arms, and to fit the rising generation for the defence of their country. But these patriotic views were in reality prompted by avarice: before any individual could partake of such martial sports a royal license was requisite: and its price was duly fixed at the rate of twenty marks for an earl, ten for a baron, four for a knight with, and two for a knight without, land. 4th. Richard broke the great seal, ordered a new one to be made, and declared by proclamation that no grant under the former should be deemed valid in courts of law. The consequence was that the holders of such grants were compelled to exhibit them in the office of the chancellor, and to pay the usual fees a second time. 5th. The institution of itinerant justices was resumed or continued: but their instructions were improved by such additions as circumstances suggested. They were to consider the king as succeeding in the place of the Jews who had been killed in the first year of his reign, and to require fines from their murderers, and payment from their debtors: they were to annul all grants which had been made by Prince John, and to receive all monies that were due to him: they were to inquire into the state of all wardships and escheats, the real value of all the lands, and the quantity of stock on each farm; they were to impose tallages on the cities, burghs, and ancient demesnes of the crown; and to exact the payment of all arrears from those who had promised to contribute towards the king's ransom. 'By these and similar inquisitions,' says a contemporary writer, 'England was reduced to poverty from one sea to the other.'

Richard renewed the severe laws against transgressors in his forests, whom he punished by castration and putting out their eyes, as in the reign of his great-grandfather. He established by law one weight and measure throughout his kingdom: a useful institution, which the mercenary disposition and necessities of his successor engaged him to dispense with for money.

The disorders in London, derived from its bad police, had risen to a great height during this reign; and in the year 1196, there seemed to be formed so regular a conspiracy among the numerous malefactors as threatened the city with destruction. There was one William Fitz Osbert, commonly called Longbeard, a lawyer, who had rendered himself extremely popular among the lower rank of citizens; and, by defending them on all occasions, had acquired the appellation of the advocate or saviour of the poor. He exerted his authority, by injuring and insulting the more substantial citizens, with whom he lived in a state of hostility, and who were every moment exposed to the most outrageous violences from him and his licentious emissaries. Murders were daily committed in the streets; houses were broken open and pillaged in day-light; and it is pretended, that no less than fifty-two thousand persons had entered into an association, by which they bound themselves to obey all the orders of this dangerous ruffian. Archbishop Hubert, who was then chief justiciary, summoned him before the council to answer for his conduct; but he came so well attended, that no one durst accuse him, or give evidence against him; and the prime finding the impotence of law, contented himself with exacting from the citizens hostages for their good behaviour. He kept, however, a

\* Madox, in his *Baronia Anglica*, tells us, that in the 30th of Henry II., thirty-three cows and two bulls cost but eight pence; seven shillings, money of that age; 300 sheep, twenty-two pence; ten shillings, or about tenpence three-farthings per sheep; sixty-six oxen, eighteen pence three shillings; fifteen breeding mares, two pounds twelve shillings and six pence; and twenty-two hogs, one pound two shillings. In the tenth year of Richard I. mention is made of ten per cent. paid for money: but the Jews frequently exacted much higher interest.







JOHN.

watchful eye on Fitz-Osbert; and seizing a favourable opportunity, attempted to commit him to custody; but the criminal, murdering one of the public officers, escaped with his concubine to the church of St. Mary le Bow, where he defended himself by force of arms. He was at last forced from his retreat, condemned, and executed, amidst the regrets of the populace, who were so devoted to his memory, that they stole his gibbet, paid the same veneration to it as to the cross, and were equally zealous in propagating and attesting reports of the miracles wrought by it. But though the sectaries of this superstition were punished by the justiciary, it received so little encouragement from the established clergy, whose property was endangered by such seditious practices, that it suddenly sunk and vanished.

It was during the crusades, that the custom of using coats of arms was first introduced into Europe. The knights, cased up in armour, had no way to make themselves be known and distinguished in battle but by the devices on their shields; and these were gradually adopted by their posterity and families, who were proud of the pious and military enterprises of their ancestors.

King Richard was a passionate lover of poetry: there even remain some poetical works of his composition: and he bears a rank among the provençal poets or Troubadours, who were the first of the modern Europeans that distinguished themselves by attempts of that nature.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### JOHN.

*Accession of the king—His marriage—War with France—Murder of Arthur duke of Britany—The king expelled the French provinces—The king's quarrel with the court of Rome—Cardinal Langton appointed archbishop of Canterbury—Interdict of the kingdom—Excommunication of the king—The king's submission to the pope—Discontents of the barons—Insurrection of the barons—Magna Charta—Renewal of the civil wars—Prince Lewis called over—Death—and character of the king.*

THE noble and free genius of the ancients, which made the government of a single person be always regarded as a species of tyranny and usurpation, and kept them from forming any conception of a legal and regular monarchy, had rendered them entirely ignorant both of the rights of primogeniture and a representation in succession; inventions so necessary for preserving order in the lines of princes, for obviating the evils of civil discord and of usurpation, and for begetting moderation in that species of government, by giving security to the ruling sovereign. These innovations arose from the feudal law; which, first introducing the right of primogeniture, made such a distinction between the families of the elder and younger brothers, that the son of the former was thought entitled to succeed to his grandfather, preferably to his uncles, though nearer allied to the deceased monarch. But though this progress of ideas was natural, it was gradual. In the age of which we treat, the practice of representation was indeed introduced, but

not thoroughly established; and the minds of men fluctuated between opposite principles. Richard, when he entered on the holy war, declared his nephew, Arthur duke of Britany, his successor: and by a formal deed, he set aside, in his favour, the title of his brother John, who was younger than Geoffrey, the father of that prince. But John so little acquiesced in that destination, that, when he gained the ascendancy in the English ministry, by expelling Longchamp, the chancellor and great justiciary, he engaged all the barons to swear, that they would maintain his right of succession; and Richard, on his return, took no steps towards restoring or securing the order which he had at first established. He was even careful, by his last will, to declare his brother John heir to all his dominions; whether, that he now thought Arthur, who was only twelve years of age, incapable of asserting his claim against John's faction, or was influenced by Eleanor, the queen-mother, who hated Constan-tia, mother of the young duke, and who dreaded the credit which that princess would naturally acquire if her son should mount the throne. The authority of a testament was great in that age, even where the succession of a kingdom was concerned; and John had reason to hope that this title, joined to his plausible right in other respects, would ensure him the succession. But the idea of representation seems to have made, at this time, greater progress in France than in England: the barons of the transmarine provinces, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, immediately declared in favour of Arthur's title, and applied for assistance to the French monarch as their superior lord. Philip, who desired only an occasion to embarrass John, and dismember his dominions, embraced the cause of the young duke of Britany, took him under his protection, and sent him to Paris to be educated, along with his own son Lewis. In this emergency, John hastened to establish his authority in the chief members of the monarchy; and after sending Eleanor into Poictou and Guienne, where her right was incontestable, and was readily acknowledged, he hurried to Rouen, and having secured the duchy of Normandy, he passed over, without loss of time, to England. Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, William Mareschal earl of Strigul, who also passed by the name of earl of Pembroke, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter the justiciary, the three most favoured ministers of the late king, were already engaged on his side; and the submission or acquiescence of all the other barons put him, without opposition, in possession of the throne.

The king soon returned to France, in order to conduct the war against Philip, and to recover the revolted provinces from his nephew Arthur. The alliances which Richard had formed with the earl of Flanders, and other potent French princes, though they had not been very effectual, still subsisted, and enabled John to defend himself against all the efforts of his enemy. In an action between the French and Flemings, the elect bishop of Cambrai was taken prisoner by the former; and when the cardinal of Capua claimed his liberty, Philip, instead of complying, reproached him with the weak efforts which he had employed in favour of the bishop of Beauvais, who was in a like condition. The legate, to show his impartiality, laid at the same time the kingdom of France and the duchy of Normandy under an interdict; and the two kings found



themselves obliged to make an exchange of these military prelates.

Nothing enabled the king to bring this war to a happy issue so much as the selfish intriguing character of Philip, who acted in the provinces that had declared for Arthur without any regard to the interests of that prince. Constantia, seized with a violent jealousy that he intended to usurp the entire dominion of them, found means to carry off her son secretly from Paris: she put him into the hands of his uncle; restored the provinces which had adhered to the young prince; and made him do homage for the duchy of Brittany, which was regarded as a fief of Normandy. From this incident, Philip saw that he could not hope to make any progress against John; and being threatened with an interdict on account of his irregular divorce from Ingeburga, the Danish princess whom he had espoused, he became desirous of concluding a peace with England. After some fruitless conferences, the terms were at last adjusted; and the two monarchs seemed in this treaty to have an intention, besides ending the present quarrel, of preventing all future causes of discord, and of obviating every controversy which could hereafter arise between them. They adjusted the limits of all their territories; mutually secured the interests of their vassals; and, to render the union more durable, John gave his niece, Blanche of Castile, in marriage to Prince Lewis, Philip's eldest son, and with her the baronies of Issoudun and Graçai, and other fiefs in Berri. Nine barons of the king of England, and as many of the king of France, were guaranties of this treaty; and all of them swore, that if their sovereign violated any article of it, they would declare themselves against him, and embrace the cause of the injured monarch.

John, now secure as he imagined on the side of France, indulged his passion for Isabella, the daughter and heir of Aymer Taillefer, count of Angouleme, a lady with whom he had become much enamoured. His queen, the heiress of the family of Gloucester, was still alive: Isabella was married to the count de la Marche, and was already consigned to the care of that nobleman; though by reason of her tender years the marriage had not been consummated. The passion of John made him overlook all these obstacles: he persuaded the count of Angouleme to carry off his daughter from her husband; and having on some pretence or other procured a divorce from his own wife, he espoused Isabella; regardless both of the menaces of the pope, who exclaimed against these irregular proceedings, and of the resentment of the injured count, who soon found means of punishing his powerful and insolent rival.

John had not the art of attaching his barons either by affection or by fear. The count de la Marche, and his brother the Count d'Eu, taking advantage of the general discontent against him, excited commotions in Poitou and Normandy; and obliged the king to have recourse to arms, in order to suppress the insurrection of his vassals. He summoned together the barons of England, and required them to pass the sea under his standard, and to quell the rebels: he found that he possessed as little authority in that kingdom as in his transmarine provinces. The English barons unanimously replied, that they would not attend him on this expedition, unless he would promise to restore and preserve their privileges:

the first symptom of a regular association and plan of liberty among those noblemen! But affairs were not yet fully ripe for the revolution projected. John, by menacing the barons, broke the concert; and both engaged many of them to follow him into Normandy, and obliged the rest, who staid behind, to pay him a scutage of two marks on each knight's fee, as the price of their exemption from the service.

The force which John carried abroad with him, and that which joined him in Normandy, rendered him much superior to his malecontent barons; and so much the more as Philip did not publicly give them any countenance, and seemed as yet determined to persevere steadily in the alliance which he had contracted with England. But the king, elated with his superiority, advanced claims which gave a universal alarm to his vassals, and diffused still wider the general discontent. As the jurisprudence of those times required, that the causes in the lord's court should chiefly be decided by duel, he carried along with him certain bravos, whom he retained as champions, and whom he destined to fight with his barons, in order to determine any controversy which he might raise against them. The count de la Marche, and other noblemen, regarded this proceeding as an affront, as well as an injury; and declared, that they would never draw their sword against men of such inferior quality. The king menaced them with vengeance; but he had not vigour to employ against them the force in his hands, or to prosecute the injustice, by crushing entirely the nobles who opposed it.

This government, equally feeble and violent, gave the injured barons courage as well as inclination to carry farther their opposition: they appealed to the king of France: complained of the denial of justice in John's court; demanded redress from him as their superior lord; and entreated him to employ his authority, and prevent their final ruin and oppression. Philip perceived his advantage, opened his mind to great projects, interposed in behalf of the French barons, and began to talk in a high and menacing style to the king of England. John, who could not disavow Philip's authority, replied, that it belonged to himself first to grant them a trial by their peers in his own court; it was not till he failed in this duty, that he was answerable to his peers in the supreme court of the French king; and he promised by a fair and equitable judicature, to give satisfaction to his barons. When the nobles, in consequence of this engagement, demanded a safe-conduct, that they might attend his court, he at first refused it; upon the renewal of Philip's menaces, he promised to grant their demand; he violated this promise; fresh menaces extorted from him a promise to surrender to Philip the fortresses of Tillieres and Boutavant, as a security for performance; he again violated this engagement; his enemies, sensible both of his weakness and want of faith, combined still closer in the resolution of pushing him to extremities; and a new and powerful ally soon appeared to encourage them in their invasion of this odious and despicable government.

The young duke of Brittany, who was now rising to man's estate, sensible of the dangerous character of his uncle, determined to seek both his security and elevation by a union with Philip and the malecontent barons. He joined the French army, which had begun hostilities against the

king of England: he was received with great marks of distinction by Philip; was knighted by him; espoused his daughter Mary; and was invested not only in the duchy of Brittany, but in the counties of Anjou and Maine, which he had formerly resigned to his uncle. Every attempt succeeded with the allies. Tillieres and Boutevant were taken by Philip, after making a feeble defence: Mortimar and Lyons fell into his hands almost without resistance. That prince next invested Gournai; and opening the sluices of a lake which lay in the neighbourhood, poured such a torrent of water into the place, that the garrison deserted it, and the French monarch, without striking a blow, made himself master of that important fortress. The progress of the French arms was rapid, and promised more considerable success than usually in that age attended military enterprises. In answer to every advance which the king made towards peace, Philip still insisted, that he should resign all his transmarine dominions to his nephew, and rest contented with the kingdom of England; when an event happened, which seemed to turn the scales in favour of John, and to give him a decisive superiority over his enemies.

Young Arthur, fond of military renown, had broken into Poitou at the head of a small army; and passing near Mirabeau, he heard that his grandmother Queen Eleanor, who had always opposed his interests, was lodged in that place, and was protected by a weak garrison and ruinous fortifications. He immediately determined to lay siege to the fortress, and make himself master of her person: but John, roused from his indolence by so pressing an occasion, collected an army of English and Brabançons, and advanced from Normandy with hasty marches to the relief of the queen-mother. He fell on Arthur's camp before that prince was aware of the danger; dispersed his army; took him prisoner, together with the Count de la Marche, Geoffroy de Lusignan, and the most considerable of the revolted barons; and returned in triumph to Normandy. Philip, who was lying before Arques in that duchy, raised the siege and retired, upon his approach. The greater part of the prisoners were sent over to England; but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise.

The king had here a conference with his nephew; represented to him the folly of his pretensions; and required him to renounce the French alliance, which had encouraged him to live in a state of enmity with all his family: but the brave, though imprudent youth, rendered more haughty from misfortunes, maintained the justice of his cause; asserted his claim, not only to the French provinces, but to the crown of England; and, in his turn, required the king to restore the son of his elder brother to the possession of his inheritance. John, sensible, from these symptoms of spirit, that the young prince, though now a prisoner, might hereafter prove a dangerous enemy, determined to prevent all future peril by dispatching his nephew: and Arthur was never more heard of. The circumstances which attended this deed of darkness were, no doubt, carefully concealed by the actors, and are variously related by historians: but the most probable account is as follows: the king, it is said, first proposed to William de la Bray, one of his servants, to dispatch Arthur; but William replied, that he was a gentleman, not a hangman; and he positively

refused compliance. Another instrument of murder was found, and was dispatched with proper orders, to Falaise; but Hubert de Bourg, chamberlain to the king, and constable of the castle, feigning that he himself would execute the king's mandate, sent back the assassin, spread the report that the young prince was dead, and publicly performed all the ceremonies of his interment: but finding, that the Bretons vowed revenge for the murder, and that all the revolted barons persevered more obstinately in their rebellion, he thought it prudent to reveal the secret, and to inform the world that the duke of Brittany was still alive, and in his custody. This discovery proved fatal to the young prince: John first removed him to the castle of Rouen, and coming in a boat, during the night-time, to that place, commanded Arthur to be brought forth to him. The young prince, aware of his danger, and now more subdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, and by the approach of death, threw himself on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy: but the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, stabbed him with his own hands; and fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine.

All men were struck with horror at this inhuman deed; and from that moment the king, detested by his subjects, retained a very precarious authority over both the people and the barons in his dominions. The Bretons, enraged at this disappointment in their fond hopes, waged implacable war against him; and fixing the succession of their government, put themselves in a posture to revenge the murder of their sovereign. John had got into his power his niece, Eleanor, sister to Arthur, commonly called the *Damsel of Brittany*; and carrying her over to England, detained her ever after in captivity: but the Bretons in despair of recovering this princess, chose Alice for their sovereign; a younger daughter of Constantia, by her second marriage with Guy de Thouars; and they intrusted the government of the duchy to that nobleman. The states of Brittany, meanwhile, carried their complaints before Philip as their liege lord, and demanded justice for the violence committed by John on the person of Arthur, so near a relation, who, notwithstanding the homage which he did to Normandy, was always regarded as one of the chief vassals of the crown. Philip received their application with pleasure; summoned John to stand a trial before him, and on his non-appearance passed sentence, with the concurrence of the peers, upon that prince; declared him guilty of felony and parricide; and adjudged him to forfeit to his superior lord all his seignories and fiefs in France.

The king of France, whose ambitious and active spirit had been hitherto confined, either by the sound policy of Henry, or the martial genius of Richard, seeing now the opportunity favourable against this base and odious prince, embraced the project of expelling the English, or rather the English king, from France, and of annexing to the crown so many considerable fiefs, which, during several ages, had been dismembered from it. Many of the other great vassals, whose jealousy might have interposed, and have obstructed the execution of this project, were not at present in a situation to oppose it; and the rest either looked on with indifference, or gave their assistance to this dangerous aggrandizement of their superior lord. The earls of Flanders and Blois



were engaged in the holy war: the count of Champagne was an infant, and under the guardianship of Philip: the duchy of Brittany, enraged at the murder of their prince, vigorously promoted all his measures: and the general defection of John's vassals made every enterprise easy and successful against him. Philip, after taking several castles and fortresses beyond the Loire, which he either garrisoned or dismantled, received the submissions of the count of Alençon, who deserted John, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French: upon which Philip broke up his camp, in order to give the troops some repose after the fatigues of the campaign. John, suddenly collecting some forces, laid siege to Alençon; and Philip, whose dispersed army could not be brought together in time to succour it, saw himself exposed to the disgrace of suffering the oppression of his friend and confederate. But his active and fertile genius found an expedient against this evil. There was held at that very time a tournament at Moret in the Gatinois; whither all the chief nobility of France and the neighbouring countries had resorted, in order to signalize their prowess and address. Philip presented himself before them; craved their assistance in his distress; and pointed out the plains of Alençon, as the most honourable field in which they could display their generosity and martial spirit. Those valorous knights vowed that they would take vengeance on the base parricide, the stain of arms and of chivalry; and putting themselves, with all their retinue, under the command of Philip, instantly marched to raise the siege of Alençon. John, hearing of their approach, fled from before the place; and in the hurry abandoned all his tents, machines, and baggage, to the enemy.

This feeble effort was the last exploit of that slothful and cowardly prince for the defence of his dominions. He thenceforth remained in total inactivity at Rouen, passing all his time, with his young wife, in pastimes and amusements, as if his state had been in the most profound tranquillity, or his affairs in the most prosperous condition. If he ever mentioned war, it was only to give himself vaunting airs, which, in the eyes of all men, rendered him still more despicable and ridiculous. "Let the French go on," said he, "I will retake in a day what it has cost them years to acquire." His stupidity and indolence appeared so extraordinary, that the people endeavoured to account for the infatuation by sorcery, and believed that he was thrown into this lethargy by some magic or witchcraft. The English barons, finding that their time was wasted to no purpose, and that they must suffer the disgrace of seeing, without resistance, the progress of the French arms, withdrew from their colours, and secretly returned to their own country. No one thought of defending a man, who seemed to have deserted himself; and his subjects regarded his fate with the same indifference, to which, in this pressing exigency, they saw him totally abandoned.

John, while he neglected all domestic resources, had the meanness to betake himself to a foreign power, whose protection he claimed: he applied to the pope, Innocent III. and entreated him to interpose his authority between him and the French monarch. Innocent, pleased with any occasion of exerting his superiority, sent Philip orders to stop the progress of his arms, and to

make peace with the king of England. But the French barons received the message with indignation; disclaimed the temporal authority assumed by the pontiff, and vowed, that they would, to the uttermost, assist their prince against all his enemies: Philip, seconding their ardour, proceeded, instead of obeying the pope's envoys, to lay siege to Chateau Gaillard, the most considerable fortress which remained to guard the frontiers of Normandy.

Chateau Gaillard was situated partly on an island in the river Seine, partly on a rock opposite to it; and was secured by every advantage which either art or nature could bestow upon it. The late king, having cast his eye on this favourable situation, had spared no labour or expense in fortifying it; and it was defended by Roger de Laci, constable of Chester, a determined officer, at the head of a numerous garrison. Philip, who despaired of taking the place by force, purposed to reduce it by famine; and that he might cut off its communication with the neighbouring country, he threw a bridge across the Seine, while he himself with his army blockaded it by land. The earl of Pembroke, the man of greatest vigour and capacity in the English court, formed a plan for breaking through the French entrenchments, and throwing relief into the place. He carried with him an army of 4000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, and suddenly attacked, with great success, Philip's camp in the night-time; having left orders, that a fleet of seventy flat-bottomed vessels should sail up the Seine, and fall at the same instant on the bridge. But the wind and the current of the river, by retarding the vessels, disconcerted this plan of operations; and it was morning before the fleet appeared; when Pembroke, though successful in the beginning of the action, was already repulsed with considerable loss, and the king of France had leisure to defend himself against these new assailants, who also met with a repulse. After this misfortune, John made no further efforts for the relief of Chateau Gaillard; and Philip had all the leisure requisite for conducting and finishing the siege. Roger de Laci defended himself for a twelvemonth with great obstinacy; and having bravely repelled every attack, and patiently borne all the hardships of famine, he was at last overpowered by a sudden assault in the night-time, and made prisoner of war, with his garrison. Philip, who knew how to respect valour even in an enemy, treated him with civility, and gave him the whole city of Paris for the place of his confinement.

When this bulwark of Normandy was once subdued, all the province lay open to the inroads of Philip; and the king of England despaired of being any longer able to defend it. He secretly prepared vessels for a scandalous flight; and that the Normans might no longer doubt of his resolution to abandon them, he ordered the fortifications of Pont de l'Arche, Moulineaux, and Montfort l'Amauri to be demolished. Not daring to repose confidence in any of his barons, whom he believed to be universally engaged in a conspiracy against him, he intrusted the government of the province to Archas Martin and Lupicaire, two mercenary Brabançons, whom he had retained in his service. Philip, now secure of his prey, pushed his conquests with vigour and success against the dismayed Normans. Falaise was first besieged; and Lupicaire, who commanded in this impregnable fortress, after surrendering the place, en-

listed himself with his troops in the service of Philip, and carried on hostilities against his ancient master. Caen, Coutance, Sees, Evreux, and Baieux, soon fell into the hands of the French monarch, and all lower Normandy was reduced under his dominion. To forward his enterprises on the other division of the province, Gui de Thouars, at the head of the Bretons, broke into the territory, and took Mount St. Michael, Avranches, and all the other fortresses in that neighbourhood. The Normans, who abhorred the French yoke, and who would have defended themselves to the last extremity if their prince had appeared to conduct them, found no resource but in submission; and every city opened its gates as soon as Philip appeared before it. Rouen alone, Arques, and Verneuil, determined to maintain their liberties; and formed a confederacy for mutual defence. Philip began with the siege of Rouen: the inhabitants were so inflamed with hatred to France, that, on the appearance of his army, they fell on all the natives of the country, whom they found within their walls, and put them to death. But after the French king had begun his operations with success, and had taken some of their outworks, the citizens, seeing no resource, offered to capitulate; and demanded only thirty days to advertise their prince of their danger, and to require succours against the enemy. Upon the expiration of the term, as no supply had arrived, they opened their gates to Philip; and the whole province soon after imitated the example, and submitted to the victor. Thus was this important territory re-united to the crown of France, about three centuries after the cession of it by Charles the Simple to Rollo, the first duke: and the Normans, sensible that this conquest was probably final, demanded the privilege of being governed by French laws; which Philip, making a few alterations on the ancient Norman customs, readily granted them. But the French monarch had too much ambition and genius to stop in his present career of success. He carried his victorious army into the western provinces; soon reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poitou; and in this manner, the French crown, during the reign of one able and active prince, received such an accession of power and grandeur, as, in the ordinary course of things, it would have required several ages to attain.

John, on his arrival in England, that he might cover the disgrace of his own conduct, exclaimed loudly against his barons, who, he pretended, had deserted his standard in Normandy; and he arbitrarily extorted from them a seventh of all their moveables, as a punishment for the offence. Soon after he forced them to grant him a scutage of two marks and a half on each knight's fee for an expedition into Normandy; but he did not attempt to execute the service for which he pretended to exact it. Next year, he summoned all the barons of his realm to attend him on this foreign expedition, and collected ships from all the sea-ports; but meeting with opposition from some of his ministers, and abandoning his design, he dismissed both fleet and army, and then renewed his exclamations against the barons for deserting him. He next put to sea with a small army, and his subjects believed, that he was resolved to expose himself to the utmost hazard for the defence and recovery of his dominions; but they were surprised, after a few days, to see him return again into harbour without attempting any thing. In

the subsequent season, he had the courage to carry his hostile measures a step further. Gui de Thouars, who governed Brittany, jealous of the rapid progress made by his ally, the French king, promised to join the king of England with all his forces; and John ventured abroad with a considerable army, and landed at Rochelle. He marched to Angers; which he took and reduced to ashes. But the approach of Philip with an army threw him into a panic; and he immediately made proposals for peace, and fixed a place of interview with his enemy: but instead of keeping his engagement, he stole off with his army, embarked at Rochelle, and returned, loaded with new shame and disgrace, into England. The mediation of the pope procured him at last a truce for two years with the French monarch; almost all the transmarine provinces were ravished from him; and his English barons, though harassed with arbitrary taxes and fruitless expeditions, saw themselves and their country baffled and affronted in every enterprise.

In an age when personal valour was regarded as the chief accomplishment, such conduct as that of John, always disgraceful, must be exposed to peculiar contempt; and he must thenceforth have expected to rule his turbulent vassals with a very doubtful authority. But the government exercised by the Norman princes had wound up the royal power to so high a pitch, and so much beyond the usual tenor of the feudal constitutions, that it still behoved him to be debased by new affronts and disgraces, ere his barons could entertain the view of conspiring against him, in order to retrench his prerogatives. The church, which, at that time, declined not a contest with the most powerful and most vigorous monarchs, took first advantage of John's imbecility; and, with the most aggravating circumstances of insolence and scorn, fixed her yoke upon him.

The papal chair was then filled by Innocent III. who, having attained that dignity at the age of thirty-seven years, and being endowed with a lofty and enterprising genius, gave full scope to his ambition, and attempted, perhaps more openly than any of his predecessors, to convert that superiority, which was yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them. The hierarchy, protected by the Roman pontiff, had already carried to an enormous height its usurpations upon the civil power; but in order to extend them further, and render them useful to the court of Rome, it was necessary to reduce the ecclesiastics themselves under an absolute monarchy, and to make them entirely dependent on their spiritual leader. For this purpose, Innocent first attempted to impose taxes at pleasure upon the clergy; and in the first year of this century, taking advantage of the popular frenzy for crusades, he sent collectors over all Europe, who levied, by his authority, the fortieth of all ecclesiastical revenues for the relief of the Holy Land, and received the voluntary contributions of the laity to a like amount. The same year Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, attempted another innovation, favourable to ecclesiastical and papal power: in the king's absence, he summoned, by his legantine authority, a synod of all the English clergy, contrary to the inhibition of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the chief justiciary; and no proper censure was ever passed on this encroachment, the first of the kind, upon the royal power. But a favourable incident soon after happened, which enabled



so aspiring a pontiff as Innocent to extend still further his usurpations on so contemptible a prince as John.

Hubert the primate, died in 1205; and as the monks or canons of Christ-church, Canterbury, possessed a right of voting in the election of their archbishop, some of the juniors of the order, who lay in wait for that event, met clandestinely the very night of Hubert's death; and, without any *coup d'état* from the king, chose Reginald, their sub-prior, for the successor; installed him in the archiepiscopal throne before midnight; and having enjoined him in the strictest secrecy, sent him immediately to Rome, in order to solicit the confirmation of his election. The vanity of Reginald prevailed over his prudence; and he no sooner arrived in Flanders, than he revealed to every one the purpose of his journey, which was immediately known in England. The king was enraged at the novelty and temerity of the attempt, in filling so important an office without his knowledge or consent: the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, who were accustomed to concur in the choice of their primate, were no less displeased at the exclusion given them in this election. The senior monks of Christ-church were injured by the irregular proceedings of their juniors: the juniors themselves, ashamed of their conduct, and disgusted with the levity of Reginald, who had broken his engagements with them, were willing to set aside his election: and all men concurred in the design of remedying the false measures which had been taken. But as John knew that this affair would be canvassed before a superior tribunal, where the interposition of royal authority in bestowing ecclesiastical benefices was very invidious; where even the cause of suffragan bishops was not so favourable as that of monks; he determined to make the new election entirely unexceptionable: he submitted the affair wholly to the canons of Christ-church; and departing from the right claimed by his predecessors, ventured no further than to inform them privately, that they would do him an acceptable service if they chose John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, for their primate. The election of that prelate was accordingly made without a contradictory vote; and the king, to obviate all contests, endeavoured to persuade the suffragan bishops not to insist on their claim of concurring in the election: but those prelates, persevering in their pretensions, sent an agent to maintain their cause before Innocent; while the king, and the convent of Christ-church, dispatched twelve monks of that order to support, before the same tribunal, the election of the bishop of Norwich.

Thus there lay three different claims before the pope, whom all parties allowed to be the supreme arbiter in the contest. The claim of the suffragans, being so opposite to the usual maxims of the papal court, was soon set aside: the election of Reginald was so obviously fraudulent and irregular, that there was no possibility of defending it: but Innocent maintained, that though this election was null and invalid, it ought previously to have been declared such by the sovereign pontiff, before the monks could proceed to a new election; and that the choice of the bishop of Norwich was of course as uncanonical as that of his competitor. Advantage was therefore taken of this subtlety for introducing a precedent, by which the see of Canterbury, the most important dignity in the church after the papal throne,

should ever after be at the disposal of the court of Rome.

While the pope maintained so many fierce contests, in order to wrest from princes the right of granting investitures, and to exclude laymen from all authority in conferring ecclesiastical benefices, he was supported by the united influence of the clergy, who, aspiring to independence, fought, with all the ardour of ambition, and all the zeal of superstition, under his sacred banners. But no sooner was this point, after a great effusion of blood and the convulsions of many states, established in some tolerable degree, than the victorious leader, as is usual, turned his arms against his own community, and aspired to centre all power in his person. By the invention of reserves, provisions, commendams, and other devices, the pope gradually assumed the right of filling vacant benefices; and the plenitude of his apostolic power, which was not subject to any limitations, supplied all defects of title in the person on whom he bestowed preferment. The canons which regulated elections were purposely rendered intricate and involved: frequent disputes rose among candidates: appeals were every day carried to Rome: the apostolic see, besides reaping pecuniary advantages from these contests, often exercised the power of setting aside both the litigants, and, on pretence of appeasing faction, nominated a third person, who might be more acceptable to the contending parties.

The present controversy about the election to the see of Canterbury afforded Innocent an opportunity of claiming this right; and he failed not to perceive and avail himself of the advantage. He sent for the twelve monks deputed by the convent to maintain the cause of the bishop of Norwich; and commanded them, under the penalty of excommunication, to choose for their primate, Cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected, by his interest and attachments, with the see of Rome. In vain did the monks represent, that they had received from their convent no authority for this purpose; that an election, without a previous writ from the king, would be deemed highly irregular; and that they were merely agents for another person, whose right they had no power or pretence to abandon. None of them had the courage to persevere in this opposition, except one, Elias de Brantfield: all the rest, overcome by the menaces and authority of the pope, complied with his orders, and made the election required of them.

Innocent, sensible that this flagrant usurpation would be highly resented by the court of England, wrote John a mollifying letter; sent him four golden rings set with precious stones; and endeavoured to enhance the value of the present, by informing him of the many mysteries implied in it. He begged him to consider seriously the form of the rings, their number, their matter, and their colour. Their form, he said, being round, shadowed out eternity, which had neither beginning nor end; and he ought thence to learn his duty of aspiring from earthly objects to heavenly, from things temporal to things eternal. The number four, being a square, denoted steadiness of mind, not to be subverted either by adversity or prosperity, fixed for ever on the firm basis of the four cardinal virtues. Gold, which is the matter, being the most precious of metals, signified wisdom, which is the most valuable of all

accomplishments, and justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all exterior attainments. The blue colour of the sapphire represented Faith; the verdure of the emerald, Hope; the redness of the ruby, Charity; and the splendour of the topaz, Good Works. By these conceits, Innocent endeavoured to repay John for one of the most important prerogatives of his crown, which he had ravished from him; conceits probably admired by Innocent himself: for it is easily possible for a man, especially in a barbarous age, to unite strong talents for business with an absurd taste for literature and the arts.

John was inflamed with the utmost rage when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome; and he immediately vented his passion on the monks of Christ-church, whom he found inclined to support the election made by their fellows at Rome. He sent Fulke de Cantelupe and Henry de Cornhulle, two knights of his retinue, men of violent tempers and rude manners, to expel them the convent, and take possession of their revenues. These knights entered the monastery with drawn swords, commanded the prior and the monks to depart the kingdom, and menaced them, that, in case of disobedience, they would instantly burn them with the convent. Innocent, prognosticating, from the violence and imprudence of these measures, that John would finally sink in the contest, persevered the more vigorously in his pretensions, and exhorted the king not to oppose God and the church any longer, nor to prosecute that cause for which the holy martyr St. Thomas had sacrificed his life, and which had exalted him equal to the highest saints in heaven: a clear hint to John to profit by the example of his father, and to remember the prejudices and established principles of his subjects, who bore a profound veneration to that martyr, and regarded his merits as the subject of their chief glory and exultation.

Innocent, finding that John was not sufficiently tamed to submission, sent three prelates, the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to intimate, that if he persevered in his disobedience, the sovereign pontiff would be obliged to lay the kingdom under an interdict. All the other prelates threw themselves on their knees before him, and entreated him, with tears in their eyes, to prevent the scandal of this sentence, by making a speedy submission to his spiritual father, by receiving from his hands the new-elected primate, and by restoring the monks of Christ-church to all their rights and possessions. He burst out into the most indecent invectives against the prelates; swore by God's teeth (his usual oath), that if the pope presumed to lay his kingdom under an interdict, he would send to him all the bishops and clergy in England, and would confiscate all their estates; and threatened, that if thenceforth he caught any Romans in his dominions, he would put out their eyes and cut off their noses, in order to set a mark upon them which might distinguish them from all other nations. Amidst all this idle violence, John stood on such bad terms with his nobility, that he never dared to assemble the states of the kingdom, who, in so just a cause, would probably have adhered to any other monarch, and have defended with vigour the liberties of the nation against these palpable usurpations of the court of Rome. Innocent, therefore, perceiving the king's weakness, fulminated at last the sentence of interdict, which he had for some time held suspended over him.

The sentence of interdict was at that time the great instrument of vengeance and policy employed by the court of Rome; was denounced against sovereigns for the lightest offences; and made the guilt of one person involve the ruin of millions, even in their spiritual and eternal welfare. The execution of it was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion: the altars were despoiled of their ornaments. The crosses, the relics, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches: the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism to new-born infants, and the communion to the dying: the dead were not interred in consecrated ground: they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields; and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the church-yards; and that every action in life might bear the marks of this dreadful situation, the people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent, or times of the highest penance; were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments; and were forbidden even to salute each other, or so much as to shave their beards, and give any decent attention to their person and apparel. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehensions of divine vengeance and indignation.

The king, that he might oppose his temporal to their spiritual terrors, immediately, from his own authority, confiscated the estates of all the clergy who obeyed the interdict; banished the prelates, confined the monks in their convents, and gave them only such a small allowance from their own estates as would suffice to provide them with food and raiment. He treated with the utmost rigour all Langton's adherents, and every one that showed any disposition to obey the command of Rome: and in order to distress the clergy in the tenderest point, and at the same time expose them to reproach and ridicule, he threw into prison all their concubines, and required high fines as the price of their liberty.

After the canons which established the celibacy of the clergy were, by the zealous endeavours of Archbishop Anselm, more rigorously executed in England, the ecclesiastics gave, almost universally and avowedly, into the use of concubinage; and the court of Rome, which had no interest in prohibiting this practice, made very slight opposition to it. The custom was become so prevalent, that, in some cantons of Switzerland, before the reformation, the laws not only permitted, but, to avoid scandal, enjoined the use of concubines to the younger clergy; and it was usual every where for priests to apply to the ordinary, and obtain from him a formal liberty for this indulgence. The bishop commonly took care to prevent the practice from degenerating into licentiousness: he confined the priest to the use of one



woman, required him to be constant to her bed, obliged him to provide for her subsistence and that of her children; and though the offspring was, in the eye of the law, deemed illegitimate, this commerce was really a kind of inferior marriage, such as is still practised in Germany among the nobles; and may be regarded by the candid as an appeal from the tyranny of civil and ecclesiastical institutions, to the more virtuous and more unerring laws of nature.

The quarrel between the king and the see of Rome continued for some years; and though many of the clergy, from the fear of punishment, obeyed the orders of John, and celebrated divine service, they complied with the utmost reluctance, and were regarded, both by themselves and the people, as men who betrayed their principles, and sacrificed their conscience to temporal regards and interests. During this violent situation, the king, in order to give a lustre to his government, attempted military expeditions against Scotland, against Ireland, against the Welsh; and he commonly prevailed, more from the weakness of his enemies, than from his own vigour or abilities. Meanwhile, the danger to which his government stood continually exposed from the discontents of the ecclesiastics, increased his natural propensity to tyranny; and he seems to have even wantonly disgusted all orders of men, especially his nobles, from whom alone he could reasonably expect support and assistance. He dishonoured their families by his licentious amours; he published edicts, prohibiting them from hunting feathered game, and thereby restrained them from their favourite occupation and amusement; he ordered all the hedges and fences near his forests to be levelled, that his deer might have more ready access into the fields for pasture; and he continually loaded the nation with arbitrary impositions. Conscious of the general hatred which he had incurred, he required his nobility to give him hostages for security of their allegiance; and they were obliged to put into his hands their sons, nephews, or near relations. When his messengers came with like orders to the castle of William de Braouse, a baron of great note, the lady of that nobleman replied, That she would never intrust her son into the hands of one who had murdered his own nephew while in his custody. Her husband reproved her for the severity of this speech; but, sensible of his danger, he immediately fled with his wife and son into Ireland, where he endeavoured to conceal himself. The king discovered the untappy family in their retreat; seized the wife and son, whom he starved to death in prison; and the baron himself narrowly escaped, by flying into France.

The court of Rome had artfully contrived a gradation of sentences; by which she kept offenders in awe; still afforded them an opportunity of preventing the next anathema by submission; and, in case of their obstinacy, was able to refresh the horror of the people against them, by new denunciations of the wrath and vengeance of Heaven. As the sentence of interdict had not produced the desired effect on John, and as his people, though extremely discontented, had hitherto been restrained from rising in open rebellion against him, he was soon to look for the sentence of excommunication: and he had reason to apprehend, that notwithstanding all his precautions, the most dangerous consequences might ensue from it. He was witness of the other

scenes which at that very time were acting in Europe, and which displayed the unbounded and uncontrolled power of the papacy. Innocent, far from being dismayed at his contests with the king of England, had excommunicated the Emperor Otho, John's nephew; and soon brought that powerful and haughty prince to submit to his authority. He published a crusade against the Albigeuses, a species of enthusiasts in the south of France, whom he denominated heretics; because, like other enthusiasts, they neglected the rites of the church, and opposed the power and influence of the clergy: the people from all parts of Europe, moved by their superstition and their passion for wars and adventures, flocked to his standard. Simon de Montfort, the general of the crusade, acquired to himself a sovereignty in these provinces: the count of Toulouse, who protected, or perhaps only tolerated the Albigeuses, was stripped of his dominions: and these sectaries themselves, though the most innocent and inoffensive of mankind, were exterminated with all the circumstances of extreme violence and barbarity. Here were therefore both an army and a general, dangerous from their zeal and valour, who might be directed to act against John; and Innocent, after keeping the thunder long suspended, gave at last authority to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to fulminate the sentence of excommunication against him. These prelates obeyed; though their brethren were deterred from publishing, as the pope required of them, the sentence in the several churches of their dioceses.

No sooner was the excommunication known, than the effects of it appeared. Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, who was intrusted with a considerable office in the court of exchequer, being informed of it while sitting on the bench, observed to his colleagues the danger of serving under an excommunicated king; and he immediately left his chair, and departed the court. John gave orders to seize him, to throw him into prison, to cover his head with a great leaden cope; and by this and other severe usage he put an end to his life. Nor was there any thing wanting to Geoffrey, except the dignity and rank of Becket, to exalt him to an equal station in heaven with that great and celebrated martyr. Hugh de Wells, the chancellor, being elected, by the king's appointment, bishop of Lincoln, upon a vacancy in that see, desired leave to go abroad, in order to receive consecration from the archbishop of Rouen; but he no sooner reached France than he hastened to Pontigny, where Langton then resided, and paid submissions to him as his primate. The bishops, finding themselves exposed either to the jealousy of the king or hatred of the people, gradually stole out of the kingdom; and at last there remained only three prelates to perform the functions of the episcopal office. Many of the nobility terrified by John's tyranny, and obnoxious to him on different accounts, imitated the example of the bishops; and most of the others who remained were, with reason, suspected of having secretly entered into a confederacy against him. John was alarmed at his dangerous situation; a situation which prudence, vigour, and popularity, might formerly have prevented, but which no virtues or abilities were now sufficient to retrieve. He desired a conference with Langton at Dover; offered to acknowledge him as primate, to submit to the pope, to restore the

exiled clergy, and even to pay them a limited sum as a compensation for the rents of their confiscated estates. But Langton, perceiving his advantage, was not satisfied with these concessions: he demanded that full restitution and reparation should be made to all the clergy; a condition so exorbitant that the king, who probably had not the power of fulfilling it, and who foresaw that this estimation of damages might amount to an immense sum, finally broke off the conference.

The next gradation of papal sentences was to absolve John's subjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance, and to declare every one excommunicated who had any commerce with him in public or in private; at his table, in his council, or even in private conversation: and this sentence was accordingly, with all imaginable solemnity, pronounced against him. But as John still persevered in his contumacy, there remained nothing but the sentence of deposition; which, though intimately connected with the former, had been distinguished from it by the artifice of the court of Rome; and Innocent determined to dart this last thunderbolt against the refractory monarch. But as a sentence of this kind required an armed force to execute it, the pontiff, casting his eyes around, fixed at last on Philip king of France, as the person into whose powerful hand he could most properly intrust that weapon, the ultimate resource of his ghostly authority. And he offered the monarch, besides the remission of all his sins and endless spiritual benefits, the property and possession of the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour.

Lingard, on the faith of the Monk Paris, a contemporary historian, relates the following almost incredible account of the weakness and baseness of John's conduct during the expectation of this appalling sentence:—"To fortify himself against the pope, he solicited the aid of Mohammed al Nassir, who had assumed the usual appellation of the Emir al Moumenim, and by his conquests in Spain had threatened to extirpate Christianity from the south of Europe. This secret negotiation was intrusted to the prudence of two knights, Thomas Hardington and Ralf Fitz-Nicholas, and of a clergyman called Robert of London. On their arrival at the palace of the Moor, they were successively conducted through several apartments lined with guards, whose arms, manners, and apparel, excited the wonder of the strangers. The emir himself, a man of moderate stature and grave aspect, kept his eyes fixed on a book lying before him. Having made their reverences, they presented John's letter, which was received and translated by an interpreter. It contained, if we may believe the report which was afterwards circulated, an offer of the English crown to the emir, and a promise on the part of John to embrace the Mohammedan faith. In this there is probably much exaggeration: but it would be difficult to determine the precise limits at which the desperation of a prince would stop, who with John's disposition should find himself in John's circumstances. The emir put to the envoys several pertinent questions, respecting the population and strength of the kingdom, the age, prospects, and character of the king: and dismissed them with general unmeaning expressions of amity. But as they retired, he recalled Robert, and adjured him, by his respect for the Christian faith, to say what kind of a man his master was. He honestly replied, that John was a tyrant, and

would soon be deposed by his subjects. This was the only audience which they obtained. At their return the king gave to Robert, as the reward of his services, the custody of the abbey of St. Alban's during the interdict: a charge from which he contrived to collect for his own use above a thousand marks."

It was the common concern of all princes to oppose the exorbitant pretensions of the Roman pontiff, by which they themselves were rendered vassals, and vassals totally independent on the papal crown: yet even Philip, the most able monarch of the age, was seduced by present interest, and by the prospect of so tempting a prize, to accept this liberal offer of the pontiff, and thereby to ratify that authority which, if he ever opposed its boundless usurpations, might next day tumble him from the throne. He levied a great army; summoned all the vassals of the crown to attend him at Rouen; collected a fleet of 1700 vessels, great and small, in the sea-ports of Normandy and Picardy; and partly from the zealous spirit of the age, partly from the personal regard universally paid him, prepared a force, which seemed equal to the greatness of his enterprise. The king, on the other hand, issued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military tenants at Dover, and even of all able-bodied men to defend the kingdom in this dangerous extremity. A great number appeared; and he selected an army of 60,000 men; a power invincible, had they been united in affection to their prince, and animated with a becoming zeal for the defence of their native country. But the people were swayed by superstition, and regarded their king with horror, as anathematized by papal censures: the barons, besides lying under the same prejudices, were all disgusted by his tyranny, and were, many of them, suspected of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy: and the incapacity and cowardice of the king himself, ill fitted to contend with those mighty difficulties, made men prognosticate the most fatal effects from the French invasion.

Pandolf, whom the pope had chosen for his legate, and appointed to head this important expedition, had, before he left Rome, applied for a secret conference with his master, and had asked him, whether if the king of England, in this desperate situation, were willing to submit to the apostolic see, the church should, without the consent of Philip, grant him any terms of accommodation? Innocent, expecting from his agreement with a prince so abject both in character and fortune, more advantages than from his alliance with a great and victorious monarch, who, after such mighty acquisitions, might become too haughty to be bound by spiritual chains, explained to Pandolf the conditions on which he was willing to be reconciled to the king of England. The legate, therefore, as soon as he arrived in the north of France, sent over two knights templars to desire an interview with John at Dover, which was readily granted: he there represented to him, in such strong, and probably in such true colours, his lost condition, the disaffection of his subjects, the secret combination of his vassals against him, the mighty armament of France, that John yielded at discretion, and subscribed to all the conditions which Pandolf was pleased to impose upon him. He promised, among other articles, that he would submit himself entirely to the judgment of the pope; that



he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would restore all the exiled clergy and laity who had been banished on account of the contest; that he would make them full restitution of their goods; and compensation for all damages, and instantly consign eight thousand pounds in part payment; and that every one outlawed or imprisoned for his adherence to the pope, should immediately be received into grace and favour. Four barons swore, along with the king, to the observance of this ignominious treaty.

But the ignominy of the king was not yet carried to its full height. Pandolf required him, as the first trial of obedience, to resign his kingdom to the church; and he persuaded him, that he could no wise so effectually disappoint the French invasion, as by thus putting himself under the immediate protection of the apostolic see. John, lying under the agonies of present terror, made no scruple of submitting to this condition. He passed a charter, in which he said, that not constrained by fear, but of his own free will, and by the common advice and consent of his barons, he had, for remission of his own sins, and those of his family, resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair: he agreed to hold these dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thousand marks; seven hundred for England, three hundred for Ireland: and he stipulated, that if he or his successors should ever presume to revoke or infringe this charter, they should instantly, except upon admonition they repented of their offence, forfeit all right to their dominions.

In consequence of this agreement, John did homage to Pandolf as the pope's legate, with all the submissive rites which the feudal law required of vassals before their liege-lord and superior; he came disarmed into the legate's presence, who was seated on a throne; he flung himself on his knees before him; he lifted up his joined hands, and put them within those of Pandolf; he swore fealty to the pope; and he paid part of the tribute which he owed for his kingdom as the patrimony of St. Peter. The legate, elated by this supreme triumph of sacerdotal power, could not forbear discovering extravagant symptoms of joy and exultation: he trampled on the money, which was laid at his feet, as an earnest of the subjection of the kingdom: an insolence of which, however offensive to the English, no one present, except the archbishop of Dublin, dared to take any notice. But though Pandolf had brought the king to submit to these base conditions, he still refused to free him from the excommunication and interdict, till an estimation should be taken of the losses of the ecclesiastics, and full compensation and restitution should be made them.

John, reduced to this abject situation under a foreign power, still showed the same disposition to tyrannise over his subjects, which had been the chief cause of all his misfortunes. One Peter Pomfret, a hermit, had foretold that the king, this very year, should lose his crown; and for that rash prophecy he had been thrown into prison in Corfe-castle. John now determined to bring him to punishment as an impostor; and though the man pleaded, that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had lost the royal and independent crown which he formerly wore, the defence was supposed to aggravate his guilt: he was dragged at horses' tails, to the town of

Warham, and there hanged on a gibbet with his son.

When Pandolf, after receiving the homage of John, returned to France, he congratulated Philip on the success of his pious enterprise; and informed him, that John, moved by the terror of the French arms, had now come to a just sense of his guilt; and returned to obedience under the apostolic see; and even consented to do homage to the pope for his dominions; and having thus made his kingdom a part of St. Peter's patrimony, had rendered it impossible for any Christian prince, without the most manifest and most flagrant impiety, to attack him. Philip was enraged on receiving this intelligence: he exclaimed, that having, at the pope's instigation, undertaken an expedition, which had cost him above 60,000 pounds sterling, he was frustrated of his purpose, at the time when its success was become infallible: he complained, that all the expense had fallen upon him; all the advantages had accrued to Innocent: he threatened to be no longer the dupe of these hypocritical pretences: and assembling his vassals, he laid before them the ill-treatment which he had received, exposed the interested and fraudulent conduct of the pope, and required their assistance to execute his enterprise against England, in which he told them, that, notwithstanding the inhibitions and menaces of the legate, he was determined to persevere. The French barons were, in that age, little less ignorant and superstitious than the English: yet, so much does the influence of those religious principles depend on the present dispositions of men! they all vowed to follow their prince on his intended expedition, and were resolute not to be disappointed of that glory and those riches which they had long expected from this enterprise. The earl of Flanders alone, who had previously formed a secret treaty with John, declaring against the injustice and impiety of the undertaking, retired with his forces; and Philip, that he might not leave so dangerous an enemy behind him, first turned his arms against the dominions of that prince. Meanwhile, the English fleet was assembled under the earl of Salisbury, the king's natural brother; and, though inferior in number, received orders to attack the French in their harbours. Salisbury performed this service with so much success, that he took three hundred ships; destroyed a hundred more: and Philip, finding it impossible to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them himself, and thereby rendered it impossible for him to proceed any further in his enterprise.

John, exulting in his present security, insensible to his past disgrace, was so elated with his success, that he thought of no less than invading France in his turn, and recovering all those provinces which the prosperous arms of Philip had formerly ravished from him. He proposed this expedition to the barons, who were already assembled for the defence of the kingdom. But the English nobles both hated and despised their prince: they prognosticated no success to any enterprise conducted by such a leader: and pretending that their time of service was elapsed, and all their provisions exhausted, they refused to second his undertaking. The king however, resolute in his purpose, embarked with a few followers, and sailed to Jersey, in the foolish expectation that the barons would at last be ashamed to stay behind. But finding himself disappointed, he

returned to England; and raising some troops, threatened to take vengeance on all his nobles for their desertion and disobedience. The archbishop of Canterbury, who was in a confederacy with the barons, here interposed; strictly inhibited the king from thinking of such an attempt; and threatened him with a renewal of the sentence of excommunication, if he pretended to levy war upon any of his subjects, before the kingdom were freed from the sentence of interdict.

The church had recalled the several anathemas pronounced against John, by the same gradual progress with which she had at first issued them. By receiving his homage, and admitting him to the rank of a vassal, his deposition had been virtually annulled, and his subjects were again bound by their oaths of allegiance. The exiled prelates had then returned in great triumph, with Langton at their head; and the king, hearing of their approach, went forth to meet them, and throwing himself on the ground before them, he entreated them, with tears, to have compassion on him and the kingdom of England. The primate, seeing these marks of sincere penitence, led him to the chapter house of Winchester, and there administered an oath to him, by which he again swore fealty and obedience to Pope Innocent and his successors; promised to love, maintain and defend holy church and the clergy; engaged that he would re-establish the good laws of his predecessors, particularly those of St. Edward, and would abolish the wicked ones; and expressed his resolution of maintaining justice and right in all his dominions. The primate next gave him absolution in the requisite forms, and admitted him to dine with him, to the great joy of all the people. The sentence of interdict, however, was still upheld against the kingdom. A new legate, Nicholas, bishop of Frescati, came into England in the room of Pandolf; and he declared it to be the pope's intentions never to loosen that sentence till full restitution were made to the clergy of everything taken from them, and ample reparation for all damages which they had sustained. He only permitted mass to be said with a low voice in the churches, till those losses and damages could be estimated to the satisfaction of the parties. Certain barons were appointed to take an account of the claims; and John was astonished at the greatness of the sum to which the clergy made their losses to amount. No less than twenty thousand marks were demanded by the monks of Canterbury alone; twenty-three thousand for the see of Lincoln; and the king, finding these pretensions to be exorbitant and endless, offered the clergy the sum of a hundred thousand marks for a final acquittal. The clergy rejected the offer with disdain; but the pope, willing to favour his new vassal, whom he found zealous in his declarations of fealty, and regular in paying the stipulated tribute to Rome, directed his legate to accept of forty thousand. The issue of the whole was, that the bishops and considerable abbots got reparation beyond what they had any title to demand: the inferior clergy were obliged to sit down contented with their losses, and the king, after the interdict was taken off, renewed in the most solemn manner, and by a new charter, sealed with gold, his professions of homage and obedience to the see of Rome.

When this vexatious affair was at last brought to a conclusion, the king, as if he had nothing

farther to attend to but triumphs and victories, went over to Poitou, which still acknowledged his authority; and he carried war into Philip's dominions. He besieged a castle near Angiers; but the approach of Prince Lewis, Philip's son, obliged him to raise the siege with such precipitation, that he left his tents, machines, and baggage, behind him; and he returned to England with disgrace. About the same time, he heard of the great and decisive victory gained by the king of France at Bovines over the Emperor Otto, who had entered France at the head of 150,000 Germans; a victory which established for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full security to all his dominions. John could, therefore, think thenceforth of nothing further, than of ruling peaceably his own kingdom; and his close connexions with the pope, which he was determined at any price to maintain, ensured him, as he imagined, the certain attainment of that object. But the last and most grievous scene of this prince's misfortunes still awaited him; and he was destined to pass through a series of more humiliating circumstances than had ever yet fallen to the lot of any other monarch.

The introduction of the feudal law into England by William the Conqueror had much infringed the liberties, however imperfect, enjoyed by the Anglo-Saxons in their ancient government, and had reduced the whole people to a state of vassalage under the king or barons, and even the greater part of them to a state of real slavery. The necessity also of entrusting great power in the hands of a prince, who was to maintain military dominion over a vanquished nation, had engaged the Norman barons to submit to a more severe and absolute prerogative, than that to which men of their rank, in other feudal governments, were commonly subjected. The power of the crown, once raised to a high pitch, was not easily reduced; and the nation, during the course of a hundred and fifty years, was governed by an authority unknown, in the same degree, to all kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Henry I., that he might allure the people to give an exclusion to his elder brother Robert, had granted them a charter, favourable in many particulars to their liberties; Stephen had renewed the grant; Henry II. had confirmed it: but the concessions of all these princes had still remained without effect; and the same unlimited, at least irregular authority, continued to be exercised both by them and their successors. The only happiness was, that arms were never yet ravished from the hands of the barons and people: the nation, by a great confederacy, might still vindicate its liberties: and nothing was more likely, than the character, conduct, and fortunes, of the reigning prince, to produce such a general combination against him. Equally odious and contemptible, both in public and private life, he affronted the barons by his insolence, dishonoured their families by his licentiousness, enraged them by his tyranny, and gave discontent to all ranks of men by his endless exactions and impositions. The effect of these lawless practices had already appeared in the general demand made by the barons of a restoration of their privileges; and after he had reconciled himself to the pope, by abandoning the independence of the kingdom, he appeared to all his subjects in so mean a light, that they universally thought they might with safety and honour insist upon their pretensions.



But nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton, archbishop of Canterbury; a man whose memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by a palpable encroachment of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English. This prelate, whether he was moved by the generosity of his nature, and his affection to public good; or had entertained an animosity against John on account of the long opposition made by that prince to his election; or thought that an acquisition of liberty to the people would serve to increase and secure the privileges of the church; had formed the plan of reforming the government, and had prepared the way for that great innovation, by inserting those singular clauses above mentioned in the oath which he administered to the king, before he would absolve him from the sentence of excommunication. Soon after, in a private meeting of some principal barons at London, he showed them a copy of Henry I.'s charter, which, he said, he had happily found in a monastery; and he exhorted them to insist on the renewal and observance of it: the barons swore, that they would sooner lose their lives than depart from so reasonable a demand. The confederacy began now to spread wider, and to comprehend almost all the barons in England; and a new and more numerous meeting was summoned by Langton at St. Edmundsbury, under colour of devotion. He again produced to the assembly the old charter of Henry; renewed his exhortations of unanimity and vigour in the prosecution of their purpose; and represented in the strongest colours the tyranny to which they had so long been subjected, and from which it now behoved them to free themselves and their posterity. The barons, inflamed by his eloquence, incited by the sense of their own wrongs, and encouraged by the appearance of their power and numbers, solemnly took an oath, before the high altar, to adhere to each other, to insist on their demands, and to make endless war on the king, till he should submit to grant them. They agreed, that, after the festival of Christmas, they would prefer in a body their common petition; and in the mean time, they separated, after mutually engaging, that they would put themselves in a posture of defence, would enlist men and purchase arms, and would supply their castles with the necessary provisions.

The barons appeared in London on the day appointed; and demanded of the king, that, in consequence of his own oath before the primate, as well as in deference to their just rights, he should grant them a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of St. Edward. The king, alarmed with their zeal and unanimity, as well as with their power, required a delay; promised that, at the festival of Easter, he would give them a positive answer to their petition; and offered them the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and the earl of Pembroke, the mareschal, as sureties for his fulfilling this engagement. The barons accepted of the terms, and peaceably returned to their castles.

During this interval, John, in order to break or subdue the league of his barons, endeavoured to avail himself of the ecclesiastical power, of whose influence he had, from his own recent misfortunes, had such fatal experience. He granted to the clergy a charter, relinquishing for ever that important prerogative for which his father and all his ancestors had zealously con-

tended; yielding to them the free election on all vacancies; reserving only the power to issue a *congé d'élire*, and to subjoin a confirmation of the election; and declaring that, if either of these were withheld, the choice should nevertheless be deemed just and valid. He made a vow to lead an army into Palestine against the infidels, and he took on him the cross; in hopes that he should receive from the church that protection which it tendered to every one that had entered into this sacred and meritorious engagement. And he sent to Rome his agent, William de Mauclerc, in order to appeal to the pope against the violence of his barons, and procure him a favourable sentence from that powerful tribunal. The barons also were not negligent on their part in endeavouring to engage the pope in their interests: they dispatched Eustace de Vescie to Rome; laid their case before Innocent as their feudal lord; and petitioned him to interpose his authority with the king, and oblige him to restore and confirm all their just and undoubted privileges.

Innocent beheld with regret the disturbances which had arisen in England, and was much inclined to favour John in his pretensions. He had no hopes of retaining and extending his newly-acquired superiority over that kingdom, but by supporting so base and degenerate a prince, who was willing to sacrifice every consideration to his present safety; and he foresaw, that if the administration should fall into the hands of those high-spirited barons, they would vindicate the privileges and independence of the laity, with the same ardour which they now exerted in defence of their own political rights. He wrote letters therefore to the prelates, to the nobility, and to the king himself. He exhorted the first to employ their good offices in conciliating peace between the contending parties, and putting an end to civil discord: to the second, he expressed his disapprobation of their conduct in employing force to extort concessions from their reluctant sovereign: the last, he advised to treat his nobles with grace and indulgence, and to grant them such of their demands as should appear just and reasonable.

The barons easily saw, from the tenor of these letters, that they must reckon on having the pope, as well as well as the king, for their adversary; but they had already advanced too far to recede from their pretensions, and their passions were so deeply engaged, that it exceeded even the power of superstition itself any longer to control him. They also foresaw, that the thunders of Rome, when not seconded by the efforts of the English ecclesiastics, would be of small avail against them; and they perceived, that the most considerable of the prelates, as well as all the inferior clergy, professed the highest approbation of their cause. Besides that these men were seized with the national passion for laws and liberty; blessings, of which they themselves expected to partake; there concurred very powerful causes to loosen their devoted attachment to the apostolic see. It appeared, from the late usurpations of the Roman pontiff, that he pretended to reap alone all the advantages accruing from that victory, which under his banners, though at their own peril, they had everywhere obtained over the civil magistrate. The pope assumed a despotic power over all the churches: their particular customs, privileges, and immunities were treated with disdain; even the canons of general

councils were set aside by his dispensing power : the whole administration of the church was centred in the church of Rome : all preferments ran of course in the same channel : and the provincial clergy saw, at least felt, that there was a necessity for limiting these pretensions. The legate, Nicholas, in filling those numerous vacancies which had fallen in England during an interdict of six years, had proceeded in the most arbitrary manner ; and had paid no regard in conferring dignities to personal merit, to rank, to the inclination of the electors, or to the customs of the country. The English church was universally disgusted ; and Langton himself, though he owed his elevation to an encroachment of the Romish see, was no sooner established in his high office, than he became jealous of the privileges annexed to it, and formed attachments with the country subjected to its jurisdiction. These causes, though they opened slowly the eyes of men, failed not to produce their effect : they set bounds to the usurpations of the papacy : the tide first stopped, and then turned against the sovereign pontiff : and it is otherwise inconceivable, how that age, so prone to superstition, and so sunk in ignorance, or rather so devoted to a spurious erudition, could have escaped falling into an absolute and total slavery under the court of Rome.

About the time that the pope's letters arrived in England, the malecontent barons, on the approach of the festival of Easter, when they were to expect the king's answer to their petition, met by agreement at Stamford ; and they assembled a force, consisting of about 2000 knights, besides their retainers and inferior persons without number. Elated with their power, they advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, the place where the court then resided ; and they there received a message from the king, by the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke, desiring to know what those liberties were which they so zealously challenged from their sovereign. They delivered to these messengers a schedule containing the chief articles of their demands ; which was no sooner shown to the king, than he burst into a furious passion, and asked, why the barons did not also demand of him his kingdom ? swearing that he would never grant them such liberties as must reduce himself to slavery.

No sooner were the confederated nobles informed of John's reply, than they chose Robert Fitz-Walter their general, whom they called the *mareschal* of the army of God and of holy church ; and they proceeded without further ceremony to levy war upon the king. They besieged the castle of Northampton during fifteen days, though without success : the gates of Bedford-castle were willingly opened to them by William Beauchamp, its owner : they advanced to Ware in their way to London, where they held a correspondence with the principal citizens : they were received without opposition into that capital ; and finding now the great superiority of their force, they issued proclamations, requiring the other barons to join them ; and menacing them, in case of refusal or delay, with committing devastation on their houses and estates. In order to show what might be expected from their prosperous arms, they made incursions from London, and laid waste the king's parks and palaces ; and all the barons, who had hitherto carried the semblance of supporting the royal party, were glad of this

pretence for openly joining a cause which they always had secretly favoured. The king was left at Odiham in Hampshire, with a poor retinue of only seven knights ; and after trying several expedients to elude the blow, after offering to refer all differences to the pope alone, or to eight barons, four to be chosen by himself, and four by the confederates, he found himself at last obliged to submit at discretion.

A conference between the king and the barons was appointed at Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines ; a place which has ever since been extremely celebrated, on account of this great event. The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies ; and after a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility somewhat suspicious, signed and sealed the charter which was required of him. This famous deed, commonly called the Great Charter, either granted or secured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom ; to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people.

Sir James Mackintosh details the completion of this great event in the following words :—

"It is needless," say the ancient writers, "to enumerate the barons who composed 'the army of God and of Holy Church ;' they were the whole nobility of England. A phrase nearly equivalent to what in modern language would be called the nobility and gentry. Their followers comprehended all the yeomen and free peasantry, while the accession of the capital was a pledge of the adherence of the citizens and burgesses. A safe-conduct was granted by John at Merton on the 8th of June, 1215, to the deputies of the barons, who were to meet him at Staines ; and two days afterwards, he, being at Windsor, agreed to a prolongation of the truce to Trinity Monday. On that day, the 15th of June, both parties advanced to a plain called Runnymede, on the banks of the Thames, where they encamped apart from each other, like declared enemies, and opened conferences which were not concluded till Friday the 19th of June, 1215."

The freedom of elections was secured to the clergy : the former charter of the king was confirmed, by which the necessity of a royal *congé d'elire* and confirmation was superseded : all check upon appeals to Rome was removed, by allowance granted every man to depart the kingdom at pleasure : and the fines to be imposed on the clergy, for any offence, were ordained to be proportional to their lay estates, not to their ecclesiastical benefices.

The privileges granted to the barons were either abatements in the rigour of the feudal law, or determinations in points which had been left by that law, or had become by practice arbitrary and ambiguous. The reliefs of heirs succeeding to a military fee were ascertained ; an earl's and baron's at a hundred marks, a knight's at a hundred shillings. It was ordained by the charter, that if the heir be a minor, he shall immediately, upon his majority, enter upon his estate, without paying any relief : the king shall not sell his wardship : he shall levy only reasonable profits upon the estate, without committing waste, or hurting the property : he shall uphold the castles, houses, mills, parks, and ponds : and if he commit the guardianship of the estate to the sheriff or any other, he shall previously oblige them to find surety to the same purpose. During the minority of a baron, while his lands are in wardship,



and are not in his own possession, no debt which he owes to the Jews shall bear any interest. Heirs shall be married without disparagement; and before the marriage be contracted, the nearest relations of the person shall be informed of it. A widow, without paying any relief, shall enter upon her dower, the third part of her husband's rents: she shall not be compelled to marry, so long as she chooses to continue single; she shall only give security never to marry without her lord's consent. The king shall not claim the wardship of any minor who holds lands by military tenure of a baron, on pretence that he also holds lands of the crown, by socage or any other tenure. Scutages shall be estimated at the same rate as in the time of Henry I.; and no scutage or aid, except in the three general feudal cases, the king's captivity, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marrying of his eldest daughter, shall be imposed but by the great council of the kingdom; the prelates, earls, and great barons, shall be called to this great council, each by a particular writ; the lesser barons by a general summons of the sheriff. The king shall not seize any baron's land for a debt to the crown, if the baron possesses as many goods and chattels as are sufficient to discharge the debt. No man shall be obliged to perform more service for his fee than he is bound to by his tenure. No governor or constable of a castle shall oblige any knight to give money for castle-guard, if the knight be willing to perform the service in person, or by another able-bodied man; and if the knight be in the field himself, by the king's command, he shall be exempted from all other service of this nature. No vassal shall be allowed to sell to much of his land as to incapacitate himself from performing his service to his lord.

These were the principal articles, calculated for the interest of the barons; and had the charter contained nothing further, national happiness and liberty had been very little promoted by it, as it would only have tended to increase the power and independence of an order of men who were already too powerful, and whose yoke might have become more heavy on the people than even that of an absolute monarch. But the barons, who alone drew and imposed on the prince this memorable charter, were necessitated to insert in it other clauses of a more extensive and more beneficent nature: they could not expect the concurrence of the people, without comprehending, together with their own, the interests of inferior ranks of men; and all provisions which the barons, for their own sake, were obliged to make, in order to ensure the free and equitable administration of justice, tended directly to the benefit of the whole community. The following were the principal clauses of this nature:—

It was ordained, that all the privileges and immunities above mentioned, granted to the barons against the king, should be extended by the barons to their inferior vassals. The king bound himself not to grant any writ, empowering a baron to levy aid from his vassals, except in the three feudal cases. One weight and one measure shall be established throughout the kingdom. Merchants shall be allowed to transact all business, without being exposed to any arbitrary tolls and impositions: they and all free men shall be allowed to go out of the kingdom and return to it at pleasure: London, and all cities and burghs, shall preserve their ancient liberties, immunities,

and free customs: aids shall not be required of them but by the consent of the great council: no towns or individuals shall be obliged to make or support bridges but by ancient custom: the goods of every free man shall be disposed of according to his will: if he die intestate, his heirs shall succeed to them. No officer of the crown shall take any horses, carts, or wood, without the consent of the owner. The king's courts of justice shall be stationary, and shall no longer follow his person: they shall be open to every one, and justice shall no longer be sold, refused or delayed by them. Circuits shall be regularly held every year; the inferior tribunals of justice, the county court, sheriff's turn, and court-leet, shall meet at their appointed time and place: the sheriffs shall be incapacitated to hold pleas of the crown; and shall not put any person upon his trial, from rumour or suspicion alone, but upon the evidence of lawful witnesses. No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed, or banished, or anywise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and all who suffered otherwise, in this or the two former reigns, shall be restored to their rights and possessions. Every freeman shall be fined in proportion to his fault; and no fine shall be levied on him to his utter ruin: even a villain or rustic shall not, by any fine, be bereaved of his carts, ploughs, and implements of husbandry. This was the only article calculated for the interests of this body of men, probably at that time the most numerous in the kingdom.

It must be confessed, that the former articles of the Great Charter contain such mitigations and explanations of the feudal law as are reasonable and equitable; and that the latter involve all the chief outlines of a legal government, and provide for the equal distribution of justice and free enjoyment of property; the great objects for which political society was at first founded by men, which the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to recal, and which no time, nor precedent, nor statute, nor positive institution, ought to deter them from keeping ever uppermost in their thoughts and attention. Though the provisions made by this charter might, conformably to the genius of the age, be esteemed too coucise, and too bare of circumstances, to maintain the execution of its articles, in opposition to the chicauery of lawyers, supported by the violence of power; time gradually ascertained the sense of all the ambiguous expressions; and those spirited barons, who first extorted this concession, still held their swords in their hands, and could turn them against those who dared on any pretence to depart from the original spirit and meaning of the grant, we may now, from the tenor of this charter, conjecture what those laws were of King Edward, which the English nation, during so many generations, still desired, with such an obstinate perseverance, to have recalled and established. They were chiefly these latter articles of Magna Charta; and the barons who, at the beginning of these commotions, demanded the revival of the Saxon laws, undoubtedly thought that they had sufficiently satisfied the people, by procuring them this concession, which comprehended the principal objects to which they had so long aspired. But what we are most to admire is, the prudence and moderation of those haughty nobles themselves, who were enraged by injuries,

inflamed by opposition, and elated by a total victory over their sovereign. They were content, even in this plenitude of power, to depart from some articles of Henry I.'s charter, which they made the foundation of their demands, particularly from the abolition of wardships, a matter of the greatest importance; and they seem to have been sufficiently careful not to diminish too far the power and revenue of the crown. If they appear, therefore, to have carried other demands to too great a height, it can be ascribed only to the faithless and tyrannical character of the king himself, of which they had long had experience, and which they foresaw would, if they provided no farther security, lead him soon to infringe their new liberties, and revoke his own concessions. This alone gave birth to those other articles, seemingly exorbitant, which were added as a rampart for the safeguard of the Great Charter.

The barons obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands, and the Tower be consigned to the custody of the primate, till the 15th of August ensuing, or till the execution of the several articles of the Great Charter. The better to ensure the same end, he allowed them to choose five-and-twenty members from their own body, as conservators of the public liberties; and no bounds were set to the authority of these men either in extent or duration. If any complaint were made of a violation of the charter, whether attempted by the king, justiciaries, sheriffs, or foresters, any four of these barons might admonish the king to redress the grievance: if satisfaction were not obtained, they could assemble the whole council of twenty-five; who, in conjunction with the great council, were empowered to compel him to observe the charter; and, in case of resistance, might levy war against him, attack his castles, and employ every kind of violence, except against his royal person, and that of his queen and children. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under the penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons; and the freeholders of each county were to choose twelve knights, who were to make report of such evil customs as required redress, conformably to the tenor of the Great Charter. The names of those conservators were, the earls of Clare, Albemarle, Gloucester, Winchester, Hereford, Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, William Mareschal the younger, Robert Fitz-Walter, Gilbert de Clare, Eustace de Vescey, Gilbert Delaval, William de Moubray, Geoffrey de Say, Roger de Mombezon, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Ros, the constable of Chester, William de Aubenne, Richard de Perci, William Malet, John Fitz-Robert, William de Lanvaley, Hugh de Bigod, and Roger de Montfichet. These men were, by this convention, really invested with the sovereignty of the kingdom: they were rendered co-ordinate with the king, or rather superior to him, in the exercise of the executive power: and as there was no circumstance of government which, either directly or indirectly, might not bear a relation to the security or observance of the Great Charter, there could scarcely occur any incident in which they might not lawfully interpose their authority.

John seemed to submit passively to all these regulations, however injurious to majesty: he sent writs to all the sheriffs, ordering them to constrain every one to swear obedience to the twenty-five barons: he dismissed all his foreign

forces: he pretended that his government was henceforth to run in a new tenor, and be more indulgent to the liberty and independence of his people. But he only dissembled till he should find a favourable opportunity for annulling all his concessions. The injuries and indignities which he had formerly suffered from the pope and the king of France, as they came from equals or superiors, seemed to make but small impression on him: but the sense of this perpetual and total subjection under his own rebellious vassals sunk deep in his mind, and he was determined, at all hazards, to throw off so ignominious a slavery. He grew sullen, silent, and reserved: he shunned the society of his courtiers and nobles: he retired into the Isle of Wight, as if desirous of hiding his shame and confusion; but in this retreat he meditated the most fatal vengeance against all his enemies. He secretly sent abroad his emissaries to enlist foreign soldiers, and to invite the rapacious Brabancons into his service, by the prospect of sharing the spoils of England, and reaping the forfeitures of so many opulent barons, who had incurred the guilt of rebellion by rising in arms against him: and he dispatched a messenger to Rome, in order to lay before the pope the Great Charter which he had been compelled to sign, and to complain, before that tribunal, of the violence which had been imposed upon him.

Innocent, considering himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, was incensed at the temerity of the barons, who, though they pretended to appeal to his authority, had dared, without waiting for his consent, to impose such terms on a prince, who by resigning to the Roman pontiff his crown and independence, had placed himself immediately under the papal protection. He issued, therefore, a bull, in which, from the plenitude of his apostolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him, to build and destroy kingdoms, to plant and overthrow, he annulled and abrogated the whole charter, as unjust in itself, as obtained by compulsion, and as derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see. He prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it: he even prohibited the king himself from paying any regard to it: he absolved him and his subjects from all oaths which they had been constrained to take to that purpose: and he pronounced a general sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such treasonable and iniquitous pretensions.

The king, as his foreign forces arrived along with this bull, now ventured to take off the mask; and, under sanction of the pope's decree, recalled all the liberties which he had granted to his subjects, and which he had solemnly sworn to observe. But the spiritual weapon was found, upon trial, to carry less force with it than he had reason from his own experience to apprehend. The primate refused to obey the pope in publishing the sentence of excommunication against the barons; and though he was cited to Rome, that he might attend a general council there assembled, and was suspended on account of his disobedience to the pope, and his secret correspondence with the king's enemies; though a new and particular sentence of excommunication was pronounced by name against the principal barons, John still found that his nobility and the people, and even his clergy, adhered to the defence of their liber-



ties, and to their combination against him: the sword of his foreign mercenaries was all he had to trust to for restoring his authority.

The barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, seemed to have been lulled into a fatal security, and to have taken no rational measures, in case of the introduction of a foreign force, for re-assembling their armies. The king was, from the first, master of the field; and immediately laid siege to the castle of Rochester, which was obstinately defended by William de Albiney, at the head of a hundred and forty knights with their retainers, but was at last reduced by famine. John, irritated with the resistance, intended to have hanged the governor and all the garrison; but, on the representation of William de Mauleon, who suggested to him the danger of reprisals, he was content to sacrifice, in this barbarous manner, the inferior prisoners only. The captivity of William de Albiney, the best officer among the confederated barons, was an irreparable loss to their cause; and no regular opposition was thenceforth made to the progress of the royal arms. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses, parks of the barons, and spread devastation over the face of the kingdom. Nothing was to be seen but the flames of villages and castles reduced to ashes, the consternation and misery of the inhabitants, tortures exercised by the soldiery to make them reveal their concealed treasures, and reprisals no less barbarous committed by the barons and their partisans on the royal demesnes, and on the estates of such as still adhered to the crown. The king, marching through the whole extent of England, from Dover to Berwick, laid the provinces waste on each side of him; and considered every state, which was not his immediate property, as entirely hostile, and the object of military execution. The nobility of the north, in particular, who had shown the greatest violence in the recovery of their liberties, and who, acting in a separate body, had expressed their discontent even at the concessions made by the Great Charter, as they could expect no mercy, fled before him with their wives and families, and purchased the friendship of Alexander, the young king of Scots, by doing homage to him.

"Never, we are told," says Lingard, "since the exterminating expedition of the first William, these provinces been exposed to such horrors, as they now experienced from the vengeance of the king of England. He himself gave the example; and with his own hands set fire in the morning to the house in which he had rested the last night. The castles, towns, and villages, were given to the flames. The monk of Melrose confines his description to the neighbourhood of his own monastery, where, within the space of eight days, Morpeth, Mitford, Alnwick, Wark, and Roxburgh, were entirely consumed. John declared that he would unkenne! the young fox, alluding to the ruddy complexion of Alexander, and followed him to Edinburgh, burning in his return, Haddington, Dunbar, and Berwick. But it was not with the towns only that he warred, the miserable inhabitants were abandoned to the cruelty of his rapacious followers, without respect of age or sex, rank or profession. The tortures which they suffered are too shocking to be related. Whoever possessed anything was compelled to deliver all for his ransom. Of those who had no-

thing, many perished under the hands of their torturers, some by fallacious promises purchased a short respite to be succeeded by more exquisite torments. Nor were the plunderers in the south, if we may believe the monk of St. Alban's, behind their fellows in cruelty and rapacity. Wherever the royal forces could penetrate, the inhabitants fled to the forests and mountains: the labours of agriculture were suspended; and the only markets were held in the church-yards, which, as they possessed the right of sanctuary, were generally, but not always, respected by the marauders."

The barons, reduced to this desperate extremity, and menaced with the total loss of their liberties, their properties, and their lives, employed a remedy no less desperate; and making applications to the court of France, they offered to acknowledge Lewis, the eldest son of Philip, for their sovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of their enraged prince. Though the sense of the common rights of mankind, the only rights that are entirely indefeasible, might have justified them in the deposition of their king, they declined insisting before Philip on a pretension which is commonly so disagreeable to sovereigns, and which sounds harshly in their royal ears. They affirmed that John was incapable of succeeding to the crown, by reason of the attainder passed upon him during his brother's reign; though that attainder had been reversed, and Richard had even, by his last will, declared him his successor. They pretended that he was already legally deposed by sentence of the peers of France, on account of the murder of his nephew; though that sentence could not possibly regard anything but his transmarine dominions, which alone he held in vassalage to that crown. On more plausible grounds they affirmed, that he had already deposed himself by doing homage to the pope, changing the nature of his sovereignty, and resigning an independent crown for a fee under a foreign power. And as Blanche of Castile, the wife of Lewis, was descended by her mother from Henry II., they maintained, though many other princes stood before her in the order of succession, that they had not shaken off the royal family, in choosing her husband for their sovereign.

Philip was strongly tempted to lay hold on the rich prize which was offered to him. The legate menaced him with interdicts and excommunications if he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, or attacked a prince who was under the immediate protection of the holy see: but as Philip was assured of the obedience of his own vassals, his principles were changed with the times, and he now undervalued as much all papal censures, as he formerly pretended to pay respect to them. His chief scruple was with regard to the fidelity which he might expect from the English barons in their new engagements, and the danger of entrusting his son and heir into the hands of men who might, on any caprice or necessity, make peace with their native sovereign, by sacrificing a pledge of so much value. He therefore exacted from the barons twenty five hostages of the most noble birth in the kingdom; and having obtained this security, he sent over first a small army to the relief of the confederates; then more numerous forces, which arrived with Lewis himself at their head.

The first effect of the young prince's appearance in England was the desertion of John's foreign

troops, who, being mostly levied in Flanders, and other provinces of France, refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy. The Gascons and Poitevins alone, who were still John's subjects, adhered to his cause; but they were too weak to maintain that superiority in the field which they had hitherto supported against the confederated barons. Many considerable noblemen deserted John's party, the earls of Salisbury, Arundel, Warrenne, Oxford, Albemarle, and William Mareschal the younger. His castles fell daily into the hands of the enemy; Dover was the only place which, from the valour and fidelity of Hubert de Burgh the governor, made resistance to the progress of Lewis. and the barons had the melancholy prospect of finally succeeding in their purpose, and of escaping the tyranny of their own king, by imposing on themselves and the nation a foreign yoke. But this union was of short duration between the French and English nobles; and the imprudence of Lewis, who on every occasion showed too visible a preference to the former, increased that jealousy, which it was so natural for the latter to entertain in their present situation. The viscount of Melun, too, it is said, one of his courtiers, fell sick at London, and finding the approaches of death, he sent for some of his friends among the English barons, and warning them of their danger, revealed Lewis's secret intentions of exterminating them and their families as traitors to their prince, and of bestowing their estates and dignities on his native subjects, in whose fidelity he could more reasonably place confidence: this story, whether true or false, was universally reported and believed, and concurring with other circumstances which rendered it credible, did great prejudice to the cause of Lewis. The earl of Salisbury, and other noblemen, deserted again to John's party; and as men easily changed sides in a civil war, especially where their power is founded on an hereditary and independent authority, and is not derived from the opinion and favour of the people, the French prince had reason to dread a sudden reverse of fortune. The king was assembling a considerable army, with a view of fighting one great battle for his crown.

According to Lingard (who says he has rectified some mistakes usually made by historians, as to the route of John), "The king returned from Lincoln through Grimsby and Spalding to Lynn, a town strongly attached to his interests, and the general depot for his supplies and treasures. Thence he marched to Wisbeach, and resolved to proceed across the Wash from the Cross Keys to the Fossdike. The army had reached the land; but on turning back, John beheld a long train of waggons and sumpter-horses, which carried his jewels, insignia, and money, swallowed up in a whirlpool, caused by the afflux of the tide and the current of the Welland. With a heavy heart he proceeded to the Cistercian convent of Swineshead, where fatigue, or anxiety, or poison, or a surfeit (for all these causes are mentioned), threw him into a dangerous fever. He set out, however, in the morning: but was obliged to exchange his horse for a litter, and was conveyed with difficulty to the castle of Sleaford. There he passed the night, and dictated a letter to the new Pope Honorius III., recommending in the most earnest terms the interests of his children to the protection of that pontiff. The next day conducted him to the castle of Newark: where, sensible of his

approaching fate, he sent for a confessor, appointed his eldest son Henry to succeed him, and expressed a wish that his body might be buried at Worcester, near the shrine of St. Wulstan. He expired three days later (the 19th Oct. 1216), in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign;" and thus freed the nation from the dangers to which it was equally exposed by his success or by his misfortunes.

The character of this prince is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean and odious; ruinous to himself, and destructive to his people. Cowardice, inactivity, folly, levity, licentiousness, ingratitude, treachery, tyranny, and cruelty; all these qualities appear too evidently in the several incidents of his life, to give us room to suspect that the disagreeable picture has been anywise overcharged by the prejudices of the ancient historians. It is hard to say whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew, or his subjects, was most culpable; or whether his crimes, in these respects, were not even exceeded by the baseness which appeared in his transactions with the king of France, the pope, and the barons. His European dominions, when they devolved to him by the death of his brother, were more extensive than have ever, since his time, been ruled by any English monarch: but he first lost, by his misconduct, the flourishing provinces in France, the ancient patrimony of his family: he subjected his kingdom to a shameful vassalage under the see of Rome: he saw the prerogatives of his crown diminished by law, and still more reduced by faction: and he died at last, when in danger of being totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life miserably in prison, on seeking shelter as a fugitive from the pursuit of his enemies.

The monks throw great reproaches on this prince for his impiety, and even infidelity; and as an instance of it, they tell us, that having one day caught a very fat stag, he exclaimed, "How plump and well-fed is this animal. and yet I dare swear he never heard mass." This sally of wit, upon the usual corpulency of the priests, more than all his enormous crimes and iniquities, made him pass with them for an atheist.

John left two legitimate sons behind him, Henry, born on the first of October 1207, and now nine years of age; and Richard, born on the sixth of January 1209; and three daughters, Jane, afterwards married to Alexander king of Scots; Eleanor, married first to William Mareschal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and then to Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester; and Isabella, married to the emperor Frederick II. All these children were born to him by Isabella of Angoulême his second wife. His illegitimate children were numerous; but none of them were anywise distinguished.

It was this king who, in the ninth year of his reign, first gave by charter to the city of London, the right of electing annually a mayor out of its own body, an office which was till now held for life. He gave the city also power to elect and remove its sheriffs at pleasure, and its common-council-men annually. London-bridge was finished in this reign: the former bridge was of wood. Maud the empress was the first that built a stone bridge in England.



[The following History of the Constitution, Laws, Learning, Arts, Commerce, Manners, &c. is chiefly compiled from Henry's History (where it is separated from the political narration) and Sharon Turner's History of the same period.]

## APPENDIX.

### SECTION I.

*History of the changes in the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England, that were introduced in the reign of William I., from 1066 to 1087.*

THE changes in the ranks and degrees of men in society, that were introduced into England at the Norman conquest, seem to have been rather nominal than real. Those who occupied the lowest rank still continued in a state of slavery; and we have good reason to believe, that their numbers were rather increased than diminished by that event. None of the Anglo-Saxon serfs, who were annexed to the lands which they cultivated, and had been usually transferred with them from one proprietor to another, could entertain the least hopes of obtaining freedom, or even a mitigation of their servitude, when these lands were bestowed on the enemies and conquerors of their nation. On the contrary, many of the English, who had formerly been free, having been taken prisoners at the battle of Hastings, or in some of the subsequent revolts, were reduced to slavery; and thought themselves very happy if they preserved their lives, though they lost their freedom. The Norman conquerors for some time treated their English slaves with so much severity, that a contemporary writer declines giving any description of it, "because its inhuman cruelty would appear incredible to posterity."

The condition of all these unhappy people, in this period, was not equally abject and wretched. There were different degrees of servitude, and different kinds of slaves that were called by different names, viz.—1. Villains in gross, who were the personal property of their masters, and performed the lowest and most laborious offices about their masters' houses. This class of slaves seems to have been very numerous; for Roger Hoveden tells us, that, from the reign of William I. to his own time in the reign of King John, there was hardly a house or even cottage in Scotland, in which there was not to be found an English slave. It is not to be imagined that their more opulent neighbours the Normans and English were worse provided than the Scots with domestic slaves. They had indeed such great numbers of them, that they exported and sold many of these unhappy persons in foreign countries.

2. Villains regardant, or predial slaves, who lived in the country, and cultivated the lands of their masters, to which they were annexed. These were in a better condition than domestic slaves, and had an imperfect kind of property in their houses and furniture, and in the little gardens and small pieces of ground which they were allowed to cultivate, at leisure times, for their own subsistence. But still their persons and properties were so much in the power of their masters, that they granted or sold them to whom they pleased. These two formed a very numerous

class of slaves, by whom the demesnes of all the earls, barons, bishops, abbots, and great men of England, were cultivated. The villains belonging to some of the richest abbeyes amounted to two thousand.

3. Cottars (who in the barbarous Latin of those times were called *Cottarii*, because they dwelt in small huts or cottages, near to the mansions of their masters), composed another class of slaves frequently mentioned in Doomsday-book. They were such as, by the direction of their owners, had been instructed in some handicraft art or trade, as that of smiths, carpenters, &c. which they practised for the benefit of their masters, and were on the same footing in all respects with villains or predial slaves.

4. Borders, in Latin *Bordarii*, frequently occur in Doomsday-book, as distinguished from villains and cottars; but in what respects they differed from them is not clearly ascertained. The most probable opinion seems to be, that they were a kind of upper domestic servants, who waited at table (then called *board*), and performed other less ignoble offices in their masters' houses, in which they did not reside, but in small huts of their own, to which little gardens and parcels of land were annexed, as the fee or reward of their services. From this short and imperfect enumeration it is sufficiently evident, that a very great proportion of the people of England, in this period, were in a state of servitude, or rather in a state of slavery.

As all the children of slaves were by their birth in the same degrees of subjection to the same masters with their parents, this order of men must have increased exceedingly, if many of them had not from time to time obtained their freedom. This they did by various means, but chiefly by uncommon fidelity and diligence, which excited the gratitude of their masters, and engaged them to make them free. The granting freedom to a certain number of slaves was sometimes enjoyed by the clergy, and sometimes voluntarily performed by penitents, in order to obtain the pardon of their sins, and for the good of their souls. The ceremony of manumission was commonly performed at church, or at the county-court, when the master, taking his slave by the hand, declared that he made him free; after which he gave him a sword or spear, the arms of a freeman; and then commanding all the doors to be thrown open, allowed him to go where he pleased. These freed-men possessed the same place in society in this period, that the free-lazen had possessed in the times of the Anglo-Saxons.

The middle rank in society, that filled up the interval between the freed-men on the one hand and the noblesse and baronage on the other, was chiefly composed of three different bodies of men, which had been formerly very distinct, but were now united. 1. Those Anglo-Saxon earls, who had remained neuter in the quarrel between William and Harold, and had not joined in any of the subsequent revolts, and were therefore allowed to retain their rank as well as their possessions, though, for their own greater security, they generally put themselves under the protection of some great Norman baron, and became his vassals. 2. Those Anglo-Saxon theles and noblemen who were degraded from their former rank, and divested of all power, but permitted to retain a part of their possessions, under the protection of their conquerors. The number of these de-

graded nobles was not inconsiderable; for, before the end of the reign of William I., there was hardly so much as one Englishman who was either earl, baron, bishop, or abbot; and for more than a century after, to be an Englishman was an effectual exclusion from all preferment. 3. Those Frenchmen, Normans, and others, who fought under their several leaders in the conquest of England, and afterwards settled on the demesne lands of those leaders, and became their farmers, socmen, and smaller vassals. All these different kinds of people were by degrees blended together, and formed a body, from which the yeomanry and many of the gentry of England are descended. The inhabitants of towns and cities were generally of this middle rank.

The Norman barons formed the highest order of the state, and occupied the same place in society after the conquest that the Anglo-Saxon thanes had possessed before that era, and the nobility and principal gentry of England now possess. They were a numerous, opulent, and powerful body of men, and (when taken in the most extensive sense) comprehended all the considerable proprietors of land in England, especially all those who held immediately of the king *in capite* by military services. The lesser barons were frequently called *vassalors*, and corresponded to the lesser Anglo-Saxon thanes, and to the modern English gentlemen of ancient families and large estates. But barons, in this period, most properly were the greater or king's barons, who held immediately of the king an entire barony, consisting of thirteen knights' fees, and the third part of a knight's fee, yielding an annual revenue of 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, or 400 marks: an ample fortune in the times we are now considering. Those who held such baronies were the spiritual and temporal lords of the kingdom, who enjoyed many singular privileges and immunities, and in their own territories were a kind of petty princes (too often tyrants), possessing both civil and military jurisdiction over their vassals. But we shall meet with a more convenient opportunity of considering the civil authority and military power of the Norman barons.

Though the accession of William duke of Normandy to the throne of England produced no very remarkable alteration in the ranks and orders of men in society, it produced many important changes in their political circumstances,—in the tenures by which they held their lands,—the services and prestations to which they were subjected,—the magistrates by whom they were governed,—the courts in which they were judged,—and the laws they were obliged to obey. These changes were chiefly owing to the establishment of the feudal system of police and government in England by William I., in the same state of maturity to which it had then attained in his dominions on the continent.

In the Anglo-Saxon times, all the proprietors of land (the clergy at least excepted) were subjected to the three following obligations, commonly called the *trinoda necessitas*:—1. To attend the king with their followers in military expeditions;—2. To assist in building and defending the royal castles;—3. To keep the highways and bridges in a proper state. To these three obligations a fourth, called a *heriot*, was added, by the laws of Canute the Great; which consisted in delivering to the king the horses and arms of his earls and thanes at their death, with certain

sums of money, according to their rank and wealth. That these may be called feudal prestations, and considered as a proof that the feudal form of government was not altogether unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, need not be disputed; but to these William I. added so many others, which shall be presently described, that he may be justly said to have completed, if not to have erected, the fabric of the feudal government in Britain.

The sovereign of a feudal state was, in idea at least, the proprietor of all the lands in his dominions. Part of these lands he retained in his own possession for the maintenance of his family and support of his dignity; the rest he granted to certain of his subjects, as benefices or fees for services to be performed by them, and on such other conditions as he thought proper to require, and they to accept. By the numerous forfeitures after the battle of Hastings, and the subsequent revolts, and by the abject state to which even those of the English who had not forfeited were reduced, the idea of a feudal sovereign was almost realized in William I., and he beheld a very great proportion of the lands in England at his disposal, which enabled him to establish the feudal system of government in its full extent, with little or no difficulty. Nor did he neglect this favourable opportunity of introducing into his new dominions that form of government, to which he and his followers had been long accustomed, and which was so well adapted to preserve the important acquisition he had made.

William I., in the distribution of the territory of England, was not unmindful of the interests of the crown; but retained in his own possession no fewer than 1422 manors, besides a great number of forests, parks, chaces, farms, and houses, in all parts of the kingdom. As the hopes of obtaining splendid establishments for themselves and followers had engaged many powerful barons, and even some sovereign princes, to embark with him in his dangerous expedition, he was induced, both by the dictates of honour and prudence, to gratify their expectations by very liberal grants of lands. To Hugh de Abrensis, his sister's son, he granted the whole county of Chester; to Robert earl of Mortaigne, and Odo bishop of Bayeux, his two uterine brothers, he gave, to the former, 973 manors, to the latter 439; to Allen earl of Britany 442, to William de Warrenne 292, to Geoffrey bishop of Coutance 280, to Roger Bigod 123, to Walter Giffard 107, to Richard de Clare 171, to William de Percy 119, and to all his other chieftains according to the different degrees of their power, their services, and their favour.

None of the grants of land made by William I. were unconditional, but to all of them a great variety of obligations was annexed. These obligations were of two kinds, viz. 1. Services which contributed to the splendour of the sovereign, and security of the kingdom; 2. Prestations of various kinds, which constituted a considerable part of the royal revenue.

1. The services which contributed to the splendour of the sovereign, and security of the kingdom, to be performed by the immediate vassals of the crown, were chiefly these three: 1. Homage and fealty. 2. Personal attendance upon the king in his court at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and in his parliament, at other times, when regularly called



3. Military services in the field, or in the defence of castles for a certain time, with a certain number of men, according to the extent of their estates. By these three things the sovereign of a feudal kingdom was secured, as far as human policy could secure him,—in a splendid court for his honour,—a numerous council for giving him advice in the arduous affairs of government,—and a powerful army for the defence of his person and dominions.

2. The payments or prestations to which the immediate vassals of the crown were subjected, and which constituted a considerable part of the royal revenue, were chiefly these six: 1. Reserved rents. 2. Wardships. 3. On marriages. 4. Reliefs. 5. Scutages. 6. Aids. It is necessary to give a very brief delineation of each of the above services and prestations.

The sovereign of a feudal kingdom never appeared in greater glory than when he received the homage of his immediate vassals, in his great court of parliament. Seated on his throne, in his royal robes, with his crown on his head, and surrounded by his spiritual and temporal nobles, he beheld his greatest prelates and most powerful barons, uncovered and unarmed, on their knees before him. In that humble posture they put both their hands between his, and solemnly promised, “to be his liege-men of life and limb and worldly worship, to bear faith and troth to him, to live and die with him against all manner of men.”

2. The courts of the Anglo-Norman kings were at all times very splendid, but more especially at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when all the prelates, earls, and barons of the kingdom were, by their tenures, obliged to attend their sovereign, to assist in the celebration of these festivals,—in the administration of justice,—and in deliberating on the great affairs of the kingdom. On these occasions the king wore his crown, and feasted his nobles in the great hall of his palace, and made them presents of robes, &c., as marks of his royal favour; after which they proceeded to business, which consisted partly in determining important causes, and partly in deliberating on public affairs.

3. Military service was the greatest and most important obligation annexed to the grants of lands made by William I., and other feudal sovereigns, whose chief intention was, in making these grants, to secure a sufficient body of troops under proper leaders, well armed, and always ready to take the field, for the defence of the kingdom and the prosecution of such wars as were thought necessary for the honour of the prince and the prosperity of the state. These lands, so granted, may very well be considered as the daily pay of a certain number of troops which the persons to whom they were granted were obliged to keep in constant readiness for service; and therefore the number of knights' fees or stipends which every state comprehended was carefully ascertained. To add still further to the strength and security of the kingdom, William I. subjected the lands of spiritual barons, as archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, to the same military services with the lands of temporal barons and knights. From the famous survey of England, made by the direction of this great prince, and recorded in Domesday-book, it was found, that the whole kingdom contained

60,215 knights' fees, of which no fewer than 28,115 belonged to the church.

It is now time to take a very short view of those prestations to which the immediate vassals of the crown of England were at this time subjected, and which constituted a considerable part of the royal revenue.

1. Though William I., and other feudal sovereigns, made large grants of lands to their nobility, clergy, and other vassals, they did not relinquish all connexion with and interest in these lands. On the contrary, they granted only the right of using these lands on certain conditions, still retaining the property, or *dominium directum*, in themselves; and, to put their vassals constantly in mind of this circumstance, they always reserved certain annual payments (commonly very trifling) that were collected by the sheriffs of the counties where the lands lay.

2. When an earl, baron, or other vassal of the crown, died, and left his heir under age, and consequently incapable of performing those personal services to his sovereign to which he was bound by his tenure, the king took possession of his estate; that he might therewith support the heir, and give him an education suitable to his quality, and at the same time might provide another person to perform his services in his room. This right of being the guardians of all minors, male or female, who held their lands of the crown by military services, brought considerable profits into the royal coffers, or enabled the prince to enrich his favourites, by granting them the guardianship of some of his most opulent wards.

3. The king's female wards could not marry any person, however agreeable to themselves and their relations, without the consent of their royal guardian; that they might not have it in their power to bestow an estate that had been derived from the crown on one who was disagreeable to the sovereign. This was a cruel and ignominious servitude, by which heiresses of the greatest families and most opulent fortunes were exposed to sale, or obliged to purchase the liberty of disposing of themselves in marriage by great sums of money, either from the king, or from some greedy courtier, to whom he had granted or sold their marriage. No less a sum than ten thousand marks, equal in efficacy to one hundred thousand pounds of our money at present, was paid to the king for the wardship and marriage of a single heiress. This cruel servitude was afterwards extended to male heirs.

4. The king had not only the guardianship and marriage of the heirs of all his immediate vassals, but he demanded and obtained a sum of money from them when they came of age, and were admitted to the possession of their estates; and also from those heirs who had been of age at the death of their ancestors. This last was called relief, because it relieved their lands out of the hands of their sovereign, into which they fell at the death of every possessor. Reliefs were at first arbitrary and uncertain, and of consequence the occasion of much oppression. They were afterwards fixed at the rate of one hundred shillings for a knight's fee, one hundred marks for a baron, and one hundred pounds for an earldom, which was supposed to be about the fourth part of the annual value of each.

5. Scutage, or shield-money, was another prestation to which the military vassals of the crown,

both of the clergy and laity, were subjected. It was a sum of money paid in lieu of actual service in the field, by those who were not able or were not willing to perform that service in person, or to provide another to perform it in their room. The rate of this commutation was not always the same, but most commonly it was two marks for every knight's fee, though sometimes it was only twenty shillings, and at other times three marks, or two marks and a half. This payment became the occasion of much vexation to those who owed military service to the crown; because our monarchs sometimes engaged, or pretended to engage in expeditions into distant parts, or at inconvenient seasons, that they might have a pretence for demanding scutage from their vassals.

6. Besides all the above payments, the immediate vassals of the crown, who were presumed to be possessed of much affection and gratitude to their sovereign for the favours they had received from him, granted, or rather complied with the demand of certain pecuniary aids, on some great occasions, when he stood in particular need of their assistance. The occasions on which those aids were demanded and granted, were these three: 1. To make his eldest son a knight; 2. To marry his eldest daughter; 3. To ransom his person when he was taken prisoner in war. The rate of these aids was also unsettled; but it seems to have been most frequently one mark, or one pound for every knight's fee.

There is sufficient evidence, that all these services and prestations, so troublesome in themselves, and so liable to be rendered oppressive and intolerable, were brought from Normandy, and imposed by William I. on the leaders of his victorious army, to whom he granted great estates in England. But these were far from being the only persons who felt the weight of those feudal servitudes. For the Norman and other barons, who received extensive tracts of land, imitated the example of their sovereign in the disposal of these lands. They retained part of them lying contiguous to their castles in their own possession, which were called their demesnes; and the rest they granted to their followers, who had fought under their banners, on terms exactly similar to those on which they had received them from the crown. The vassals of every baron did him homage, with a reservation of their homage to the king, which was sometimes not much regarded. They gave personal attendance in his court at stated times, or when regularly called. They followed him into the field with a certain number of troops, according to the quantity of land they had received. They paid him certain reserved rents. Their heirs were his wards when under age. They could not marry without his consent. They gave him a relief when they obtained possession of their estates; and aids for making his eldest son a knight, for marrying his eldest daughter, and for redeeming his person from captivity. In a word, a feudal baron was a king in miniature, and a barony was a little kingdom. Even the vassals of barons sometimes granted subinfeudations, but always exactly on the same plan. By this means all the distressful servitudes of the feudal system descended from the sovereign to the meanest possessor of land by military tenure becoming heavier as they descended lower.

It is true that those possessors of land, who

were called *socmen*, because (as many think) they followed the soc or plough, were not subjected to some of the most vexatious of those feudal servitudes, as personal attendance, wardship, marriage, &c. But this seems to have been owing to the contemptible light in which they were viewed by their sovereign and his haughty martial barons, who would not admit them into their courts and company; and considered the education and marriage of their heirs as matters of small importance, and unworthy of their attention. Nor were many of these *socmen* more free and happy than the military vassals of the king and barons. On the contrary, they were subjected to lower and more laborious servitudes, as furnishing men, horses, and carriages, on various occasions; ploughing and sowing the lands of their lords, &c.\* In a word, the feudal system of tenures established by William I. in England, was productive of universal distress and servitude; from which even those of the highest rank were not exempted, though they were most severely felt by the lower orders in the state.

It has been the subject of much dispute, when, by whom, and in what manner, the feudal system of government was introduced into Scotland. It would be improper to revive this unimportant controversy, by repeating the sentiments of different authors, and their arguments in support of these sentiments. Upon the whole, it seems to be most probable, that Malcolm III., surnamed *Canmore*, began the introduction of this system into his dominions, in imitation of his neighbour and contemporary, William I. of England; and that his plan was prosecuted by his successors, as opportunities offered, until it came to be universally established.

The introduction of the feudal system was productive of several other changes in police and government, particularly in courts and magistrates.

Nothing could be more regular, or more admirably adapted to the speedy, easy, and effectual administration of justice, to persons of all ranks, than the constitution of the Anglo-Saxon courts. But this beautiful fabric was not respected by the Norman conquerors. For though they did not pull it down by violence, they suffered it to fall into ruin by neglect, and the establishment of other courts.

In all feudal kingdoms there were three kinds of persons that bore the chief sway, both in peace and war, viz. barons in their baronies, earls in their counties, and kings in their kingdoms. In consequence of this there were three kinds of courts of chief consideration—the baron's court, the earl's court, and the king's court.

In the feudal times, every barony (as hath been already observed) was a little kingdom, and every baron was a petty king; the commander of all the tenants in his barony (who might not improperly be called his subjects) in time of war, and their judge in time of peace. In his court, which was commonly held in the great hall of his castle, and to which all the tenants of his barony owed suit and service, he administered justice to his people, in person or by his bailiff;

\* The opinion of one of the most learned writers on the law of England,—that tenures called free socage were the relics of the allodial tenures of the Anglo-Saxons, is not disputed. We have no reason to be surprised, that a few small estates escaped the rapacity of the Normans.—Blackstone's Comment.



not only compelling the payment of debts and the performance of contracts, but also redressing wrongs and punishing crimes even with capital punishments. Archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, who held baronies of the crown, had their courts of the same kind with the secular barons. Even the barons of barons, or those who held manors by military service of the king's barons, had similar courts within their respective manors, but commonly without the privilege of pit and gallows, i. e. the power of inflicting capital punishments.

The title of earl before the conquest, and for some time after, was not merely honorary, but official. There was but one earl in every county, who was properly its governor, the general of its forces in times of war, and its chief justiciary or judge in times of peace. The court in which the earl presided was the county court; and as a reward or salary for acting in his judicial capacity, he received the third penny of all the dues, amerciaments, and profits, arising in that court. This, in the Anglo-Saxon times, and even during some part of the reign of William I., was a court of great power and dignity, in which the bishop of the diocese sat with the earl, and on which all the abbots, priors, barons, knights, and freeholders of the county, were obliged to attend. In this little parliament all the controversies arising in the county, the most important not excepted, were determined, though not always finally, because there lay an appeal from its decrees to a higher court, which shall presently be described. In a county-court of Kent, held in the reign of William I., at Pineldine, there were present one archbishop, three bishops, the earl of the county, the vice-earl or sheriff, a great number of the king's barons, besides a still greater multitude of knights and freeholders, who in the course of three days adjudged several manors to belong to the archbishopric of Canterbury, which had been possessed for some time by Odo, bishop of Baieux, the king's uterine brother, and by other powerful barons.

But the county-courts did not continue long after the conquest in this state of power and splendour. For William I., about A.D. 1085, separated the ecclesiastical from the civil part of these courts, prohibiting the bishops to sit as judges, the clergy to attend as suitors, and the causes of the church to be tried in them, but in courts of their own. By this regulation, which is said to have been made in a common council of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and chief men of the kingdom, the county-courts were deprived, at one blow, of their most venerable judges, their most respectable suitors, and most important business. Besides this, after the departure of the bishops and clergy, the earls disdained to sit as judges, and the great barons to attend as suitors in the county-courts; which by degrees reduced them to their present state. But this was not the worst effect of this most imprudent and pernicious regulation. By it the kingdom was split asunder; the crown and mitre were set at variance, and the ecclesiastical courts, by putting themselves under the immediate protection of the pope, formed the clergy into a separate state under a foreign sovereign, which was productive of infinite mischiefs and disorders.

The ecclesiastical courts, that were immediately erected in consequence of this fatal statute, were three; 1. The archdeacon's court.

For as the archdeacon was by that statute discharged from sitting as a judge with the hundredary in the hundred court, he was authorized to erect a court of his own, in which he took cognizance of ecclesiastical causes within his archdeaconry. 2. The bishop's court, or consistory, which received appeals from the archdeacon's court, and whose jurisdiction extended over the whole diocese. 3. The archbishop's court, which received appeals from the consistories of the several bishops of the province, and had jurisdiction not only over the particular diocese of the archbishop, but over all the dioceses in the province. From this highest ecclesiastical court appeals lay to the pope, which soon became very frequent, vexatious, and expensive.

As the king was the chief magistrate of the kingdom, and it was both his duty and prerogative to administer justice to his subjects, he had a court, which was the chief court of the kingdom, in which he performed that duty and exercised that prerogative. This supreme court was commonly called *curia* or *aula regis*, because it was held in the great hall of the king's palace, wherever he happened to reside. In this court the king was presumed to be always present, either in person, or by his representatives, the judges of his court, to whom he committed the performance of his duty, and the exercise of his prerogative as the supreme judge in his kingdom. The judges in the king's court, as it was constituted by William I., and continued till near the end of this period, were,—the great officers of the crown,—the king's justices,—together with all the great barons of the kingdom, both temporal and spiritual, who were entitled to seats in this court.

The great officers of the crown, who were also the leading members of the king's court, were these seven: 1. The chief justiciary, who was an officer of the highest dignity and greatest power, the president of the king's court when the prince was not personally present, and regent of the kingdom when the sovereign was beyond seas, which in this period very frequently happened. 2. The constable of England. 3. The marshal of England, who were both military and civil officers: when acting in their civil capacity, as members of the king's court, their jurisdiction chiefly respected matters of honour and of arms. 4. The high steward of England. 5. The great chamberlain of England. These two great officers had the chief direction of all things in the king's court and palace. The four last-named officers were for the most part hereditary. 6. The chancellor of England, who had the custody of the great seal, and the inspection of all grants to which it was appended. 7. The high treasurer, who had the chief direction of all things respecting the royal revenues.

The king's justices were persons learned in the laws, who had seats in the supreme court, in order to inform the other members what the law of the land was in every case. This great court was divided into several chambers, and certain judges sat in each of these chambers, at particular times, to take cognizance of those matters with which they were best acquainted, and in which they were most interested. Of these chambers the exchequer (so called from a chequered cloth which covered the table) was one, in which the high treasurer and certain barons sat, and regulated all things respecting the revenues of the crown.

The jurisdiction of the king's court was universal, extending to all parts of the kingdom, and over all the subjects of it, till the clergy, after long and violent struggles, emancipated themselves in a great measure from its authority. As the Normans were remarkably fond of pomp, some of the sessions of this august tribunal, particularly those at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, were attended with much parade and show. The king, on these occasions, wore his crown and royal robes; the great officers of state appeared with the ensigns of their respective offices: and all the spiritual and temporal barons in their richest ornaments. At these ceremonies and magnificent meetings, the ambassadors of foreign princes were introduced, that they might be struck with admiration at the opulence and grandeur of the king and kingdom. To these stated meetings all the members of the king's court came of course, without any summons. In this, and in several other respects, they differed from the common councils of the kingdom.

Though the powers of this supreme court were great and various, they were all ministerial and executive, and did not extend to the making new laws or imposing new taxes. These two most important branches of police and government belonged to another assembly, that was called (*commune concilium*, or *magnum concilium regni*) the common council, or great council of the kingdom; and sometimes, though very seldom in this period (*parlamentum*) parliament, from the French word *parler*, to speak.

Who were the constituent members of the great councils or parliaments of this period, is a question that hath been differently answered, and warmly agitated. Though the nature and limits of this work will not admit of a full discussion of this question (at present of no great importance), yet a plain and short exposition of what appears to be the truth is necessary. That all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, and barons, who held each an entire barony immediately of the king *in capite*, were constituent members of these great councils, has never been denied, and needs not be proved. Besides these great spiritual and temporal barons, there were many others, who held smaller portions of land, as one, two, three, or four knights' fees, immediately of the king, by the same honourable tenure with the great barons, who were also members of the great councils of the kingdom, and were commonly called the lesser barons, or free military tenants of the crown. Among many evidences that might easily be produced of this, the fourteenth article of the great charter of King John is one of the most decisive, and seems to be sufficient: "To have a common council of the kingdom, to assess an aid otherwise than in the three foresaid cases, or to assess a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons, particularly by our letters; and besides, we will cause to be summoned in general by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold of us *in capite*." The lesser barons continued to sit personally in the parliaments of Scotland till the year 1427, when an act was made exempting them from personal attendance in parliament, on condition of sending representatives. But besides all these great and small barons, who by virtue of their tenures were obliged, as well as entitled, to sit as members in

the great councils of the kingdom, our historians of this period sometimes speak of great multitudes of people, both of the clergy and laity, who were present in some of these councils. Eadmerus, the friend and secretary of Archbishop Anselm, thus describes the persons assembled in a great council at Rockingham, A.D. 1095, to whom his patron made a speech. "Anselm spoke in this manner to the bishops, abbots, and princes, or principal men, and to a numerous multitude of monks, clerks, and laymen standing by." By the bishops, abbots, and princes, we are certainly to understand the spiritual and temporal barons. But who are we to understand by "the numerous multitudes of monks, clerks, and laymen standing by?" Were they members of this assembly, or were they only spectators and by-standers? If by the multitude of these clerks and laymen, the historian did not mean the lesser barons, it is highly probable that they were only spectators. We are told by several contemporary historians, that the great councils of the kingdom in those times were very much incommoded by crowds of spectators, who forced their way into their meetings. One of these historians thus describes a great council held by King Stephen: "The king, by an edict published through England, called the rulers of the churches, and the chiefs of the people, to a council at London. All these coming thither, as into one receptacle, and the pillars of the churches being seated in order, and the vulgar also forcing themselves in on all hands, confusedly and promiscuously, as usual, many things were usefully proposed and happily transacted, for the benefit of the church and kingdom." In a great council held at Westminster, May 18th, 1127, the spectators, who are said to have been innumerable, were so outrageous, that they interrupted the business of the council, and prevented some things from being debated. Upon the whole, it seems to be almost certain, that though great numbers of people of all ranks, prompted by political curiosity, or interested in the affairs that were to be debated, attended the great councils of the kingdom in this period, none were properly members of these councils but those described in the great charter of King John, viz. the spiritual and temporal barons, who were personally summoned; and those who held smaller parcels of land than baronies, immediately of the king, by knight's service, who were summoned edictally by the sheriffs of their respective counties.

Besides all the prerogatives that had been enjoyed by his predecessors, the Anglo-Saxon and Danish kings of England, William I. acquired a great addition of power by the introduction of the feudal system, which made him the territorial lord as well as sovereign of his greatest subjects. But the greatness of some of these subjects, together with their extensive influence over their vassals and tenants, fortunately formed a kind of counterpoise to the exorbitant power of the crown, prevented it from becoming, or at least from continuing, arbitrary; and at length, by slow degrees, and many struggles (which from the most interesting parts of our history), reduced it within proper limits. All the historians of this period are full of the most bitter complaints of the tyranny of William I., and of his son and successor William II., representing them as acting on many occasions in the most despotic manner, with little or no regard to law, justice, or hu-



manity. "None of his bishops, abbots, or great men," says Eadmerus of William I., "dared to disobey his will on any consideration; but all things divine and human depended upon his nod." "Whoever," says Henry of Huntingdon, speaking of the same prince, "desired to enjoy money, lands, or even life itself, was under a necessity of obeying the king's nod in all things. Alas! how much is it to be lamented, that any man, who is but a worm and dust, should forget death, and arrive at such a height of pride as to trample on all the rest of mankind!" Of the ferocity and tyranny of his son and successor William II., the historians of those times speak in still stronger terms. "He was more fierce," says one of them, "than human nature seemed to be capable of. By the advice of the worst men, which he always followed, he harassed his neighbours with war, and his own subjects with armies and taxes; and England was so miserably oppressed that it was brought to the very brink of ruin."

The great revenues of these princes contributed not a little to increase their pride, and support their power; especially as these revenues were for the most part considered as their undoubted property, and did not depend on the generosity or good-will of their subjects. Besides all the revenues arising from the royal demesnes, and from the rents, aids, wardships, marriages, and scutages of all the immediate vassals of the crown, which have been already mentioned, money flowed into the coffers of the first Norman kings of England, from all the following sources, escheats, vacancies, tallages, taxes, tolls, customs, oblations, americiaments, moneyage, farms of counties, cities, towns, and corporations, queen-gold, impositions of various kinds upon the Jews, &c. &c.

Escheats and forfeitures formed a great branch of the royal revenue in those turbulent times, when civil broils were frequent, when estates escheated into the king's hands on the failure of lineal descendants from the persons to whom they had been granted, and when the immediate vassals of the crown forfeited their lands, not only for treason against the king as sovereign of the state, but for various offences against him as their feudal lord,—such as, declining to do him homage,—to swear fealty,—to attend his court,—to serve him in the field,—for betraying his secrets,—abetting his enemies,—affronting his person,—debauching his wife, his daughters, or near relations,—and, in a word, for doing anything that made them unworthy of being the companions of their superior lord, the members of his court, and the peers of his other barons. These escheats and forfeitures formed so capital a part of the royal revenue, that a particular court or office, called the *escheatry*, was erected for the management of them.

When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory of royal foundation, became vacant, the temporalities were seized and enjoyed by the king during the vacancy. This, it is probable, was intended to correspond to the profits arising from the wardship of the temporal barons; and in some reigns, when many of the richest sees were kept vacant several years, it must have made a great addition to the revenues of the crown.

The kings of England, in this period, were not always contented with the ordinary annual rents which they received from the cities, towns, socmen, and tenants of their demesnes, and of the escheats and forfeitures in their hands; but on

some occasions they exacted certain extraordinary payments, called *tallages* or *cuttings*, from the French word *tailler*, to cut; because by them a certain proportion of the goods of these cities, towns, socmen, and tenants, as a tenth, fifteenth, a twentieth, or thirtieth part, was cut off and appropriated to the king's use. As neither the frequency nor the quantity of these tallages was ascertained in the former part of this period, they became the occasion of great oppression to the subjects, and a source of much treasure to the crown.

The ignominious tax, called *danegild*, though the reason for which it had been imposed no longer existed, continued to be levied through a great part of this period. It seems to have been a stated article in the annual charge against the sheriffs of the several counties, who collected and paid it into the exchequer. The annual *danegild* for the county of Surrey was 185*l.* 6*s.*, for Essex 252*l.* 6*s.* These appear at present to be trifling sums, but they were of considerable value in the times we are now considering.

Tolls levied at bridges, and in fairs and markets, with the customs on goods exported and imported, made a part of the royal revenue, that will be more particularly described in another place.

Fines, free gifts, and oblations, formed one of the most abundant sources of the riches of the kings of England in this period. It is hardly possible to enumerate all the various occasions on which valuable presents were made to these princes. No franchise or privilege of any kind could be obtained from the crown without a fine or oblation proportioned to its value. Great fines were paid by prodigious numbers of people, in order to obtain justice, and that they might be allowed the benefit of a legal trial; while others gave great gifts to procure the royal interposition for preventing law proceedings against them; and not a few agreed to give one half, or a third, or fourth part, of their lawful debts to the king, that they might procure payment by his authority. In a word, justice was openly sold by these sovereigns to their subjects; which made the famous articles in the great charter against selling delaying, and denying justice, very necessary. No office, either in church or state, could be obtained without a bribe; and in some reigns, even bishoprics were exposed to sale, and bestowed on the highest offerors. There was hardly any business so contemptible, or so dishonourable, in which some of our princes in this period did not engage for money; nor did they disdain to accept of dogs, hawks, hens, lampreys, shads, and such paltry presents, when they could not obtain more valuable bribes. For money they sold even their love and hatred, and were pleased or angry, friends or enemies, as they were paid. To complete their shame, all these articles of their revenues are regularly entered in the public records, where they still remain undeniable monuments of their venality.

Americiaments formed another very ample source of wealth to the kings of England in this period. These were often excessive, and were imposed on a thousand different occasions, not only for real crimes, but for trivial or imaginary offences, and on the most frivolous pretences. In the records of those times we meet with many persons who were severely amerced for making foolish speeches or returning foolish answers, and even for having

short memories, or being ignorant of things which they could not possibly know. On these accounts americiaments were the sources of infinite vexations to the subjects, as well as of great riches to the sovereigns of England in this period. They fell heavy, not only on the common people, but upon the greatest prelates and most powerful barons of the kingdom; which gave occasion to the 27th article of the great charter, in which it is declared,—“That earls and barons shall not be amerced except by their peers, and according to the degree of their offence.”

Moneyage was a tax that had been levied in Normandy long before the conquest, and was levied in England by the first and second Norman kings. By it, one shilling was paid on every hearth once in every three years, to prevail upon the king not to debase the coin. For these princes insisted on being paid, not only for doing good, but for not doing all the evil that was in their power. This tax was abolished by the charter of liberties granted by Henry I.

The farms of counties, and of cities, towns, and corporations, or gilds, brought very considerable sums into the royal coffers in this period. The profits arising from law proceedings in the county-courts, were divided between the king and the earls of the county, two-thirds belonging to the former, and one-third to the latter. The king's part of these profits was farmed from year to year by the sheriffs, together with some other small articles of revenue, for a certain sum of money, which they paid into the exchequer. The far greatest part of the cities and towns of England belonged to the royal demesnes, and their inhabitants held their lands and houses immediately of the king; who commonly granted the farm of all the rents and gilds due to him from all the citizens or burgesses, for their lands and houses, to the community, or to the chief magistrate, in name of the community, for a certain rent to be paid yearly into the exchequer. For the further encouragement of towns and cities, and for promoting commerce and arts, the monarchs of England, in this period, formed the inhabitants of these towns and cities, of certain professions, as merchants, goldsmiths, weavers, &c. into corporations or gilds, to whom they granted various privileges, for which they paid certain sums of money yearly into the exchequer.

When a sum of money was due to the king, an additional sum was payable to the queen-consort, called (*aurum regina*) *queen-gold*. The proportion in some cases, perhaps in all, was one pound, mark, or shilling, on every hundred pounds, marks, or shillings; or, as we now express it, one per cent.

The Jews settled in England in this period were both very numerous and very wealthy; but their wealth was entirely at the mercy of the king, who seized any proportion of it he pleased at any time he thought proper. A degree of power which is seldom used with moderation, and which was much abused by some of our princes, who extorted prodigious sums of money from the Jews, by the most cruel and violent methods. Of the greatness of these sums, we may form some conception from the following examples. Isaac, the Jew of Norwich, was fined to King John in the enormous sum of ten thousand marks (equal in value and efficacy to one hundred thousand pounds of our money at present), to be paid at the rate of one mark a-day during

life. A considerable part of this sum was accordingly paid by Isaac in his lifetime, and the remainder by his heirs. A Jew of Bristol is said to have paid an equal sum to the same prince. In a word, the revenues squeezed from the Jews on various pretences were so great, that a particular exchequer, called *the exchequer of the Jews*, was established for their receipt, and a number of officers appointed for their management.

From the above enumeration of the several sources of the revenues of the Norman kings of England in this period, though far from being complete, it is sufficiently evident that these revenues were very great. We are assured by an author who was born in England only nine years after the conquest, that those of William I. amounted to the incredible sum of 1061*l.* 10*s.* 1*½d.* per day, which (neglecting the fraction) was equal in efficacy to 15,915*l.* of our money per day, and to 5,808,975*l.* per year. This account, extravagant as it may appear, is not very different from that which is given by Roger Hoveden, a contemporary historian, of the revenues of England in the reign of Richard I. When Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, was about to resign the office of high justiciary, A.D. 1196, he proved from his books, that the revenue he had collected in England in the two preceding years, was no less than eleven hundred thousand marks of silver. A great sum, equivalent to 11,000,000*l.*, at the above rate of computation, in two years, or 5,500,000*l.* in one year. But though it should be allowed that both these accounts are exaggerated, we have still no reason to be surprised, that the kings of England in this period kept such splendid and numerous courts—lived in so much affluence—entertained all their prelates and nobles at the three great festivals—endowed so many monasteries, built so many strong castles and magnificent churches—carried on so many wars—and, after all, left so much money in their treasury when they died.

It is now time to take a view of some of the most important changes that were made in the laws of England, and in the forms of judicial proceedings in the reign of William I. It is indeed true, that William at his coronation took a solemn oath,—“To keep and establish right laws, and to prevent rapine and unjust judgment.” But he either paid no regard to that oath, or did not think himself bound by it to support the laws which he found established. For we have the clearest evidence that he had a predilection for the laws and customs of his native country, and endeavoured to introduce them into England. This is asserted in the plainest terms by Eadmerus, a man of learning, virtue, and integrity, who flourished in those times. “William, having a desire that the customs and laws which his ancestors and he himself had observed in Normandy should be observed in England, made those men bishops, abbots, and priores (earls and barons), who would esteem it dishonourable to oppose his laws in anything, and who dared not to lift up their heads against him. The English,” says Ingulphus, who had been secretary to the conqueror, “were so much abominated, that, whatever their merit might be, they were deprived of all their offices; and strangers, though of inferior abilities, were put into their places.” In consequence of this conduct, in the course of a few years, all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, together with



all the judges and pleaders in all the courts of England, were Normans.

This naturally produced many changes, and introduced many Norman laws and customs, without particular statutes for that purpose. One natural consequence of this total change of judges and pleaders in the English courts, was the introduction of the Norman or French language into these courts, because it was the only language the pleaders could speak, or the judges understand. The clerks and scribes also, in all these courts, were necessarily Normans; which occasioned the disuse of the Saxon and the introduction of the French manner of writing. This produced various changes in the forms of legal deeds and charters, particularly in the manner of their confirmation, which, in the Anglo-Saxon times, had been by the subscriptions of many witnesses, with the sign of the cross prefixed to each of their names; but, in the Norman times, by seals impressed upon them or appended to them. Almost all the advocates, as well as the clerks, in the courts of England in this period, were clergymen, from which the clergy got the name of clerks; and the Anglo-Norman clergy were so generally practitioners in law, that it became a proverb,—"There is no clergyman who is not a cause-pleader." This, however, did not contribute much to the impartial administration of justice; for the best writers of this period represent those clerical advocates as the most covetous and venal of all men.

Fire and water ordeals had been used in Normandy, as well as Britain, before the conquest, and were therefore continued in England after that event. But the judicial combat, or duel, though it had been long established in France and Normandy, and other countries on the continent, both by laws and custom, was first introduced into England by the Normans. This, like other ordeals, was an appeal to the judgment of God for the discovery of the truth or falsehood of an accusation that was denied, or a fact that was disputed, founded on this supposition,—"That Heaven would always interpose, and give the victory to the champions of truth and innocence." As the judicial combat was esteemed the most honourable, it soon became the most common method of determining all disputes among martial knights and barons, both in criminal and civil causes. When the combatants were immediate vassals of the crown, the combat was performed with great pomp and ceremony in presence of the king, with the constable and marshal of England, who were the judges; but if the combatants were the vassals of a baron, the combat was performed in his presence. If the person accused was victorious, he was acquitted of the crime of which he had been accused; if he was defeated, he was thereby convicted, and subjected to the punishment prescribed by law for his offence. If he was killed, his death was considered both as the proof and punishment of his guilt. If the accused was vanquished, he was, by the laws of some countries, subjected to the same punishment that would have fallen upon the accused; but in England the king had a power to mitigate or remit the punishment. In civil cases the victor gained and the vanquished lost his cause. Many wise laws were made for regulating the times and places of such judicial combats, the dress and arms of the combatants, and every other circumstance; which are too voluminous to

be here inserted. Several kinds of persons were by these laws exempted from the necessity of defending their innocence, or their properties, by the judicial combat; as women, priests, the sick, infirm, or maimed, with young men under twenty, and old men above sixty years of age. But all these persons might, if they pleased, employ champions to fight in their causes. It may not be improper, for the further illustration of this singular mode of trial, to give a very brief narration of two judicial combats that were fought in this period, one in a criminal, and the other in a civil cause.

Henry de Essex, hereditary standard-bearer of England, fled from a battle in Wales, A.D. 1158, threw from him the royal standard, and cried out, with others, that the king was slain. Some time after he was accused of having done this with a treasonable intention, by Robert de Montfort, another great baron, who offered to prove the truth of his accusation by combat. Henry de Essex denied the charge, and accepted the challenge. When all preliminaries were adjusted, this combat was accordingly fought, in the presence of Henry II. and all his court. Essex was defeated, and expected to be carried out to immediate execution. But the king, who was no friend to this kind of trial, spared his life, and contented himself with confiscating his estate, and making him a monk in the abbey of Reading.

The priority of Tinmouth, in Northumberland, was a cell of the abbey of St. Alban's. One Simon of Tinmouth claimed a right to two corrodies, or the maintenance of two persons in the priory, which the prior and monks denied. This cause was brought before the abbot of St. Alban's and his court-baron, who appointed it to be tried by combat on a certain day before him and his barons. Ralf Gubion, prior of Tinmouth, appeared at the time and place appointed, attended by his champion, one William Pegun, a man of gigantic stature. This combat was fought, Pegun was defeated, and the prior lost his cause; at which he was so much chagrined, that he immediately resigned his office. This judicial combat is the more remarkable, that it was fought in the court of a spiritual baron, and that one of the parties was a priest.

The trial of criminal and civil causes by a jury of twelve men, which makes so distinguished a figure in English jurisprudence, seems to have been introduced in the reign of William I., and was probably one of those customs which he had seen observed in his native country, and which he wished to see observed in England. For this custom had prevailed in Scandinavia in very remote ages, was brought from thence into that part of France which was possessed by Rollo and his followers, and from them called Normandy, where it was preserved till it was imported into England at the conquest. This custom was not established at once by any positive statute, but came into use by slow degrees, and was far from being common in the former part of this period, when almost all causes were tried by ordeals of one kind or other. But in the reign of Henry II., after a law was made allowing the defendant, in a criminal or civil process, to defend his innocence, or his right, either by battle, or by a jury of twelve men, called the *grand assize*, this last method, as being the most rational, became more and more frequent, till at length it obtained a

complete victory over the judicial combat, and every other ordeal.

This victory however was not obtained till long after the conclusion of this period.

That there was a very great similarity between the laws of England and Normandy, soon after the conquest, is undeniable, and may be seen by any one who will take the trouble of comparing the work of Ranulph de Glanvill, chief justiciary to Henry II., of *the laws and customs of England*, with the grand coutumiere of Normandy. This similarity does not subsist only in matters of essential justice, which are or ought to be the same in all countries; but in the rules of descents, the terms of limitations, the forms of writs, and many other things of an indifferent nature, which could neither have arisen from necessity, nor have fallen out by accident. The only question is, how this similarity was produced; whether by the exportation of the English laws into Normandy, or the importation of the Norman laws into England? Something of both these might have happened in the course of time; but in the reign of William I., it is evident, both from the nature of things, and the testimony of historians, that the current of the exchange of laws and customs ran strong from Normandy into England.

But notwithstanding all the changes that were made in the ancient constitution, government, and laws of England by the conquest, it must not be imagined that they were quite destroyed. This was very far from being the case. Many of them were preserved, and even adopted, by the conquerors. Roger Hoveden, and several other historians after him, tell a very formal story on this subject: That in the fourth year of his reign, William the Conqueror, by the advice of his barons, summoned twelve of the most noble and learned of the English out of every county, and that when they were assembled, he commanded them to make a collection of the ancient laws of their country. That they accordingly performed this, and collected the following laws, which William commanded to be observed. They then subjoin a copy of these laws. But, to say nothing of the great improbability that Norman barons would make such a proposal in favour of the English and their laws, there is a passage in one of these laws themselves, which demonstrates that this story cannot be true; for in the eleventh of these laws, concerning the tax called danegild, there is this passage: "That this tax had never been levied on the lands of the church till the reign of William the younger, called William Rufus." Now it is perfectly impossible that a transaction which happened in the reign of William Rufus, could be mentioned in a collection of laws made in the fourth year of his father's reign. But though this story cannot be true, as it is related by these writers, it is highly probable, or rather certain, that William I., in some period of his reign, gave his sanction to a system of ancient English laws, with some additions and alterations of his own. For we are told by Ingulphus, a writer of undoubted credit, who was an intimate friend and favourite of the Conqueror, "I brought with me, at the same time (A.D. 1081), from London to my monastery, certain laws of the most righteous King Edward, which my illustrious lord King William had promulgated as authentic and perpetual, and to be inviolably observed through the whole kingdom of England, under the severest penalties." These laws are

published by the learned Mr. Selden, in his notes on Eadmerus, from an ancient transcript of the original, which, he says, was still preserved at Croiland in Lincolnshire. These laws are written in the French and Norman language of the eleventh century; and consequently are very obscure, and in some places hardly intelligible. They are all of a penal nature, fifty in number, and are evidently a compilation from several systems of Anglo-Saxon laws. In another system of laws published by the Conqueror, there is one commanding all the laws of Edward the Confessor to be observed, with the additions that he had made to them, for the benefit of the English. This probably refers to those laws which Ingulphus brought with him from London.

The great veneration that William I. professed to entertain for the memory of Edward the Confessor, from whose last will he pretended to derive a title to the crown, might contribute something to preserve some of the ancient English laws and customs. But their preservation was chiefly owing to the invincible attachment of the native English to their ancient laws. This was so great, that they seem to have been written on their hearts, and they never ceased to cry for their restoration. On some occasions, when their assistance was wanted, their cries were heard; and from time to time, many of those liberties which had been torn from them by the hand of violence, were restored. This will appear in part in the subsequent section, but more fully in the following volumes of this work.

## SECTION II.

*History of the changes in the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England, in the reigns of William II., Henry I., Stephen, Henry II., Richard I., and John, from 1087 to 1215.*

As the most important changes in the English constitution were made, either in the reign of William I., by the establishment of the feudal system; or in the reign of John, by the limitation and mitigation of the severities of that system, it will not be necessary to dwell long on the five intermediate reigns.

The succession to the crown of England, after the death of Edward the Confessor, became so unsettled, that it seemed to be set up as an object of ambition to every bold invader, who had but a slight pretence, together with power and courage to seize the glittering prize. To say nothing of Harold and the Conqueror, the three successors of this last, William, Henry, and Stephen, are esteemed by many no better than usurpers, and most certainly reigned with a disputed title.

This proved a most fortunate circumstance to the native English, and to their posterity, as it contributed not a little to raise them from that insignificance into which they had been depressed. It even contributed to the preservation of what was left, and to the restoration of what had been lost, of their ancient liberties. For the Norman barons having estates both in Normandy and England, naturally desired to see the ducal and royal crown on the same head, that they might enjoy their estates in both countries. Many of these barons therefore favoured and were ready to support the pretensions of Robert duke of Normandy, eldest son of William I., to the crown.



England, first against his younger brother William, and afterwards against his youngest brother Henry. This obliged both these princes to have recourse to the native English, who were still formidable by their numbers, after all the losses they had sustained. "William Rufus," says a contemporary historian, "seeing almost all the Normans in England conspiring against him, invited, by letters, the bravest and most respectable among the English who were yet remaining, to come to him; and complaining to them of the disloyalty of the Normans, he prevailed upon them to engage in his quarrel, by promising them good laws, and abatement of taxes, and the liberty of hunting.—He called them his dear English, exhorted them to collect their countrymen, under the penalty that every one who did not come, should be called a *Nidering*, a name which he knew none of them could endure. In consequence of this such multitudes of the English crowded to the king, that he soon formed an invincible army." It is very true, that as soon as the storm was blown over, William violated all his promises, and proved a greater tyrant and oppressor than his father. But still this transaction was of some use, as it raised the English from their neglected state, and taught them their own importance.

As the title of Henry I. was liable to the same objection with that of his brother William; so he was exposed to the same danger, on his accession to the throne, and had recourse to the same expedient, with this only difference, that he put his promises in writing, in the form of a charter, and extended them to all his subjects. This charter contained many mitigations of the most distressing articles of the feudal system, to gain the Normans, with an express restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor, to please the English. It cannot be denied, that the written promises of Henry were shamefully violated as well as the verbal ones of William; but his charter being in writing, and copies of it being sent into every county, and deposited in every monastery, had greater effect, by diffusing and cherishing the love of liberty, and equal laws, among the Normans, as well as English. It served also as a model, on which the Great Charter of Liberties, in the reign of King John, was formed. Henry I. promulgated also a system of laws as he had promised in his charter, consisting of the laws of Edward the Confessor, with some alteration that had been made in them by his father the Conqueror.

As the usurpation of King Stephen was more unjustifiable in many respects than that of the two former kings, so he was more liberal of his promises of good laws and good government, than any of his predecessors. These promises were made with great solemnity on the day of his coronation, and were soon after confirmed by a charter. But the credit of royal promises and royal charters was now become so low, that the clergy and some of the barons swore fealty to Stephen, only as long as he kept his promises and observed his charters. His conduct soon justified their suspicions. By violating all his promises, he excited a civil war, which raged during his whole reign, and effectually prevented any amendment of the constitution.

It was in this turbulent reign that the pandects of Justinian were brought into England from Rome by some of Archbishop Theobald's attendants; and Roger Vacarius, prior of Bee, read lec-

tures upon them to very crowded audiences, both of the clergy and laity. Great opposition, however, was made to the introduction of those laws; and John of Salisbury tells us, that he had seen some who were so much enraged against them, that whenever they met with a copy of the Roman law, they tore it in pieces, or threw it into the fire. King Stephen, out of hatred (as the learned Mr. Selden thinks) to Archbishop Theobald, joined in this opposition, by publishing an edict, imposing silence on Vacarius, and prohibiting any one to read the books of the civil law. But this edict did not put a stop to the study of the civil law, as will afterwards appear.

Though the title of Henry II. to the crown was more clear and unexceptionable than those of his three predecessors, he thought it prudent, on his accession, to conciliate the affections of his subjects by granting them a charter, confirming that of his grandfather Henry I. This great prince, in the course of his long reign, made several improvements in the law, especially in its forms, in the manner of its administration, and the practice of its courts. This appears very plainly from that most ancient treatise of the laws and customs of England, written by, or at least published under the name of, Ranulph de Glanvill, who was chief justiciary to this king. Some of these improvements merit a place in history.

The unhappy separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil courts made by William I., had by this time produced the most fatal consequences. For the former of these courts had not only become terrible to persons of all ranks, by their interdicts, excommunications, and other censures; but the clergy, in consequence of this separate jurisdiction, to which they alone pretended they were responsible, had emancipated themselves in a great measure from all subjection to civil authority, and committed the most horrid crimes with impunity. Henry II., if we may believe one of the best of our ancient historians, was assured by his judges, that the clergy, in the first ten years of his reign, had committed no fewer than one hundred murders, besides many thefts, robberies, rapes, and other crimes, for which they could not punish them. To put a stop to those intolerable evils, and reduce the clergy to the rank of subjects, Henry, in a great council, A.D. 1164, enacted the famous constitutions of Clarendon. These were sixteen in number; and though an outline of their purport has already been given in the body of the history, a more particular account will not be superfluous.

1. All pleas between clergymen and laymen shall be tried in the king's courts.
2. Churches in the king's gift shall not be filled without his consent.
3. All clergymen, when accused of any crime, shall be tried in the king's courts; and when convicted, shall not be protected from punishment by the church.
4. Clergymen shall not go out of the kingdom without the king's leave.
- 5, 6. Regulate the manner of proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts.
7. None of the king's ministers or vassals shall be excommunicated without his knowledge.
8. Appeals from the archbishop to be made to the king.
9. Pleas between a clerk and a layman, whether an estate was in free-alsms or a lay-fee, to be tried in the king's court by a jury.
10. One of the king's tenants might be interdicted, but not excommunicated, without the consent of the civil judge of the place.
11. All prelates, who hold baronies of the king

shall perform the same services with other barons. 12. The revenues of vacant sees and abbeys belong to the king. The election of prelates shall be with the king's consent; and they shall swear fealty, and do homage to the king, before their consecration. 13, 14, 15. Direct the manner of proceeding, in case any of the king's barons shall disseise any of the clergy of the lay fees which they held under them. 16. The sons of villains shall not be ordained without the leave of their masters. But the salutary effects of these constitutions were in a great measure prevented by the invincible opposition of Thomas Becket.

Justice was not always administered in those ancient times, by the barons and sheriffs in the inferior courts, with the greatest wisdom and impartiality; partly owing to the ignorance of the judges, and partly to the prevalence of faction among the suitors in these courts. Nor was it an easy matter to procure relief from an iniquitous sentence pronounced by a baron or sheriff, on account of the great distance and unsettled state of the king's court, which constantly attended his person. To remedy those inconveniences, Henry II., with the advice of a great council of his prelates, earls, and barons, at Northampton, A.D. 1176, divided the whole kingdom into six parts or circuits, and appointed three judges, learned in the law, to hold courts in each of these, by a commission from the king, empowering them to hear and determine all causes not exceeding the value of one half of a knight's fee, unless the matter was of such importance or difficulty as to require the judgment of the king's court in his royal presence. These justices itinerant took an oath to administer justice to all persons with impartiality. They had also authority to judge in all criminal causes and pleas of the crown, and to transact a variety of other affairs for the public good. A small change was made in this excellent institution, A.D. 1179, by dividing the kingdom into four circuits, and allowing a greater number of judges to each of these circuits. It is easy to conceive how great a check the circuits of these judges of superior rank, knowledge, and integrity, must have given to the wantonness and partiality of the inferior courts, and how great an advantage they were to the people, by bringing justice within their reach. It must, however, be confessed, that though the honour of bringing this wise institution to a settled state is due to Henry II., there is sufficient evidence that courts were held, occasionally at least, by itinerant judges in more ancient times.

This wise prince was no friend to the superstitious modes of trial by fire and water ordeals, nor to the barbarous one by single combat, especially in civil causes. He therefore endeavoured to introduce trials by juries, or by the oaths of twelve men of the vicinage, called the *grand assize*, as more rational. With this view he made a law, allowing the defendant, in a plea of right, to support his title, either by single combat, or by a *grand assize*, "which," says Glanvill, "is a benefit granted to the people by the king's clemency, upon consultation with his nobles, in tenderness of life, whereby men might decline the doubtful success of battle, and try the right to their freehold in the other way." This was a great improvement in English jurisprudence, and from hence we may date the more frequent use of juries than in former times.

Though Richard I. spent much of his time out

of the kingdom, and in the toils of war, he was not inattentive to matters of police and law. The laws which he made for the government of his fleet in his voyage to the Holy Land, are truly curious, particularly the last of these laws, which is to this purpose:—"If any one is convicted of theft, let his head be shaved like a champion's; let melted pitch be poured upon it, and feathers shaken over it, that he may be known, and let him be set on shore at the first land to which the ship approaches." To say nothing of the other maritime and mercantile laws, he made some excellent regulations for establishing a uniformity of weights and measures over the whole kingdom. This prince gave also very long and particular directions to the justices itinerant for the regulation of their conduct on their circuits. These directions were contained in two capitularies, one relating to the pleas of the crown, and the other to the affairs of the Jews, who, on account of their numbers and riches, were regarded by government with great attention. Richard I. gave also very particular directions to the justices of his forests, who held forest-courts in all parts of England, at which all archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, as well as persons of inferior rank, were obliged to attend, and answer to interrogatories. These directions, which are too long to be here inserted, set the rigour of the forest-laws in so strong a light, that we need not wonder the barons in the next reign insisted upon some articles being inserted in the Great Charter for mitigating their severity.

Though King John was certainly one of the worst princes that ever filled the throne of England, his reign will be for ever memorable for the melioration of the constitution by the Great Charter of Liberties that was then obtained. His merit, however, in this melioration, was very small, as he contributed to it only by rendering himself odious by his vices, contemptible by his follies, and impotent by his losses, which both constrained and encouraged his subjects to demand, and enabled them to obtain, by means already related, this great palladium of English liberty.

We are indebted to the labours of a learned judge for an accurate history and correct edition of the Great Charter of King John, and of the similar charters of his son Henry III., and grandson Edward I. Of that edition of the charter, a plain and almost literal translation is subjoined, which may be agreeable to some readers.

It is not the province, though it were in the power, of an historian, to give a complete commentary on this famous charter. All the purposes of general history, it is hoped, will be sufficiently answered by a short analysis, pointing out, in a few words, the grievances and hardships that were intended to be removed, with the liberties and privileges that were designed to be granted by the Great Charter of King John. And although this has to a certain extent been done in the narration of the current events of John's reign, it will not be improper, under the present head, to give a more detailed account of this most important national document.

The privileges and liberties that were granted or confirmed to the people of England by this charter, may be divided into these four classes. 1. Those that were granted to the church and clergy. 2. To the earls, barons, knights, and others, who held of the king *in capite*. 3. To cities, towns, and merchants, for the encourage-



ment of trade. 4. To the whole body of freemen. For none of the parties concerned in this charter ever entertained a thought of emancipating slaves or villains; and therefore they are mentioned only once, and that for the benefit of their masters.

As Archbishop Langton, and six other bishops, were at the head of the barons who procured this charter, we may be certain that the interests of the church would not be forgotten. But the power and wealth of the clergy were then so great, and their grievances so few, that they had hardly anything to complain of or to ask. This is no doubt the reason that there are so few articles in the charter, particularly respecting the church and clergy.

The famous constitutions of Clarendon, made by Henry II., A.D. 1164, had been the great object of the execration and horror of the popes, and of those English clergy who were of their party, for half a century before the granting of the Great Charter. There is hardly a name in the Latin language, expressive of abhorrence and detestation, which is not bestowed by the monkish writers of those times on these hated regulations. After a long and violent struggle, in which Archbishop Becket lost his life, Henry II. had been obliged to give up the greatest part of his favourite constitutions. To guard against the restoration of those detested laws, and to eradicate their remains, had been the chief concern of the English clergy for many years. It was evidently with this view that the several articles respecting the church and clergy were inserted in the Great Charter, which seems to be the true key for the right understanding of these articles.

It is declared in the first article, "that the English church shall be free, and have her rights entire, and her liberties unhurt." By the freedom here stipulated for the church of England, we are most probably to understand the exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, to which they had been subjected by the third constitution of Clarendon. This pernicious exemption was contended for by Becket, and the great body of the clergy, as if it had constituted the very essence of Christianity, on which the existence of the church depended; and when they had obtained it, they defended it with equal obstinacy. One of the rights of the church, which is particularly mentioned in this first article, is directly contrary to the twelfth constitution of Clarendon. It is the right which John had granted by a particular charter about a year before, to the monks of cathedral churches and abbeys, freely to choose their own bishops and abbots.

The twenty-second article of the charter seems to indicate very plainly, that the freedom granted to the clergy implied an exemption of their persons as clergymen, and of their benefices belonging to the church, from civil jurisdiction. For by that article it is declared, that no clergyman shall be amerced according to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice, but according to his secular estate. A clergyman, therefore, who had no secular estate, was not liable to be amerced. One reason for inserting that article seems to have been that some clergymen, who had secular estates, had been so unreasonable as to plead, that these estates should be exempted from civil jurisdiction, as well as their ecclesiastical benefices.

None of the constitutions of Clarendon was

more disagreeable to the pope and clergy than the fourth, which prohibited all archbishops, bishops, and clerks, from going out of the kingdom without the king's leave. For by this law the clergy were prevented from prosecuting their appeals and other affairs at the court of Rome, and that court was deprived of much power and riches. This restraint was effectually removed by the forty-second article of the Great Charter, which permitted all persons, the clergy not excepted, to go out of the kingdom and return into it when they pleased.

As the earls, barons, and other military tenants of the crown, were the chief instruments of procuring the Great Charter; there are several articles in it particularly calculated for their relief and benefit, by mitigating some of the most oppressive rigours and abuses of the feudal system of tenures, under which they groaned. These articles, though they were of great importance, will not require much illustration; as the remedy proved by the charter clearly enough points out the evils intended to be remedied.

By the second article of the charter, the reliefs of the heirs of earls, barons, and other military tenants of the crown, are fixed and ascertained according to the ancient rate of reliefs.

By what means this ancient rate of reliefs had been laid aside, we are not informed. But there is sufficient evidence, that, in the late reigns, as well as in that of King John, the reliefs of earls and barons had been arbitrary and uncertain. Henry I. says, in his charter which he granted at his accession, "If any of my earls, barons, or other vassals die, their heirs shall not be obliged to redeem their land, as they were in the time of my brother; but they shall be put in possession of it on paying a just and reasonable relief." Glanvill, who flourished in the reign of Henry II., acquaints us, "that the reliefs for baronies were not fixed; but were according to the pleasure and mercy of the king." This was also the law of Scotland in this period. It is easy to imagine how great an instrument of oppression the uncertainty of reliefs might be in the hands of such princes as William Rufus or King John, and how great an advantage it was to the military tenants of the crown to have them ascertained.

Though the king reaped great profits from the wardship of the heirs of his earls, barons, and other vassals, when they were minors, and ought therefore to have put them in possession of their lands when they came of age, without exacting any relief or payment of any kind, it appears to have been common to demand a fine proportioned to the value of the estate. To correct this abuse, it is declared, (art. 3.) "that when an heir who had been a ward, comes of age, he shall have his inheritance without relief or fine."

Sometimes a king of England, in this period, appointed the sheriff of the county, or some other person, to manage the estate of an earl or baron who was his ward, and to pay the profits arising from it into the exchequer. At other times he sold or granted the wardship, with all its profits, to some particular person. In both these cases, the tenants on the estate of the royal wards were often much oppressed, and the estates wasted, by the managers, the grantees, or purchasers, for their own profit. The persons who had the custody of those estates also permitted the castles, houses, mills, parks, &c. upon them to go to ruin, because they would not be at the expense

of repairs. By the fourth and fifth articles of the Great Charter, some partial remedies are provided against these abuses; in which the most remarkable circumstance is that the managers of these estates are prohibited from wasting the men, as well as the cattle, woods, and other things upon them. This shows, that the unhappy men who were annexed to their estates, were viewed in the same light, by the mighty champions of liberty, the authors of the Great Charter, as the negroes in our plantations are viewed by their proprietors.

If the heirs of earls, barons, and other military tenants of the crown, were liable to great losses in their fortunes from their sovereign's right of wardship, they were liable to still greater injuries from his right of disposing of them in marriage. In consequence of this unnatural right, the heirs and heiresses of the greatest families and fortunes were frequently sold or granted in marriage to persons disagreeable to, or unworthy of them; or were obliged to preserve themselves from so great a calamity, by paying exorbitant fines. To set some bounds to this intolerable tyranny, it was granted by the sixth article of the Great Charter, "that heirs should not be married to their disparagement, or without the knowledge of their relations." But this was evidently too general and indefinite to be an effectual remedy to so great an evil.

Not only heirs and heiresses, but also widows, were subjected to great oppressions by the feudal system. They were often obliged to pay heavy fines to obtain possession of their dower, and for liberty to remain unmarried, or to marry whom they pleased. Thus Maud countess of Warwick, in the thirty-first year of Henry II., gave seven hundred marks to the king, equal in value and efficacy to seven thousand pounds of our money at present, that she might have her dower, and be at liberty to marry whom she pleased. Lucia countess of Chester paid five hundred marks to King Stephen, that she might not be compelled to marry within five years. King John had carried this part of feudal oppression, as well as all the rest, to a greater height than any former prince; for Alicia countess of Warwick paid him no less than one thousand pounds, that she might not be forced to marry till she pleased. The seventh and eighth articles of the Great Charter were intended to restrain these abuses.

While the kings of England acted as if they had been the sole judges both of the quantity of the feudal prestations, of aids, scutages, and tallages, and of the frequency of exacting them (as they often did in this period), the property of their vassals was insecure. For when the king could take any proportion of their goods at any time he pleased, they had, properly speaking, nothing that they could call their own. To prevent this most dangerous abuse in the sovereign, and to prevent his granting permission to inferior feudal lords to be guilty of abusing, in the same manner, their power over their vassals, is the intention of the twelfth and fifteenth articles of the Great Charter. These articles, however, did not prevent those abuses, which were not effectually removed till long after the conclusion of this period.

So very tyrannical and encroaching had some of our princes been, that when the military vassal of an inferior lord happened to hold a small piece of land of the crown by soccage, or burgage-

tenure, they claimed the wardship and marriage of his heir, though they most evidently belonged to the lord of whom he held by military tenure. This most unreasonable claim was relinquished by the thirty-seventh article of the Great Charter.

Because it would have been impossible to enumerate all the various unjust vexations to which the military vassals of the crown were liable, and to provide particular remedies for each of them, a general provision is made in the sixteenth article,—“that no man shall be constrained to do more service for a knight's fee than what is due.” But this provision was too general to be of much use.

Such were the mitigations of some of the greatest rigours of the feudal system, obtained from King John, in this famous charter, by the barons; but none of them were capable of forming an idea of the perfect freedom from all the servilities of that system, which their posterity now enjoy.

One thing which seemed at least to render the above limitations of the power of the sovereign as a feudal lord of greater value, and more universal benefit, was this, that, by the sixtieth article of this famous charter, the same limitations are imposed upon all inferior feudal lords towards their vassals. This article, which was highly reasonable, was probably inserted at the desire of the king; and in the event was so far from extending the benefit of the limitations in the charter, that it contributed not a little to render them ineffectual. For though the great barons were very desirous to prevent the tyrannical exercise of the feudal authority of the sovereign towards themselves, many of them were much inclined to exercise it in that manner towards their vassals, and continued to do so after this charter was granted. This both encouraged our kings to violate all its limitations, and furnished them with a ready answer to all the complaints of their barons. So uncertain are the effects of political regulations, and so different do they sometimes prove in fact, from what they promised in theory.

The great barons in this period had in general little knowledge of trade, and little regard for merchants; besides, the cities and towns of England, for almost a century after the conquest, London and a few others excepted, were very inconsiderable, and many of their inhabitants were little better than slaves to the king, or to the barons in whose territories they were situated. But about the middle of the twelfth century they began to emerge from this obscurity into some degree of consideration. Many small towns were made free burghs by the royal charters of Henry II., Richard I., and King John; and had merchants, guilds, and other fraternities established in them, with various privileges, which soon filled them with inhabitants. Many of these free burghs favoured the cause of the barons. The citizens of London, in particular, embraced their party with so much zeal, that they gave them possession of their city, to which they were chiefly indebted for the success of their enterprise. This was probably the reason that the privileges of cities and towns, and the interests of trade, were not quite neglected in the Great Charter.

It was granted by the thirteenth article of that charter, that the city of London, and all the other cities, burghs, towns, and ports of the kingdom, should enjoy all their liberties and freecustoms,



both by land and water. In times when law and justice had their regular course, such a stipulation would have been thought unnecessary. But this was far from being the case when fines from cities, towns, and corporations, for license to use their legal rights and liberties, constituted a considerable branch of the royal revenue. By the twenty-third article it is declared, that towns shall not be compelled to build bridges or embank rivers, except where they are obliged to it by law. It was probably at the desire of the citizens of London that the thirty-third article was inserted, commanding all craves or wears (then called *keydels*) to be removed out of the rivers Thames and Medway, and other rivers; because they obstructed the navigation of these rivers. This appears plainly from a precept of Henry III. granted about twelve years after this, strictly requiring "that for the common utility of the city of London, all *keydels* in the rivers Thames and Medway, and particularly those near the Tower of London, be immediately removed." It is also probable that the thirty-fifth article, commanding the London measures of wine, ale, and corn, with an uniformity of weights to be observed over all the kingdom, was dictated by the Londoners. Lending money on interest was, in this period, called usury, and prohibited to Christians by the canons of the church, and even by the laws of the land. This branch of business therefore fell entirely into the hands of the Jews, who were the only money lenders, and commonly great extortioners. It was probably at the suggestion of the Londoners, who had borrowed great sums of the Jews, that the tenth article was inserted in the charter, "that money owing to Jews should pay no interest during the minority of the debtor;" though it must be confessed that this article was equally advantageous to feudal superiors who had the wardship of minors.

One of the greatest obstructions to the progress of commerce in this period, was an impolitic and ungenerous jealousy of strangers in general, and of foreign merchants in particular, that prevailed in England, as well as in several other countries. In consequence of this these merchants were subjected to many restraints and hardships. They were not allowed to come into the kingdom but at certain times, nor to stay above forty days, nor to expose their goods to sale, except at certain fairs. They were often obliged to pay great fines to the king for license to trade, and much higher customs and tolls of all kinds than natives. Both their persons and their goods were exposed to great violence when a war happened to break out between England and the country to which they belonged. But about this time juster notions of trade began to be entertained by some persons, most probably by the chief citizens of London, and by their influence, an article (the forty-first), very favourable to foreign merchants both in times of peace and war, was inserted in the Great Charter. The language of this article is so plain that it needs no illustration.

The great barons, who were the chief instruments of procuring this famous charter, may be viewed as acting in the two capacities, first, of the military vassals of the crown; second, of the subjects of the kingdom. They consulted their interest in the first capacity, by the limitations of the rigours of the feudal tenures which they procured, in which all who held lands by military services shared with them. They consulted

their interest in the second capacity by the amendments they procured in the general police of the kingdom, in which all their fellow-subjects, who were freemen, were partakers. These amendments were numerous and important, tending to remove or alleviate the several grievances of which the people in general complained.

The greatest of all the grievances of which the people of England complained in this period, was, that the mere will and arbitrary commands of the sovereign were substituted in the place of law, and men were seized, imprisoned, stripped of their estates, outlawed, banished, and even destroyed, without any trial. That this complaint was not without foundation, might be proved by giving examples of every one of these tyrannical acts; but it will certainly be sufficient to give one example in which they are all included, and that taken from the history of the best prince who reigned in this period. Henry II. was so much enraged against Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, for his opposition to the constitutions of Clarendon, and his flight out of the kingdom, that he apprehended all his relations, friends, and dependants, to the number of four hundred persons, men, women, and children, confiscated all their estates and goods, and banished them out of the kingdom in the middle of winter, A.D. 1165, obliging all the adults among them to take an oath at their departure, that they would go to Sens, and present themselves to the archbishop. All this was done, not only without any trial, but even without any suspicion or possibility of guilt, as many of the sufferers were infants, by the mere arbitrary command of the king, in order to distress the archbishop by the sight of so many persons connected with him by the ties of blood or friendship, ruined on his account, and to oppress him with the charge of their support. To put a stop to such outrageous exertions of arbitrary power, the following concession was made by King John in the thirty-ninth article of his charter: "No freeman shall be apprehended, or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or any other way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land:" the most valuable stipulation in the whole charter, and the grand security of the liberties, persons, and properties of the people of England, which cannot be unjustly invaded if this law is not violated. The expressions,—we will not go upon him,—we will not send upon him,—signify, that the king would not sit in judgment, or pronounce sentence, on any freeman, either in person, or by his judges, except by the verdict of a jury, or by a process conducted according to the established laws of the land. By this last expression, trials by ordeals, by judicial combats, and by compurgators, are probably intended, as these were all in use at this time, and agreeable to law.

Next to the substitution of arbitrary will in the place of law, the king's personal interfering in law-suits depending before his courts, in order to interrupt or pervert the regular course of justice, was one of the greatest grievances of this period. This was done in so public and shameless a manner, that the bribes received by our kings for these iniquitous practices, were regularly entered in the revenue-rolls of every year, and amounted to great sums. To put a stop to this great

abuse, it is promised by King John, in the fourth article of his charter,—“To no man will we sell, to no man will we deny or delay right and justice.”

The people of England also complained, that too many of the judges had neither a competent knowledge of the law, nor a due regard to justice. To remove the ground of these complaints, King John engaged, in article forty-fifth, “We will not make justiciaries, constables of castles, sheriffs, or bailiffs, unless of such as know the law of the kingdom, and are well inclined to observe it.” Still further to secure the lives of the subjects from being endangered by the ignorance or iniquity of inferior judges, it is provided by article twenty-fourth, “That no sheriff, constable of a castle, coroner, or bailiff, shall hold pleas of the crown,” i. e. try capital crimes, or inflict capital punishments.

The ambulatory, unsettled state of the king's court, which constantly attended the royal person, was a great obstruction to the regular administration of justice, and made a revival of the proceedings of inferior courts very hard to be obtained. To remove this inconvenience, it is declared by article seventeenth,—“Common pleas shall not follow our court, but be held in some certain place.” Amerciements for trivial offences, or exorbitant and ruinous ones for real delinquencies, were among the greatest grievances of the people of England in this period. The causes for which amerciements were imposed, were almost innumerable; and as the rates of them were unsettled, and they brought much money into the royal coffers, they were frequently excessive. This was so much the case, that those who were amerced, were said to be *in misericordia regis*, or at the king's mercy. To set some bounds to these oppressions, was the intention of the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second articles of the Great Charter; by which it is declared, that earls and barons shall not be amerced, except by their peers, and that according to the degree of their delinquency; that no freeholder or freeman shall be heavily amerced for a slight default, nor above measure even for a great misdemeanor; still saving to a freeholder his freehold, to a merchant his merchandise, and to a rustic his implements of husbandry. The savings to these different kinds of persons are called in the charter their *contenement*; which signifies such a reservation of their estate and goods, as enabled them to keep their countenance, to live in their former ranks, and pursue their former business. Thus also his arms were the *contenement* of a soldier, his books of a scholar, and, by the laws of Wales, his harp made a part of the *contenement* of a gentleman.

The prerogative of pre-emption of all things necessary for their court and castles, commonly called *purveyance*, which belonged to the kings of England in this period, was a source of infinite vexatious and injuries to their people. This was sometimes owing to the avarice, and sometimes to the official insolence and cruelty, of the purveyors, who attended the court in all its motions. The miseries inflicted on the country by these petty tyrants in the reign of William Rufus, are thus pathetically described by a writer of undoubted credit, who flourished in those times, and beheld the scenes he represents: “Those who attended the court, plundered and destroyed the

whole country through which the king passed, without any control. Some of them were so intoxicated with malice, that when they could not consume all the provisions in the houses which they invaded, they either sold or burnt them. After having washed their horses' feet with the liquors they could not drink, they let them run out on the ground, or destroyed them in some other way. But the cruelties they committed on the masters of families, and the indecencies they offered to their wives and daughters, were too shocking to be described.” Under better princes these enormities were, no doubt, in some degree restrained; but we can hardly suppose that the courtiers and purveyors of King John were much more modest than those of William Rufus. To prevent in some measure those intolerable oppressions, is the design of the twenty-eighth, the thirtieth, and thirty-first articles of the Great Charter.

The fondness, or rather rage, of our ancient kings, for hunting, was productive of many mischiefs to their subjects. Great tracts of country, in almost every county of England, were desolated, and converted into forests, for their game; and these forests, with the game contained in them, were guarded by the most cruel and sanguinary laws. For it was a received doctrine in this period, before the Great Charter was granted, that the king might make what laws he pleased for the protection of his forests; and that in making and executing these laws, he was not under any obligation to observe the ordinary rules of justice. In consequence of this doctrine, the forest-laws were dictated by such a spirit of cruelty, and executed with such severity, that they were great objects of terror, and sources of distress to those who were so unhappy as to live near the precincts of any royal forests. To mitigate in some degree the cruelty of these forest-laws, and the severity with which they were executed, was the intention of the forty-fourth, forty-seventh, and forty-eighth articles of the Great Charter of King John. These articles, however, were soon found to be insufficient to answer the ends for which they were intended: and therefore the barons, in the ninth year of the next reign, obtained a separate charter, called *carta de foresta*, or, *the charter of the forests*, containing more precise and particular regulations.

The Great Charter of King John contains several other articles, besides those on which observations have been made above; but these are either of a temporary or private nature, or relate to law-writs, and forms, long ago obsolete; or are of little importance, or so plain that they need no illustration.

The barons who procured this famous charter, were not ignorant, that the king had granted it with the most extreme reluctance, and therefore they took every precaution they could invent to render it effectual, and to secure the rights and liberties they had obtained. The great seal was not only appended to it in due form, but both the king and the barons took a solemn oath, to observe it in all particulars with good faith, and without any dissimulation. Not contented with this, they obtained authority to elect twenty-five barons to be the conservators of the charter, with power to compel the king, and his ministers, to fulfil all the articles of it, and immediately to redress every violation. To put it out of the king's power to break through his engagements and



to enable the conservators effectually to support the charter, all the king's foreign auxiliaries, which were at this time almost his only strength, were immediately sent out of the kingdom, and the Tower of London was delivered to the conservators.

But it was not till after a very long and bloody struggle that the people of England obtained the peaceable enjoyment of the rights and liberties contained in the Great Charter of King John, and in the similar charters of his successors.

*Translation of the Great Charter of King John, granted June 15th, A.D. 1215, in the seventeenth year of his reign.*

JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to all his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciaries, foresters, sheriffs, commanders, officers, and to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects, wisheth health. Know ye, that we, from our regard to God and for the salvation of our own soul, and of the souls of our ancestors, and of our heirs, to the honour of God, and the exaltation of holy church and amendment of our kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church, Henry archbishop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Winchester, Joceline of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rochester, bishops, master Pandulph, the pope's subdeacon and familiar brother Eymeric master of the knights-templars in England, and of these noble persons, William Marischal earl of Pembroke, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Warren, William earl of Arundel, Allan of Galloway constable of Scotland, Warin Fitz-Gerard, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert de Burgh steward of Poitou, Hugh de Nevill, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Basset, Allan Basset, Philip de Albany, Robert de Koppel, John Marischal, John Fitz-Hugh, and of others of our liegemen, have granted to God, and by this our present charter, have confirmed, for us and our heirs for ever:—1. That the English church shall be free, and shall have her whole rights and her liberties unhurt; and I will this to be observed in such a manner that it may appear from thence, that the freedom of elections, which was reputed most necessary to the English church, which we granted, and by our charter confirmed, and obtained the confirmation of it from Pope Innocent III., before the rupture between us and our barons, was of our own free will. Which charter we shall observe; and we will it to be observed with good faith, by our heirs for ever. We have also granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be enjoyed and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.—2. If any of our earls or barons, or others who hold of us in chief by military service, shall die, and at his death his heir shall be of full age, and shall owe a relief, he shall have his inheritance for the ancient relief, viz. the heir or heirs of an earl, a whole earl's barony, for one hundred pounds: the heir or heirs of a baron, a whole barony for one hundred

pounds;\* the heir or heirs of a knight, a whole knight's fee, for one hundred shillings at most; and he who owes less, shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.—3. But if the heir of any such be under age, and in wardship, when he comes to age he shall have his inheritance without relief and without fine.—4. The warden of an heir who is under age, shall not take of the lands of the heir any but reasonable issues and reasonable customs and reasonable services, and that without destruction and waste of the men or goods: and if we commit the custody of any such lands to a sheriff, or to any other person who is bound to answer to us for the issues of them, and he shall make destruction or waste upon the ward-lands, we will recover damages from him, and the lands shall be committed to two legal and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer for the issues to us, or to him to whom we have assigned them: and if we granted or sold to any one the custody of any such lands, and he shall make destruction or waste, he shall lose the custody; and it shall be committed to two legal and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer to us in like manner as was said before.—5. Besides, the warden, as long as he hath the custody of the lands, shall keep in order the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things belonging to them, out of their issues; and shall deliver to the heir, when he is at age, his whole estate provided with plough and other implements of husbandry, according to what the season requires, and the profits of the lands can reasonably afford. 6. Heirs shall be married without disparagement, and so that before the marriage is contracted, it shall be notified to the relations of the heir by consanguinity.—7. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall immediately, and without difficulty, have her marriage goods and her inheritance; nor shall she give anything for her dower, or her marriage goods, or her inheritance, which her husband and she held on the day of his death. And she may remain in her husband's house forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned. No widow shall be compelled to marry herself while she chooses to live without a husband, but so that she shall give security that she will not marry herself, without our consent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.—9. Neither we nor our bailiffs shall seize any land or rents for any debt, while the chattels of the debtor are sufficient for the payment of the debt; nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained, while the principal debtor is able to pay the debt; and if the principal debtor fail in payment of the debt, not having wherewith to pay, the sureties shall answer for the debt; and if they please, they shall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until satisfaction be made to them for the debt which they had before paid for him, unless the principal debtor can show that he is discharged from it by the said sureties.—10. If any one hath borrowed anything from the Jews, more or less, and dies before that debt is paid, the debt shall pay no interest as long as the heir shall be under age, of whomsoever he holds; and if that debt shall fall into our hands, we will not take anything, except the chattels contained in the bond.—11. And if any one dies indebted to the

\* This is marks in Matthew Paris, which is probably the right reading.

Jews, his wife shall have her dower, and shall pay nothing of that debt; and if children of the defunct remain who are under age, necessities shall be provided for them, according to the tenement which belonged to the defunct; and out of the surplus the debt shall be paid, saving the rights of the lords of whom the lands are held. The same rules shall be observed with respect to debts owing to others than Jews.—12. No scutage or aid shall be imposed, except by the common council of our kingdom, but for redeeming our body,—for making our eldest son a knight, and for once marrying our eldest daughter; and for these only a reasonable aid shall be demanded. This extends to the aids of the city of London. And the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties, and its free customs, as well by land as by water. Besides, we will and grant, that all other cities and burghs, and towns and sea-ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs.—14. And to have a common council of the kingdom, to assess and aid, otherwise than in the three foresaid cases, or to assess a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons, personally, by our letters; and besides, we will cause to be summoned in general by our sheriffs and bailiffs all those who hold of us in chief, to a certain day, at the distance of forty days at least, and to a certain place; and in all the letters of summons, we will express the cause of the summons; and the summons being thus made, the business shall go on at the day appointed, according to the advice of those who shall be present, although all who had been summoned have not come.—15. We will not give leave to any one, for the future, to take an aid of his freemen, except for redeeming his own body, making his eldest son a knight, and marrying once his eldest daughter; and that only a reasonable aid.—16. Let none be distrained to do more service for a knight's fee, nor for any other free tenement, than what is due from thence.—17. Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some certain place. Assizes upon the writs of *Novel disseisin*, *Mortdancer* (death of the ancestor), and *Darrien presentment* (last presentation), shall not be taken but in their proper counties, and in this manner. We, or our chief justiciary when we are out of the kingdom, shall send two justiciaries into each county, four times a-year, who, with four knights of each county, chosen by the county, shall take the aforesaid assizes, at a stated time and place, within the county.—18. And if the aforesaid assizes cannot be taken on the day of the county-court, let as many knights and freeholders, of those who were present at the county-court, remain behind, as by them the aforesaid assizes may be taken, according to the greater or less importance of the business.—20. A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offence; but only according to the degree of the offence; and for a great delinquency, according to the magnitude of the delinquency, saving his contentment; a merchant shall be amerced in the same manner, saving his merchandise, and a villein, saving his implements of husbandry. If they fall into our mercy, none of the foresaid americiaments shall be assessed, but by the oath of honest men of the vicinage.—21. Earls and barons shall not be amerced but by their peers, and that only according to the degree of their delinquency.—22. No clerk shall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to

the manner of others as aforesaid, and not according to the quantity of his ecclesiastical benefice.—23. Neither a town nor a particular person shall be distrained to build bridges or embankments, except those who anciently, and of right, are bound to do it.—24. No sheriff, constable, coroner, or bailiff of ours, shall hold pleas of our crown.—25. All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and tithings, shall be at the ancient rent, without any increment, except our demesne-mauours.—26. If any one holding of us a lay-fee dies, and the sheriff or our bailiff shall show our letters-patent of our summons for a debt which the defunct owed to us, it shall be lawful for the sheriff or our bailiff to attach and register the chattels of the defunct found on that fee, to the amount of that debt, at the view of lawful men, so that nothing shall be removed from thence until our debt is paid to us. The clear overplus shall be left to the executors to fulfil the last will of the defunct; and if nothing is owing to us by him, all the chattels shall fall to the defunct, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.—27. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by his nearest relations and friends, at the view of the church, saving to every one the debts which the defunct owed to him.—28. No constable or bailiff of ours shall take the corn or other goods of any one, without instantly paying money for them, unless he can obtain respite from the free will of the seller.—29. No constable (governor of a castle) shall distrain any knight to give money for castle-guard, if he is willing to perform it by his own person, or by another good man if he cannot perform it himself, for a reasonable cause. Or if we have carried or sent him into the army, he shall be excused from castle-guard, according to the space of time he hath been in the army at our command.—30. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other person, shall take the horses or carts of any freeman, to perform carriages, without the consent of the said freeman.—31. Neither we, nor our bailiffs, shall take another man's wood, for our castles or other uses, without the consent of him to whom the wood belongs.—32. We will not retain the lands of those who have been convicted of felony, above one year and one day, and then they shall be given up to the lord of the fee.—33. All *kydells* (wears) for the future shall be quite removed out of the Thames, the Medway, and through all England, except on the sea-coast.—34. The writ which is called *Precipe* for the future shall not be granted to any one concerning any tenement by which a freeman may lose his court.—35. There shall be one measure of wine through all our kingdom, and one measure of ale, and one measure of corn, viz. the quarter of London; and one breadth of dyed-cloth and of russets, and of halberjects, viz. two ells within the lists. It shall be the same with weights as with measures.—36. Nothing shall be given or taken for the future for the writ of inquisition of life or limb; but it shall be given gratis, and not denied.—37. If any hold of us by fee-farm, or soccage, or burgage, and holds an estate of another by military service, we shall not have the custody of the heir, or of his land, which is of the fee of another, on account of that fee-farm, or soccage, or burgage, unless the fee-farm owes military service. We shall not have the custody of the heir, or of the land of any one, which he holds of another by military service, on account of any



petty serjeantry which he holds of us by giving us knives, arrows, or the like.—38. No bailiff, for the future, shall put any man to his law, upon his own simple affirmation, without credible witnesses produced to that purpose.—39. No freeman shall be seized, or imprisoned or disseised, or outlawed, or any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.—40. To none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right or justice.—41. All merchants shall be safe and secure in coming into England, and going out of England, and staying and travelling through England, as well by land as by water, to buy and to sell, without any unjust exactions, according to ancient and right customs, except in time of war, and if they be of a country at war against us. And if such are found in our dominions at the beginning of a war, they shall be apprehended without injury of their bodies and goods, until it be known to us, or to our chief justiciary, how the merchants of our country are treated in the country at war against us; and if ours are safe there, the others shall be safe in our country.—42. It shall be lawful to any person for the future to go out of our kingdom, and to return safely and securely, by land and by water, saving his allegiance, except in time of war, for some short space, for the common good of the kingdom, except prisoners, outlaws according to the law of the land, and people of the nation at war against us, and merchants who shall be treated as is said above.—43. If any one holdeth of any escheat, as of the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other escheats which are in our hands, and shall die, his heir shall not give any other relief, or do any other service to us, than he should have done to the baron, if that barony had been in the hands of the baron; and we will hold it in the same manner that the baron held it.—44. Men who dwell without the forest, shall not come, for the future, before our justiciaries of the forest, on a common summons, unless they be parties in a plea, or sureties for some person or persons who are attached for the forest.—45. We will not make men justiciaries, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, unless they understand the law of the land, and are well disposed to observe it.—46. All barons who have founded abbeys, of which they have charters of the kings of England, or ancient tenure, shall have the custody of them when they become vacant, as they ought to have.—47. All forests which have been made in our time, shall be immediately disforested; and it shall be so done with water-banks, which have been made in our time, in defiance.—48. All evil customs of forests and warrens, and of foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, water-banks, and their keepers, shall immediately be inquired into by twelve knights of the same county, upon oath, who shall be chosen by the good men of the same county; and within forty days after the inquisition is made, they shall be quite destroyed by them never to be restored; provided that this be notified to us before it is done, or to our justiciary, if we are not in England.—49. We will immediately restore all hostages and charters, which have been delivered to us by the English, in security of the peace, and of their faithful service. We will remove from their offices the relations of Gerard de Athyes, that, for the future, they shall have no office in

England, England de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyone de Chancell, Gyone de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin, and his brothers; Philip Mark, and his brothers; and Geoffrey his grandson; and all their followers.—51. And immediately after the conclusion of the peace, we will remove out of the kingdom all foreign knights, cross-bowmen, and stipendiary soldiers, who have come with horses and arms to the molestation of the kingdom.—52. If any have been disseised or dispossessed by us, without a legal verdict of their peers, or their lands, castles, liberties or rights, we will immediately restore these things to them; and if a question shall arise on this head, it shall be determined by the verdict of the twenty-five barons, who shall be mentioned below, for the security of the peace. But as to all those things of which any one hath been disseised or dispossessed, without a legal verdict of his peers, by King Henry our father, or King Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or others hold with our warrants, we shall have respite, until the common term of the Croisaders, except those concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquisition taken, by our precept, before our taking the cross. But as soon as we shall return from our expedition, or if by chance we shall not go upon our expedition, we shall immediately do complete justice thereon.—53. But we shall have the same respite, and in the same manner, concerning the justice to be done about disforesting or continuing the forests which Henry our father, or Richard our brother, had made; and about the wardship of lands which are of the fee of some other person, but the wardship of which we have hitherto had, on account of a fee which some one held of us by military service; and about abbeys which had been founded in the fee of another, and not in ours, in which abbeys the lord of the fee hath claimed a right. And when we shall have returned, or if we shall stay from our expedition, we shall immediately do complete justice in all these pleas.—54. No man shall be apprehended or imprisoned on the *appeal of a woman*, for the death of any other man, than her husband.—55. All fines that have been made with us unjustly, or contrary to the law of the land; and all americiaments that have been imposed unjustly, or contrary to the law of the land, shall be remitted, or disposed of by the verdict of the twenty-five barons of whom mention is made below for the security of the peace, or by the verdict of the major part of them, together with the aforesaid Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and others whom he may think fit to bring with him; and if he cannot be present, the business shall proceed notwithstanding without him; but so, that if one or more of the aforesaid twenty-five barons have a similar plea, let them be removed from that particular trial, and others, elected and sworn by the residue of the same twenty-five, be substituted in their room, only for that trial.—56. If we have disseised or dispossessed any Welshman of their land, liberties or other things, without a legal verdict of their peers, in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them; and if a question shall arise about it, then let it be determined in the marches by the verdict of their peers; if the tenement be in England, according to the law of England; if the tenement be in Wales, according to the law of Wales; if the tenement be in the marches, according to the law of the marches.

The welsh shall do the same to us and our subjects.—57. But concerning those things of which any Welshman hath been disseised or dispossessed without a legal verdict of his peers, by King Henry our father, or King Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or others hold with our warranty, we shall have respite, until the common term of the Croisaders, except those concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquisition taken, by our precept, before our taking the cross. But as soon as we shall return from our expedition; or if by chance we shall not go upon our expedition, we shall immediately do complete justice therein, according to the laws of Wales, and the parts aforesaid.—58. We will immediately deliver up the son of Leweline, and all the hostages of Wales, and charters which have been given to us for security of the peace.—59. We shall do to Alexander king of Scotland, concerning the restoration of his sisters and hostages, and his liberties and rights, according to the form in which we act to our other barons of England, unless it ought to be otherwise by charters which we have from his father William, late king of Scotland, and that by the verdict of his peers in our court.—60. But all these aforesaid customs and liberties which we have granted in our kingdom, to be held by our tenants, as far as concerns us, all our clergy and laity shall observe towards their tenants, as far as concerns them.—61. But since we have granted all these things aforesaid, for God, and to the amendment of our kingdom, and for the better extinguishing the discord arisen between us and our barons, being desirous that these things should possess entire and unshaken stability for ever, we give and grant to them the security underwritten, viz. That the barons may elect twenty-five barons of the kingdom, whom they please, who shall with their whole power, observe and keep, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties which we have granted to them, and have confirmed by this our present charter, in this manner. That if we, or our justiciary, or our bailiffs, or any of our officers, shall have injured any one in any thing, or shall have violated any article of the peace or security, and the injury shall have been shown to four of the aforesaid twenty-five barons, these four barons shall come to us, or to our justiciary if we are out of the kingdom, and making known to us the excess committed, require that we cause that excess to be redressed without delay; and if we shall not have redressed the excess, or, if we have been out of the kingdom, our justiciary shall not have redressed it within the term of forty days, computing from the time in which it shall have been made known to us, or to our justiciary if we have been out of the kingdom, the aforesaid four barons shall lay that cause before the residue of the twenty-five barons; and these twenty-five barons, with the community of the whole land, shall distress and harass us by all the ways in which they can, that is to say, by the taking of our castles, lands, and possessions, and by other means in their power, until the excess shall have been redressed, according to their verdict; saving our person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when it hath been redressed, they shall behave to us as they had done before; and whoever of our land pleaseth, may swear, that he will obey the commands of the aforesaid twenty-five barons, in accomplishing all the things aforesaid, and that with them he will

harass us to the utmost of his power: and we publicly and freely give leave to every one to swear who is willing to swear; and we will never forbid any man to swear. But all those of our land, who, of themselves, and their own accord, are unwilling to swear to the twenty-five barons, to distress and harass us together with them, we will compel them by our command to swear as aforesaid. And if any one of the twenty-five barons shall die, or remove out of the land, or in any other way shall be prevented from executing the things above said, those who remain of the twenty-five barons shall elect another in his place, according to their pleasure, who shall be sworn in the same manner as the rest. But in all those things which are appointed to be done by these twenty-five barons, if it happen that all the twenty-five have been present, and have differed in their opinions about anything, or if some of them who had been summoned would not, or could not be present, that which the major part of those who were present shall have provided and decreed, shall be held as firm and valid, as if all the twenty-five had agreed in it. And the aforesaid twenty-five shall swear, that they will faithfully observe, and, to the utmost of their power, cause to be observed, all things mentioned above. And we will obtain nothing from any one, by ourselves, or by another, by which any of these concessions and liberties may be revoked or diminished. And if any such thing hath been obtained, let it be void and null; and we will never use it, either by ourselves or by another.—61. And we have fully remitted and pardoned to all men, all the ill-will, rancour, and resentments which have arisen between us and our subjects, both clergy and laity, from the commencement of the discord. Besides, we have fully remitted to all the clergy and laity, and as far as belongs to us, we have fully pardoned all transgressions committed on occasion of the said discord, from Easter, in the sixteenth year of our reign, to the conclusion of the peace. And, moreover, we have caused to be made to them testimonial letters patent of my Lord Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, my Lord Henry, archbishop of Dublin, and of the aforesaid bishops, and of Master Pandulf, concerning this security, and the aforesaid concessions. Wherefore, our will is, and we firmly command, that the church of England be free, and that the men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and entirely, to them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places for ever as aforesaid. An oath hath been taken, as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all these things mentioned above shall be observed in good faith, and without any evil intention, before the above-named witnesses, and many others. Given by our hand in the meadow, which is called *Runingmed*, between Windsor and Staines, this fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.



## SECTION III.

*The History of Learning in Great Britain, from the landing of William Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066, to the death of King John, A.D. 1216.*

NATIONS are liable to various revolutions in the state of their minds and extent of their knowledge, as well as in their power and wealth, and other external circumstances. The same people, who, in one period, are grossly ignorant, and even regard all literary pursuits with supreme contempt, in another period become ingenious and inquisitive, and apply to the cultivation of the sciences with the greatest ardour. This is a revolution more to their honour than the greatest victories, and therefore certainly merits a place in history. We have seen the inhabitants of Britain involved in that profound darkness which covered the face of Europe, and almost of the whole world, for several ages after the fall of the western empire. We shall now see the day of science beginning to dawn upon them: faintly indeed at first, and liable now and then to be overcast, but never quite extinguished.

Of the period we are now considering it will be necessary to give only a brief account. 1. Of the several sciences that were cultivated—the improvements that were made in them—and the reasons of these improvements; 2. Of the most considerable men of learning who flourished; 3. Of the chief seminaries of learning that were founded, or improved, in the course of this period.

*Of the Sciences cultivated from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1216.*

Though the ancient division of the sciences into the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, is frequently mentioned by the writers of the twelfth century, it does not seem to have been strictly adhered to in the schools. For there is sufficient evidence, that all the following parts of learning were cultivated, in some degree, in Britain, in this period, viz. grammar, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, physics, ethics, scholastic divinity, the canon law, the civil law, the common law, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, and medicine. Of the state of all these branches of learning in Britain in the times we are now delineating, it is proper to take a short view.

Grammar, or the study of languages, was prosecuted by many persons with much ardour and no little success. The languages that were chiefly studied in England in this period, were the French and Latin, the former being the language of the court, and the latter that of the church. "William the Conqueror (says Ingulphus, who was his friend and secretary) had so great an abhorrence of the English language, that he commanded all the laws and law proceedings to be in French; and even the children at school were taught the first elements of grammar and letters in French, and not in English." All Englishmen therefore who wished to appear at court, to converse with the great, or to be fit for any office, were under a necessity of acquiring the French language. But the Latin language was studied with still greater keenness by all who were of any learned profession, or aspired to any reputation for learning; because it was not only the lan-

guage of the liturgies of the church, but that in which all the sciences were taught, all books were composed, all accounts were kept, all letters of business or compliment were written, in which all scholars daily conversed, many of the clergy preached, not only before synods and councils, but even to the common people. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to his nephew of the same name, writes to this purpose.

"I command and charge you not to be idle, but to prosecute daily those studies for which I left you in England. In particular, study to know all the elegancies of grammar; accustom yourself to write something every day, especially in prose; and labour to acquire a plain and rational, rather than an intricate way of writing. Speak always in Latin, except in cases of absolute necessity."

We have some reason to believe, that even the colloquial Latin of scholars in this period was tolerably pure and elegant. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions it as a very uncommon thing, that an old hermit, with whom he frequently conversed, did not speak Latin very correctly, but sometimes violated the rules of grammar. Some of the learned in this period had attained a very surprising facility in speaking and writing Latin. Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, asserts, that the bishop of Bath, to whom he writes, the archbishop of Canterbury, and several others, had seen him dictate letters in Latin, to three different scribes, on different subjects, and write a letter in the same language himself, at the same time. It appears from the writings of several authors of the twelfth century, particularly of John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois, that they were intimately acquainted with the Latin classics, as they not only quote them very frequently, and with great propriety, but also imitate their style and manner with considerable success. These writers too recommend the study of grammar with the greatest warmth, and bestow upon it the highest praises. "Grammar, which is the science of speaking and writing well, is the first of all the liberal arts and sciences; the nurse, if I may so speak, of all philosophy, and of every literary study. She receives them at their birth, from the womb of nature, in a tender state, cherishes them in their infancy, with a mother's care, gradually improves their strength, attends and adorns them in every period of their progress. To philosophise successfully, without grammar, is as impossible as without both eyes and ears." In a word, whoever has perused the works of the divines, historians, and philosophers, who wrote in France and England in the twelfth century, will readily acknowledge the truth of the following declaration of one of the most learned writers of literary history: "Before we descend to particulars, we may affirm in general, that the latinity of no age, from the decline to the revival of learning, was so terse and elegant as that of the twelfth century."

The Greek and Hebrew languages were very far from being so much studied, or so well or so generally understood in Britain, in this period, as the Latin. But as many Jews resided and taught in England, their ancient language could not be unknown. Plain evidences of some acquaintance with it, as well as with the Greek, appear in the works of Peter of Blois, John of Salisbury, and several others. But by how many and in what degree the Hebrew and Greek languages were then understood in Britain, we are not well informed. We meet with only two

Englishmen in this period who were famous for their knowledge of the Arabian language. These were Adelard of Bath, and Robert of Reading, who returned into England in the reign of Henry I., after they had spent several years in the East in learning that language, and translating books out of it into Latin.

From the study of grammar, or the art of speaking correctly, the youth of those times generally proceeded to the study of rhetoric, or the art of speaking eloquently. This part of learning was neglected, and even represented as unnecessary and useless, by some philosophers of this period, who spent their whole time, and employed all the powers of their minds, on the subtleties of Aristotelian logic, which was then the most admired and fashionable study. "Eloquence," said they, "is either given or denied by nature. If it is given, all pains about it are unnecessary; if it is denied, all pains to acquire it will be in vain." But the necessity and many advantages of the study of eloquence were most elegantly displayed both in prose and verse, by several writers of those times, particularly by John of Salisbury and Alan de Lisie. "The gifts of nature," says the former, "are necessary; but they are not sufficient to make a complete orator without art and study. There is no natural genius so strong, that negligence will not enfeeble; nor so sublime, that it will not depress. No man ever attained the reputation of being superlatively eloquent, even in one language, by the mere force of natural genius, without the help of art. For he is not to be esteemed eloquent who can speak with tolerable ease and fluency, and so as to be understood. He alone is eloquent, who can express the thoughts of his mind, and the feelings of his heart, with so much sweetness, power, and energy, as not only to convince and persuade, but to charm and transport his hearers with delight. How admirable an accomplishment is this! If wisdom and virtue merit the first place in our esteem, eloquence undoubtedly claims the second. How honourable is it to excel in the powers of reason and perfections of speech, which are the peculiar excellencies of human nature? How ornamental is eloquence in youth? how venerable in old age? how profitable in every stage of life? Who attain to fame and admiration, to riches, honours, and preferments, to the direction of all assemblies, and success in all undertakings, with so much ease and certainty as the eloquent."—Bulæus, in his history of the university of Paris, gives several examples of eloquence from the French and English writers of the twelfth century, some of which are truly excellent, and would do honour to any age; but they are too long to be here inserted.

From rhetoric the youth of this period proceeded to the study of logic, on which they employed much time and labour. Ingulphus acquaints us, that after he had made himself a perfect master of the first and second book of Tully's *Rhetoric*, he applied to the study of Aristotle's logic, and made greater proficiency in it than many of his contemporaries. This is a sufficient proof that the logic of Aristotle was studied by many of the English youth at the very beginning of this period, and even a little before. For Ingulphus had left Oxford, and settled in the court of William Duke of Normandy, several years before the conquest. The truth is, that from about the middle of the eleventh century, the philosophy, and par-

ticularly the logic of Aristotle, became so much in vogue, both in France and England, that it was studied with great ardour, not only by all men who made any pretensions to learning, but even by some ladies of the highest rank. The same Ingulphus tells us, that Edgitha, the amiable consort of Edward the Confessor, after she had examined him in Latin prose and verse, often proceeded to attack him with the subtleties of logic, in which she very much excelled; and when she had entangled him with her acute and artful arguments, and obtained the victory, she always dismissed him with a present of some pieces of money. It is well known, that the fair unfortunate Eloisa, so much beloved by the accomplished Peter Abelard, was one of the most acute logicians of the twelfth century. The fondness of the learned for the Aristotelian logic increased so much in the course of this century, that many persons spent their whole lives in the study of it, and it was esteemed the most necessary and excellent of all the sciences. But very unfortunately, this admired science, which had the discovery and establishment of truth for its professed object, soon degenerated into mere sophistry, and deserved no better name than that of the art of quibbling. "I wish (says John of Salisbury) to behold the light of truth, which these logicians say is only revealed to them. I approach them, I beseech them to instruct me, that, if possible, I may become as wise as one of them. They consent, they promise great things, and at first they command me to observe a Pythagorean silence, that I may be admitted into all the secrets of wisdom, which they pretend are in their possession. But by and by they permit, and even command, me to prattle and quibble with them. This they call disputing, this they say is logic; but I am no wiser." The truth seems to be, that many studious men, in this period, by spending too much time, and employing too intense thought, on logical subtleties, run into the two extremes, of speculating sometimes on things too high and difficult, and at other times on things too low and contemptible, for human investigation. That they run into the first of these extremes there is the clearest evidence, as we find among the subjects of their investigations and disputes,—of the substantial form of sounds,—of the essence of universals, &c. &c. That they sometimes fell into the latter extreme, is no less evident, from the many ridiculous trifling questions that were keenly agitated by them, of which the following one may serve for an example: when a hog is carried to market with a rope tied about its neck, which is held at the other end by a man, whether is the hog carried to market by the rope or by the man. This appears to us to be too ridiculous to be mentioned; but it appeared in a very serious light to the logicians of this period, who declared with great gravity, that it was one of those questions that could not be solved, the arguments on both sides were so perfectly equal. In a word, the far greatest part of the questions that were investigated by the logicians of those times, as John of Salisbury justly observes, "were of no use, in the church or the state, in the cloister or the court, in peace or war, at home or abroad, or any where but in the schools."

The metaphysics and natural philosophy of this period, though they were taught with much parade, and studied with much diligence, do not



deserve the name of sciences, or merit the attention of posterity. They consisted of a prodigious number of abstract and subtle speculations, about entity and non-entity, spirit, primary matter, body, substance, accidents, substantial forms, occult qualities, solidity, extension, cohesion, rest, motion, time, place, number, magnitude, &c. which contributed nothing to the real knowledge of nature, or benefit of human life. Adelard of Bath, already mentioned for his skill in the Arabian language, published a dialogue, on the causes of things, between him and his nephew, who, he said, read lectures on that subject, rather perplexing than instructing his hearers. Philip de Tahn, about the same time, composed a work on the nature of beasts, for the instruction of Alicia, the second queen of Henry I., which gives a very unfavourable view of the state of natural philosophy, as it is wholly fanciful, and turns every thing into allegory. Henry II., who was a great patron of learning and learned men, sent Giraldus Cambrensis into Ireland, to examine the natural history of that country. His topography of Ireland (the writing of which, he says, was the labour of three years) was the consequence of this commission; and shows how ill qualified he was for the task in which he was engaged, by the great number of ridiculous incredible stories with which it abounds. To give one example of this, out of a hundred that might be given: "When St. Kewen (says he) was one day praying with both his hands held up to heaven, out of the window of his chamber, a swallow laid an egg in one of them; and such was the patience and good-nature of the saint, that he neither drew in nor shut his hand till the swallow had built her nest, laid all her eggs, and hatched her young. To preserve the remembrance of this fact, every statue of St. Kewen in Ireland hath a swallow in one of its hands."

The observations that have now been made on the metaphysics and natural philosophy, may be applied to the ethics or moral philosophy of this period. This science was esteemed an important part of a learned education, and as such it was taught and studied; but in so improper a manner that it contributed very little to enlighten the mind, to amend the heart, or to regulate the manners. Taking Aristotle for their guide in this, as well as in logics and physics, they disputed with much warmth and subtilty about liberty and necessity,—about the means, the ends, the acts of moral philosophy,—whether it was a practical or speculative science, &c. &c.; but took little pains to show the foundations of moral obligation, or to illustrate the nature, limits, and motives, of the various duties of men and citizens. This mode of philosophising was severely censured by John of Salisbury in many places. "They err (says he), they imprudently err, who think that virtue consists of words, as a wood of trees. No! good actions are the glory of virtue, and the inseparable companions of true philosophy. But those men who are fonder of the reputation than the reality of wisdom, are noisy and contentious; they run about the streets, they frequent the schools, they start a thousand frivolous and perplexing questions, and confound both themselves and others by a deluge of words."

That extravagant fondness for Aristotelian logic, which was the reigning taste of this period, and of some succeeding ages, infected all the sciences in some degree; but most of all, divinity. It was

this that produced that species of theology which was so long admired, and is so well known by the name of *school-divinity*, and its teachers by the title of *the school-men*. When these divines composed commentaries on the Scriptures, it was not with a view to explain the real meaning of the words, or to illustrate the truths that they contained, but in order to extract certain mystical or allegorical senses out of them, and to found certain curious questions upon them for subjects of disputation. An incredible multitude of such commentaries were written in those times, which have been long ago consigned a prey to worms and dust. But the chief delight and business of the school-men was to write voluminous systems of divinity, consisting of a prodigious number of questions on all subjects, which they discussed with the greatest logical acuteness. Some of these questions were bold and impious, others trifling and curious, and not a few obscene. With their obscenities and impieties, which are truly horrid, these pages shall not be stained; and their frivolities are so ridiculous, that they are quite unworthy of a place in history. Their curiosity, though excessive, and far from being innocent, was neither so criminal as the former, nor so ridiculous as the latter, and therefore a few examples of it may be given. They canvassed, with great eagerness, the following questions, among a thousand others of the same kind:—Was Christ the same between his death and resurrection, that he was before his death and after his resurrection? Doth the glorified body of Christ stand or sit in heaven? Is the body of Christ that is eaten in the sacrament, dressed or undressed? Were the clothes in which Christ appeared to his disciples after his resurrection real or only apparent, &c. &c.

The bishops of Rome had long been engaged in the ambitious project of erecting a spiritual monarchy, superior to all others, even in worldly power. With this view they had assembled many councils, composed of prelates from all Christian countries, in which they had enacted many laws, commonly called canons, for the government of that monarchy. This obliged the bishops, and their officials, to make the canons of the church their study, in order to direct them when they acted as judges in their spiritual courts. But it was not till after the publication of the decretals of Gratian, about the middle of the twelfth century, that the canon law attained the rank of a science, and was taught and studied in the schools. It soon became the most fashionable study among the clergy, as it was found to pave their way to the highest honours and the richest benefices. Long before the end of this period, it was taught with great applause and profit at Oxford, Paris, Orleans, and many other places. But the subtilties of the Aristotelian logic gave a tincture to this as well as to the other sciences, which made John of Salisbury complain,—"That the laws themselves were become traps and snares, in which plain honest men, who were unacquainted with logical quirks and subtilties, were caught." Peter of Blois speaks with still greater severity of some students and practitioners in the canon law—"It is the chief study of the ecclesiastical judges of our days, to multiply litigations, to invent delays, to invalidate contracts, to suppress truth, to encourage falsehood, to increase extortions, and, in a word, to confound all law and justice, by their quirks and subtilties."

The study of the Roman or civil law, was introduced into England about the same time with that of the canon law. From the departure of the Romans, their laws were little known, and of no authority in this island, for more than seven hundred years. But the study of them having been revived at Bononia, Paris, and other seminaries of learning on the continent, about A.D. 1130, it soon after made its way into England. A copy of the Justinian code, as hath been already observed, was brought from Rome by some of the family of Archbishop Theobald, A.D. 1140; and a few years after, Roger Vacarius, prior of Beck in Normandy, opened a school at Oxford, in which he read lectures on the civil law to very crowded audiences. But King Stephen, A.D. 1149, imposed silence on Vacarius; who returned into Normandy, and was chosen abbot of Beck. A kind of persecution was raised against the professors and students of the civil law, by the common lawyers, and others; but John of Salisbury says, "That, by the blessing of God, the more the study of it was persecuted, the more it flourished." Henry II., who succeeded Stephen, being a much greater politician, was far from discouraging the study of the civil law; which, in conjunction with that of the canon law, prevailed very much in the universities, but still more in the cathedral schools. We learn from a very curious letter of Peter of Blois, that the most intricate and knotty questions in law and politics were sometimes referred to the teachers and students of the civil and canon law in the family of Archbishop Theobald, or archiepiscopal school of Canterbury: "In the house of my master, the archbishop of Canterbury, there are several very learned men, famous for their knowledge of law and politics, who spend the time between prayers and dinner in lecturing, disputing, and debating causes. To us all the knotty questions of the kingdom are referred, which are produced in the common hall, and every one in his order, having first prepared himself, declares, with all the eloquence and acuteness of which he is capable, but without wrangling, what is wisest and safest to be done. If God suggests the soundest opinion to the youngest amongst us, we all agree to it without envy or detraction."

Though the common law of England was not yet taught in the schools as a science, it was studied with great diligence as a profession; and many persons, by their skill in it, acquired both fame and wealth, and obtained the highest offices in the state. The greatest number of these professional lawyers were clergymen, though some of the laity, as, particularly, Aubrey de Vere, who flourished in the reign of King Stephen, and Ranulph de Glanville, who was chief justiciary to Henry II. and Richard I., are much celebrated for their knowledge of the common law. The last of these sages composed a kind of system of the common law, with this title, *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliæ*. But it was not till some time after the conclusion of this period that the law-college of London, commonly called the *Inns of Court*, was established; which contributed very much to the improvement of this useful and lucrative branch of learning.

As the subtleties of Aristotelian logic could not be applied with success to numerical calculations or mathematical demonstrations, these sciences do not seem to have been much studied, or improved, in this period; and therefore a

few short observations on the state of them will be sufficient.

Nothing ever contributed so much to facilitate arithmetical operations, as the invention of the Arabian figures for representing numbers. But whether these figures were known and used in Britain in this period, is a little doubtful. From the revenue-tolls of Henry II., Richard I., and King John, it appears that they were not then used in the Exchequer; for all the sums in these rolls are marked in Roman letters. But the learned Dr. Wallis has produced several authorities, which make it very probable, that the Arabian arithmetic, called *algorism*, performed by the Arabian figures, was known to some learned men in England in the twelfth century; and indeed it is hardly possible that Adelard of Bath, Robert of Reading, and several others, who travelled into Spain, Egypt, and other countries, in the course of that century, to make themselves masters of the Arabian language and learning, could have returned without some knowledge of these figures.

Though the Elements of Euclid, and several other treatises on geometry, were translated out of the Greek and Arabian languages into Latin in this period, we have the clearest evidence that this most useful science was very little studied. "The science of demonstration (says John of Salisbury) is of all others the most difficult; and, alas! is almost quite neglected, except by a very few who apply to the study of the mathematics, and particularly of geometry. But this last is at present very little attended to amongst us, and is only studied by some people in Spain, Egypt, and Arabia, for the sake of astronomy. One reason of this is, that those parts of the works of Aristotle that relate to the demonstrative sciences, are so ill translated, and so incorrectly transcribed, that we meet with insurmountable difficulties in every chapter." After so decisive a testimony of one who was so well acquainted with the state of learning in the age in which he flourished, it is in vain to look for any great improvements in geometry in this period.

When geometry was so much neglected, astronomy could not be successfully cultivated. There is, however, sufficient evidence, that a considerable degree of attention was paid to the motions, situations, and aspects, of the heavenly bodies; though it is probable that this was done rather with a view to astrological predictions, than to discover the true system of the universe. Several treatises on astronomy were translated out of the Greek and Arabian languages into Latin, particularly the planisphere of Ptolemy by Ralf of Bruges, and a treatise on the astrolabe by Adelard of Bath. The astrolabe, which seems to have been much the same with the armillary sphere of the moderns, was used in taking observations of the sun and stars. Ingulphus laments the loss of an astronomical table, more than of anything else, that was destroyed when his abbey of Croyland was burnt, A.D. 1091. He calls it a *Nadir*, and describes it in this manner: "We then lost a most beautiful and precious table, fabricated of different kinds of metals, according to the variety of the stars and heavenly signs. Saturn was of copper, Jupiter of gold, Mars of iron, the Sun of latten, Mercury of amber, Venus of tin, the Moon of silver. The eyes were charmed, as well as the mind instructed, by beholding the colours circles, with the zodiac and all its signs, formed with



wonderful art, of metals and precious stones, according to their several natures, fumes, figures, and colours. It was the most admired and celebrated Nadir in all England." From the above description of this curious table, it appears to have been a delineation of the Ptolemaean system, the centre of it representing the earth, and the planets placed around it exactly in the order of that system.

None of the mathematical sciences were cultivated with so much diligence, in this period, as the fallacious one of judicial astrology. None indeed were honoured with the name of mathematicians but astrologers, who were believed by many to possess the precious secret of reading the fates of kingdoms, the events of war, and the fortunes of particular persons, in the face of the heavens. "Mathematicians (says Peter of Blois) are those who, from the position of the stars, the aspect of the firmament, and the motions of the planets, discover things that are to come." These pretended prognosticators were so much admired and credited, that there was hardly a prince, or even an earl or great baron in Europe, who did not keep one or more of them in his family, to cast the horoscopes of his children, discover the success of his designs, and the public events, that were to happen. The most famous of these astrologers published a kind of almanack every year, containing schemes of the planets for that year, with a variety of predictions concerning the weather, and other events. We have the following quotation from one of these almanacks, in a letter of John of Salisbury: "The astrologers call this year (1170) the wonderful year, from the singular situation of the planets and constellations, and say—that in the course of it the councils of kings will be changed, wars will be frequent, and the world will be troubled with seditions: that learned men will be discouraged; but towards the end of the year they will be exalted." From this specimen we may perceive, that their predictions were couched in very general and artful terms. But by departing from this prudent conduct not long after this, and becoming a little too plain and positive, they brought a temporary disgrace on themselves and their art. For, in the beginning of the year 1186, all the great astrologers in the Christian world agreed in declaring, that, from an extraordinary conjunction of the planets in the sign *Libra*, which had never happened before, and would never happen again, there would arise, on Tuesday, September 16th, at three o'clock in the morning, a most dreadful storm, that would sweep away not only single houses, but even great towns and cities;—that this storm would be followed by a destructive pestilence, bloody wars, and all the plagues that had ever afflicted miserable mortals. This direful prediction spread terror and consternation over Europe, though it was flatly contradicted by the Mahometan astrologers of Spain, who said, there would only be a few shipwrecks, and a little failure in the vintage and harvest. When the awful day drew near, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, commanded a solemn fast of three days to be observed over all his province. But to the utter confusion of the poor astrologers, the 16th of September was uncommonly serene and calm, the whole season remarkably mild and healthy; and there were no storms all that year (says Gervase of Canterbury), but what the archbishop raised in the church by his own turbulence. In the midst of

the general wreck of astrological reputation, William, astrologer to the constable of Chester, saved his character, by subjoining to his prediction this alternative,—“If the nobles of the land will serve God, and fly from the devil, the Lord will avert all these impending plagues.” But though astrology was in itself deceitful, and sometimes involved its professors in disgrace, it contributed greatly to promote the study of astronomy; and there is the clearest evidence, that the astrologers of this period could calculate eclipses, could find the situation of the planets, and knew the times in which they performed their revolutions, &c.

Medicine had been practised as an art in Britain in the darkest ages. In this period it began to be studied as a science. The medical schools of Salerno, in the kingdom of Naples, and of Montpellier in France, were famous in those times, and frequented by many persons from all parts of Europe. This science was also taught and studied in the universities of Paris and Oxford. But the following description of the theoretical and practical physicians of the twelfth century, given by one of the most learned and ingenious men who flourished in that age, will present us with a more satisfactory view of the state of medicine in this period, than anything that can be said by any modern writer. "The professors of the theory of medicine are very communicative; they will tell you all they know, and perhaps, out of their great kindness, a little more. From them you may learn the nature of all things, the causes of sickness and of health, how to banish the one and to preserve the other; for they can do both at pleasure. They will describe to you minutely the origin, the beginning, the progress and the cure of all diseases. In a word, when I hear them harangue, I am charmed, I think them not inferior to Mercury or Esculapius, and almost persuade myself that they can raise the dead. There is only one thing that makes me hesitate. Their theories are as directly opposite to one another as light and darkness. When I reflect on this I am a little staggered. Two contradictory propositions cannot both be true. But what shall I say of the practical physicians? I must say nothing amiss of them. It pleaseth God, for the punishment of my sins, to suffer me to fall too frequently into their hands. They must be soothed, and not exasperated. That I may not be treated roughly in my next illness, I dare hardly allow myself to think in secret what others speak aloud." In another work this writer picks up more courage, and speaks his mind of the practical physicians with equal freedom. "They soon return from college, full of flimsy theories, to practise what they have learned. Galen and Hippocrates are continually in their mouths. They speak aphorisms on every subject, and make their hearers stare at their long, unknown, and high-sounding words. The good people believe that they can do anything, because they pretend to all things. They have only two maxims which they never violate; never mind the poor—never refuse money from the rich."

The clergy were almost the only persons in this period who taught and practised physic, as well as the other sciences; and we meet with very few celebrated for their medical knowledge who were not priests or monks. This profession became so lucrative, and so many monks applied to the study and practice of it, deserting their

monasteries, and neglecting their own profession, that a canon was made in the council of Tours, A.D. 1163, prohibiting monks to stay out of their monasteries above two months at one time, teaching or practising physic. No restraint of this kind was laid on the secular clergy, and many of the bishops and other dignitaries of the church acted as physicians in ordinary to kings and princes, by which they acquired both riches and honour. These very reverend physicians drew much of their medical knowledge from the writings of Rhazds, Avicenna, Avenzoar, Averhois, and other Arabians, whose works had been translated into Latin by Constantine, a monk of Mount Casine, near Salernum, and others.

It is not improbable that the scientific way of teaching and studying physic, which was introduced by the medical schools of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, gave rise to the distinction between physicians and surgeons, which appears to have taken place towards the end of this period. For a contemporary poet, in describing the attempts that were made to cure the wound which Richard I. received before the castle of Chalus, A.D. 1199, plainly distinguishes these two professions, and the different parts they acted on that occasion. There is even sufficient evidence, that some persons about the same time applied more particularly to the study of the *materia medica*, and the composition of medicines, and were on that account called apothecaries. We are told in the annals of the church of Winchester, that Richard Fitz-Nigel, who died bishop of London A.D. 1198, had been apothecary to Henry II. Whoever will give himself the trouble to peruse the prescriptions of the Salernian school, which were written in the eleventh century for the use of a king of England, will perceive, that the *materia medica* of those times was far from being scanty, and that they were acquainted with some very complicated and artificial mixtures, particularly *theriac*, which consists of above fifty ingredients.

It seems to be impossible to give any satisfactory account of the state of experimental philosophy, anatomy, chemistry, botany, and some other parts of learning, from the genuine monuments of this period; which plainly indicates that these sciences were then either totally neglected, or very little cultivated.

By comparing the above delineation of the state of learning, with that which was given of it in the former period, we cannot but observe, that the circle of the sciences was now considerably enlarged, and that some of them were cultivated with greater diligence and success. This is agreeable to the testimony of the best contemporary historians. "Before the arrival of the Normans (says William of Malmesbury), learning was almost extinct in England. The clergy contented themselves with the slightest smattering of letters, and could hardly stammer through the offices of the church. If any one amongst them understood a little grammar, he was admired as a prodigy." But so sudden and advantageous a change in this respect took place after the conquest, that the same sensible writer acquaints us, that learning was in a more flourishing state in England and Normandy, so early as the reign of Henry I., than it was in Italy. This happy change seems to have been owing to the following causes:—

The accession of William, duke of Normandy,

to the throne of England, contributed in several ways to the revival of learning in Britain. That prince had received a good education, was fond of reading and the conversation of learned men, to whom he was a most munificent patron, advancing them to the highest dignities and richest benefices in the church. This had excited an extraordinary ardour for literary pursuit among the clergy in Normandy, and had afterwards the same effect in England. Beside this, many of the most learned men on the continent came over into Britain, after the conquest, and by their example and instructions diffused the love and knowledge of letters. William took great care of the education of his royal offspring, and Henry I., his youngest son, became the most learned prince, and the greatest promoter of learning, of the age in which he flourished. This procured him the surname of Beauclerk, or the fine scholar. He married his only daughter, the heiress of all his dominions, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, who is greatly celebrated for his learning. The eldest son of this marriage, Henry II., received a learned education, under the direction of his excellent uncle, Robert, earl of Gloucester, who was more illustrious for his knowledge and virtue than his royal birth. Henry II. never lost that taste for letters he had acquired in his youth; and through his whole life, as we are assured by one who was intimately acquainted with him, he spent his leisure hours, either in reading, or in discussing some literary question in a circle of learned men. His three sons, Henry, Geoffrey, and Richard, had all a considerable tincture of letters, and a taste for poetry. Under the patronage of these great princes, learning could hardly fail to revive, and in some degree to flourish.

The erection of above one hundred monasteries in England, in the course of this period, may be reckoned among the causes of the revival of learning,—by increasing the number both of teachers and students,—by multiplying the inducements to pursue and the opportunities to acquire knowledge,—but chiefly by making books much more common and attainable than they had been in any former period. It will by-and-by appear that every convent was a kind of college in which several parts of learning were taught and studied. The government of these religious houses was commonly bestowed on men of learning; and being attended with considerable degrees of power and dignity, afforded strong incentives to study. A library was then esteemed so essential to a monastery, that it became a proverb, "A convent without a library, is like a castle without an armory." Some of these monastic libraries were very valuable. Though the abbey of Croyland was burnt only twenty-five years after the conquest, its library then consisted of nine hundred volumes, of which three hundred were very large. To provide books for the use of the church, and for furnishing their libraries, there was in every monastery a room called the *Scriptorium*, or writing-chamber, in which several of the younger monks were constantly employed in transcribing books; and to which, in some monasteries, considerable revenues were appropriated. A noble Norman, who was a great encourager of learning, left his own library to that of the abbey of St. Albans, A.D. 1086, and granted two-thirds of the tithes of Hatfield, and certain tithes in Redburn, to support the writers in the scriptorium of that abbey. Where there were no fixed revenues for



defraying the expenses of procuring books for the library, the abbot, with the consent of the chapter, commonly imposed an annual tax on every member of the community for that purpose. The monks of some monasteries, in this period, were bitterly reproached for the extravagant sums they expended on their libraries.

The art of making paper, which was invented in the course of this period, contributed also to the revival of, and more general application to, learning, by rendering the acquisition of books much less difficult and expensive than it had formerly been. We have not the satisfaction of knowing to whom we are indebted for that most useful invention. But it appears that our paper was at first made of cotton; and, on that account, called *charta bombycina*, or *cotton paper*; and that towards the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, it began to be made of linen rags, as it is at present.

Though the learned authors of the literary history of France are of opinion that the Crusades proved an impediment to the progress of learning, I am more inclined to think, with the judicious and elegant historian of Charles V., that they had a contrary effect. That the sciences, as well as the arts, were in a more flourishing state in the Greek empire, and the east, than in those countries which had composed the western empire, is acknowledged on all hands. It seems therefore highly probable, that some of those ingenious and inquisitive men, of which the number was not small, who accompanied the Crusaders in their expeditions into the East, acquired some sciences which they could not have acquired in their own countries, and that they communicated their acquisitions to their countrymen on their return home.

---

*History of the most Learned Men who flourished in Britain from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1216.*

Though the circle of the sciences was enlarged, and learning was cultivated with greater assiduity in this than in the former period; yet this was chiefly, or rather almost only, by the clergy. The great body of the people, and even the far greatest part of the nobility, still continued illiterate, or had but a very slight acquaintance with letters. Of this, if it were necessary, many proofs might be produced; but the following one, it is presumed, will be sufficient. After the flight of Archbishop Becket out of England, A.D. 1164,

Our readers therefore find, that all the learned age belonged either to the clergy.

The laws of general attention, will admit of a few who were masters in every period.

Ingulph, abbot of history of that abbey A.D. 1030. He received education at Westminster, father, who belonged to the Confessor, he was so much the attention of Queen E. learned princess took a young scholar on his in disputing with him dismiss him without of her approbation went to Oxford, where of rhetoric and of in which he made many of his contemporaries twenty-one years of William, duke of Normandy, court of England A.D. so agreeable to that purpose his secretary, and his own dominions. In prime favourite of Henry of all preferments, but others at his pleasure he confessed he did not degree of modesty and envy and hatred of avoid the effects of which the duke to go in person which was then become company of thirty bishops duke of Mentz, who, bishops, clergy, and pilgrimage to Jerusalem united, they formed seven thousand pilgrims some time at Constantinople devotions in the service of the sage through Lycia, of Arabs, who killed and plundered them money. Those who at length reached Jerusalem, and bedewed with their tears, gave

dition into England, A.D. 1066, he was sent by his abbot with one hundred marks in money, and twelve young men, nobly mounted and completely armed, as a present from their abbey. Ingulph having found a favourable opportunity, presented his men and money to his prince, who received him very graciously; some part of the former affection for him reviving in his bosom. In consequence of this he raised him to the government of the rich abbey of Croyland in Lincolnshire, A.D. 1076, in which he spent the last thirty-four years of his life, governing that society with great prudence, and protecting their possessions from the rapacity of the neighbouring barons by the favour of his royal master. The lovers of English history and antiquities are much indebted to this learned abbot for his excellent history of the abbey of Croyland, from its foundation, A.D. 664, to A.D. 1091, into which he has introduced much of the general history of the kingdom, with a variety of curious anecdotes that are nowhere else to be found. Ingulph died of the gout, at his abbey, 1st December, A.D. 1109, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Pavia, A.D. 1005, where he was educated in grammar and logic. After the death of his father, he spent some years in the study of rhetoric and civil law, at Bologna; from whence he returned to his native city, and commenced an advocate in the courts of law. Thinking this too narrow a sphere, he removed into France, and opened a school at Avranches, which was soon crowded with students of high rank. In a journey to Rouen, he had the misfortune to be robbed, and left bound in a wood, where he was found next morning by some peasants, who carried him, almost dead, to the abbey of Bec. Here he was treated with so much tenderness that when he recovered, he became a monk in that abbey, A.D. 1041. At the end of three years he was chosen prior of his convent, and opened a school, which in a little time became very famous, and was frequented by students from all parts of Europe. Amongst others, some of the scholars of Berenger, archdeacon of Angers, and master of the academy of Tours, left that school, and went to study at the abbey of Bec. This, it is said, excited the envy of Berenger, and gave rise to that long and violent controversy between him and Lanfranc, on the subject of the eucharist, which made a mighty noise in the church. When our author resided in the abbey of Bec, his literary fame procured him the favour of his sovereign, William duke of Normandy, who made him one of his counsellors, employed him in an im-

1089, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Of our ancient historians who were contemporaries, speak in very high terms of the genius and erudition of Lanfranc, and some of them who were personally acquainted with him, represent him as the greatest man in the age in which he flourished. His writings consist of commentaries on the scriptures, epistles, sermons on various subjects, and his famous treatise on the eucharist. Berenger, in which he employed all the support of that opinion which had been maintained by Paschasius Radbertus, in the ninth century, had been gradually gaining ground among the clergy through the tenth century, and terminated in transubstantiation at the end of the twelfth. This treatise of Lanfranc a prodigious favourite with the historians of the church of Rome, and with the most extravagant and lax theologians.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was born in Piedmont, A.D. 1034, of noble parents, and who were at great pains to give him a liberal education. Having lost his mother when he was about seventeen years of age, he abandoned his studies, and indulged his passions to such a degree, that his father refused to see him, or admit him into his house, which he left his native country to go into France. After some time, at the recommendation of the fame of Lanfranc, he settled at the abbey of Bec, and prosecuted his studies with great industry under that great master, that he became a fellow-student in learning. Having remained a monk in that abbey, A.D. 1060, three years after, to succeed Lanfranc as prior, and teacher of the sciences. In the stations he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the society, that he was elected abbot, on the first vacancy. The abbey of Bec had several establishments, which obliged our abbot sometimes to travel throughout the kingdom; and in these visits he gained the friendship of some of the greatest men of his age. He died here A.D. 1093, when William, on account of sickness, was prevailed upon to visit the abbey of Canterbury, which he had kept for some time, and nominated him to that high office. His long and obstinate opposition to his master, in which some persons suspected him of insincerity, he was consecrated December 1093. The quarrels of this prelate with Henry II., and afterwards with Henry I., have been already mentioned, and obliged him to spend much of his



in the cathedral of Canterbury, he had the happiness to become the bosom-friend and inseparable companion of two archbishops of that see, St. Auselm, and his successor Ralph. To the former of these he was appointed spiritual director, by the Pope; and that prelate would do nothing without his permission. His election to the see of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, and its consequences are matter of history. But Eadmerus is most worthy of the grateful remembrance of posterity for his historical work, particularly for his excellent history of the affairs of England in his own time, from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1122; in which he has inserted many original papers, and preserved many important facts that are nowhere else to be found. This work has been highly commended, both by ancient and modern writers, for its authenticity, as well as for regularity of composition and purity of style. It is indeed more free from legendary tales, than any other work of this period; and it is impossible to peruse it with attention, without conceiving a favourable opinion of the learning, good sense, sincerity, and candour, of its author.

Turgot, a contemporary of Eadmerus, was an Anglo-Saxon, of a good family in Lincolnshire, and received a learned education. When he was a young man, he was delivered by the people of Lindsay, as one of their hostages, to William the Conqueror, and confined in the castle of Lincoln. From thence he made his escape into Norway, and resided several years in the court of King Olave, by whom he was much caressed and enriched. Returning to his native country, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Northumberland, by which he lost all his money and effects, escaping death with great difficulty. He travelled to Durham; and applying to Walter, bishop of that see, declared his resolution to forsake the world, and become a monk; in which he was encouraged by that pious prelate, who committed him to the care of Aldwine, the first prior of Durham. Being admitted into that priory, he recommended himself so much to the whole society, by his learning, piety, prudence, and other virtues, that, on the death of Aldwine, A.D. 1087, he was unanimously chosen prior, and not long after was appointed by the bishop archdeacon of his diocese. In the faithful discharge of the duties of these two offices, he spent the succeeding twenty years of his life, sometimes residing in the priory, and at other times visiting the diocese, and preaching at different places. Some of his leisure hours he employed in collecting and writing the history of the church of Durham or Northumberland, from A.D. 635 to A.D. 1096, in four books. But not having published this work, or made any transcripts of it, according to the custom of those times, it fell into the hands of Smeon, precentor of the church of Durham, who published it under his own name, expunging only a few passages that would have discovered its real author. This curious fact is demonstrated by the learned Mr. Selden, in his preface to the ten ancient historians, published by Sir Roger Twysden; and shows that literary fame was even then an object of ambition. Turgot was promoted to the see of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, A.D. 1107, and died at Durham, A.D. 1115. This learned divine composed several other works, particularly the lives of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, and of his pious consort

Queen Margaret, from which John Fordun has quoted several facts.

Robert White (in Latin, Robertus Pullus) was born in England toward the end of the eleventh century; and having received a learned education in his own country, he went, as was usual in those times, to the university of Paris for his further improvement. Here he continued several years, and acquired a shining reputation by his learned lectures in philosophy and theology, which were attended by crowded audiences. He was invited by Asceline, bishop of Rochester, A.D. 1136, to return into his own country, where his labours were much wanted for the revival of learning; and no less earnestly pressed by the famous St. Bernard to continue at Paris, where he did so much good. But he complied with the invitation of the bishop, who had appointed him as archdeacon; and read lectures on the Scriptures at Oxford five years, which attracted prodigious numbers of students to that university. Being of a studious unambitious disposition, he declined a bishopric that was offered him by Henry I. At length he became so famous, that he was called to Rome, A.D. 1143, by Celestine II., appointed a cardinal by Lucius II., and made chancellor of the holy see by Eugenius III.; and was esteemed the most learned of all the college of cardinals. He is believed to have died about A.D. 1150. He composed many theological works; but none of them have been printed, except his book of Sentences, which is a body of scholastic divinity, written in a better style, and with greater perspicuity, than was common in those times.

Nicolas Breakspear, the only Englishman who ever sat in St. Peter's chair, was born near St. Alban's, and in his youth performed the meanest menial offices about the abbey of that place, in which his father was a monk. Being rejected, for want of learning, by the abbot, when he desired to become a monk, and reproached by his father for his indolence, he left England, and went to Paris, where he applied to study with the greatest ardour. From Paris he travelled into Provence, and was admitted a monk in the abbey of St. Rufus, where he still continued to prosecute his studies, and recommended himself so effectually, that, on the first vacancy, he was chosen abbot. The monks, however, soon became weary of the government of a foreigner, and made bitter complaints against their new abbot to Pope Eugenius III. This proved a very fortunate event to our countryman. For the pope was so much pleased with the learning and eloquence he displayed in his own defence, that he thought him worthy of a higher station in the church, made him bishop of Alba, A.D. 1146, and a cardinal. Not long after he was sent as papal legate into Denmark and Norway; and acquitted himself so well in that station, that a vacancy happening in the papal throne about the time of his return to Rome, he was unanimously chosen pope, in November 1154, and took the name of Adrian IV. Henry II., pleased with the elevation of one who had been his subject, sent three bishops and the abbot of St. Alban's to congratulate the new pope on his election. The ambassadors met with a most gracious reception, and obtained from his holiness every favour the king of England desired, particularly a grant of the kingdom of Ireland, in which grant the high pretension to the property of all the islands in

the sea was advanced: a proof that, though Adrian's origin was low, his spirit and his claims were as high as any of his predecessors. But this pontiff soon found the vanity of ambition even when it is most successful; for his pontificate, which lasted only four years and ten months, was one continued scene of disquiet and trouble; and, if we may believe some writers, his death was violent, A.D. 1159. Though Adrian was a man of genius and learning, none of his works have been published, except his letters.

England produced a great number of historians in the twelfth century, and it may not be improper to give a brief account of the most considerable of them, without interruption, though it should make us depart a little from the exact order of time.

William of Malmesbury, who is well entitled to stand at the head of our historians of the twelfth century, was born in Somersetshire, and, on that account, is sometimes called William Somerset. When he was but a child (as he himself acquaints us), he discovered a fondness for learning, which was encouraged by his parents, and increased with his years. "I applied," says he, "to the study of several sciences, but not with equal diligence. I went through a course of logic, but prosecuted it no further; with physic, or the art of curing diseases and preserving health, I was at more pains; for ethics, which lead to a good and happy life, I had still a higher veneration; but history, which is equally pleasant and profitable, was my favourite study. Having, at my own expense, procured the copies of some foreign histories, I then, at my leisure, began to inquire into the memorable transactions of my own country; and not finding any satisfactory history of them already written, I resolved to write one, not to display my learning, which is no great matter, but to bring things to light that are covered with the rubbish of antiquity." This design he executed with great ability and diligence, by writing a general history of England in five books, from the arrival of the Saxons, A.D. 449, to the 26th of Henry I., A.D. 1126; and a modern history in two books, from that year to the escape of the empress Maud out of Oxford, A.D. 1143; with a church history of England in four books. In all these historical works (which are written in a Latin style more pure than that of any of his contemporaries), he discovers great diligence, much good sense, and a sacred regard to truth, accompanied with uncommon modesty. "I do not," says he, "set a high value on the applause of my contemporaries, which I hardly expect; but I hope, that when both favour and malevolence are dead, I shall obtain from posterity the character of an industrious, though not of an eloquent historian." This excellent person, to whom all the lovers of English history are so much indebted, spent his life in the humble station of a monk and library-keeper in the abbey of Malmesbury, where he died, A.D. 1143.

Simeon of Durham, the contemporary of William of Malmesbury, merits a place among the historians and antiquaries of this period, for the great pains he took in collecting the monuments of our history, especially in the north of England, after they had been scattered by the Danes in their devastations of that country. From these he composed a history of the kings of England, from A.D. 616 to A.D. 1130, with some smaller historical pieces. Simeon both studied and

taught the sciences, and particularly the mathematics, at Oxford, and became precentor of the church of Durham, where he died, probably soon after the conclusion of his history, which was continued by John, prior of Hexham, to A.D. 1156. Richard, who succeeded John in the government of the priory of Hexham, wrote the history of the bishops of that church, and of four years of the reign of King Stephen, from A.D. 1135 to A.D. 1139.

Ailred, abbot of Revesby in Lincolnshire, was born of noble parents, and educated in the court of David, king of Scots, with his son Prince Henry, who was one of the most studious as well as one of the bravest princes of his age. After the death of Henry, Ailred retired into the abbey of Revesby; and became so famous for his piety and learning, that he might have attained to the highest dignities of the church, if he had not modestly declined them, and contented himself with the government of his own abbey, where he died A.D. 1166. He left behind him many monuments of his piety and learning, besides his historical works, for which he is introduced in this place. Several of his theological treatises are printed among the works of his friend St. Bernard, and his historical pieces in the collection of the ten ancient historians published by Sir Roger Twysden, London, A.D. 1652.

Henry of Huntingdon was the son of one Nicolas, a married priest, and was born about the beginning of the twelfth century, or end of the eleventh. For he acquaints us, that he was made an archdeacon by Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, who died A.D. 1123. He was educated by Albinius of Anjou, a learned canon of the church of Lincoln, and in his youth discovered a great taste for poetry, by writing eight books of epigrams, as many of love-verses, with three long didactic poems, one of herbs, another of spices, and a third of precious stones. In his more advanced years he applied to the study of history; and at the request of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, who was his great friend and patron, he composed a general history of England, from the earliest accounts to the death of King Stephen, A.D. 1154, in eight books. In the dedication of this work to Bishop Alexander, he tells us, that in the ancient part of his history he had followed venerable Bede, adding a few things from some other writers; that he had compiled the sequel from several chronicles he had found in different libraries, and from what he had heard and seen. Towards the conclusion of this work, he very honestly acknowledges, that it was only an abridgment; and that to compose a complete history of England, many more books were necessary than he could procure. Mr. Wharton has published a long letter of this author to his friend Walter, abbot of Ramsey, on the contempt of the world, which contains many curious anecdotes of the kings, nobles, prelates, and other great men, who were his contemporaries.

Roger de Hoveden was born in Yorkshire, most probably at the town of that name, now called Howden, some time in the reign of Henry I. After he had received the first parts of education in his native county, he studied the civil and canon law, which were then become the most fashionable and lucrative branches of learning. He became domestic chaplain to Henry II., who employed him to transact several ecclesiastical affairs: in which he acquitted himself with



honour. But his most meritorious work was, his *Annals of England*, from A.D. 731, when Bede's ecclesiastical history ends, to A.D. 1202. This work, which is one of the most voluminous of our ancient histories, is more valuable for the sincerity with which it is written and the great variety of facts which it contains, than for the beauty of its style, or the regularity of its arrangement.

William Little, who is better known by his Latin name *Gulielmus Neubrigenis*, was born at Bridlington in Yorkshire, A.D. 1136, and educated in the abbey of Newborough in the same county, where he became a monk. In his advanced years he composed a history of England in five books, from the Norman conquest, to A.D. 1197, which, for veracity, regularity of disposition, and purity of language, is one of the most valuable productions of this period. In his preface to this work, he made some very severe strictures on Geoffrey of Monmouth's British history, which have drawn upon him the displeasure of several ancient Britons, though it cannot be denied that his strictures were in general well-founded, and discover a degree of critical discernment that was not very common in those times.

Gervase of Canterbury, a monk of the monastery of Christ's-church in that city, was one of the most voluminous historians of this period. His chronicle of the kings of England, from A.D. 1122 to A.D. 1200, and his history of the archbishops of Canterbury, from St. Augustine to Archbishop Hubert, who died A.D. 1205, are his two most considerable performances of this kind. A strict attention to chronology in the disposition of his materials, is one of the chief excellencies of this historian.

Ralph de Diceto, archdeacon of London, was the contemporary of Gervase, and composed also two historical works, entitled *Abbreviationes Chroniconum*, and *Imagines Historiarum*, which are published in the same collection.

Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, was educated at Oxford, became a monk in the monastery of Christ's-church in Canterbury, and some time after was chosen prior by the members of that society. Though he had been a great admirer of Archbishop Becket, and wrote a life of that prelate, he was so much esteemed by Henry II., that by the influence of that prince he was elected abbot of Peterborough, A.D. 1177. He assisted at the coronation of Richard I., A.D. 1189, and was advanced to be keeper of the great seal, A.D. 1191. But he did not long enjoy this high dignity, as he died on Michaelmas-day, A.D. 1193. Besides his life of Archbishop Becket, he composed a history of Henry II. and Richard I. from A.D. 1170 to A.D. 1192; which has been much and justly esteemed by many of our greatest antiquaries, as containing one of the best accounts of the transactions of those times. A beautiful edition of this work was published at Oxford, in two volumes, by Mr. Hearne, A.D. 1735. The gratitude due for the information received from the perusal of the English historians of the twelfth century, who, in merit, as well as in number, are superior to those of any other nation of Europe, in that period, is in danger of making us forget the proportion that must be observed in the several parts of an historical work, towards those who were the chief ornaments of their country in other branches of learning.

John of Salisbury was born at Old Sarum, from which he derived his name, about A.D. 1116. For, according to his own account, after he had gone through a course of education in England, he went to the university of Paris, for his further improvement, A.D. 1136, at which time, it is probable, he was at least twenty years of age. In this famous seat of learning he spent no fewer than twelve years, attending the lectures of the most celebrated professors of the several sciences, particularly grammar, rhetoric, the Aristotelian philosophy, and theology. At his return into England he studied the civil law under Vacarius, who taught with great applause at Oxford, A.D. 1149. By this long and ardent application to study, under the best masters, he acquired a prodigious fund of knowledge, and became one of the most learned men of the age in which he flourished. Embracing the monastic life at Canterbury, he was the bosom-friend and chief confidant of two successive archbishops of that see, Theobald and Thomas Becket. To the last of these, while he was chancellor of England, our author dedicated his famous work, *De nugis curialium, et vestigiis philosophorum* (of the topperies of courtiers, and the footsteps of philosophers), in an elegant Latin poem, containing some of the politest compliments to his patron. This work is indeed the most curious and valuable monument of the English literature of the twelfth century; and it is impossible to peruse it without admiring the virtue and good sense, as well as the genius and erudition, of its author. His connexion with Archbishop Becket involved him in many troubles; and he was the very first person banished out of England by Henry II., A.D. 1164, for his attachment to that prelate. He continued almost seven years in exile, though he had the most inviting offers made him, not only of leave to return home, but also of the royal favour and preferment, if he would abandon the party of the archbishop. But to this he never would consent, declaring his resolution to die in exile, rather than forsake his friend and patron in his adversity; though he was far from approving of his conduct in every particular. His friendship for Becket was as active as it was steady, and prompted him to undertake no fewer than ten journeys into Italy, besides many others into different parts of France, in negotiating his affairs. At length he obtained permission to return into England a little before the archbishop, A.D. 1171, and was a mournful spectator of the murder of his beloved friend and patron. In the time of his exile our author had gained the favour of many persons of the highest rank, particularly of Pope Alexander III., of the king of France, and of the archbishop of Sens, by whose interest he was elected bishop of Chartres in that province, A.D. 1172. Having enjoyed this dignity almost ten years, he died A.D. 1182. John of Salisbury composed many other works, besides that already mentioned, particularly a very learned defence of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, against one whom he calls *Cornificus*, which contains a most curious account of the state of these sciences in this period. A collection of his letters, consisting of above three hundred, with a life of Thomas Becket, were published at Paris, A.D. 1611.

Peter of Blois (*Petrus Blesensis*) was born about A.D. 1120, at the city of Blois in France, from whence he derived his name. His parents, being opulent, gave him a learned education. In

his youth, when he studied in the university of Paris, he was excessively fond of poetry; and when he was a little further advanced in life, he became no less fond of rhetoric, to the study of which he applied with the greatest ardour. From Paris he removed to Bologna in Italy, to acquire the civil and canon law, in the knowledge of both which he very much excelled. He appears from his writings to have cultivated medicine, and several branches of the mathematics, with no little care and success. The study of theology was the chief delight and business of his life, in which he spent the greatest part of his time, and made the greatest progress. But unfortunately it was that scholastic theology, which consisted in vain attempts to prove and explain the many absurd opinions which then prevailed in the church, by the subtleties of Aristotelian logic. In attempting to explain in this manner the most absurd of all opinions that ever existed amongst mankind, he was the very first person who employed the famous word *transubstantiation*, which was soon after adopted by the church of Rome, and has ever since made so great a noise. Being appointed preceptor to William II., king of Sicily, A.D. 1167, he obtained the custody of the privy seal; and next to the archbishop of Palermo, the prime minister, had the greatest influence in all affairs. But his power was not of long duration; for the archbishop being banished, A.D. 1168, our author soon after left the court of Sicily, and returned into France. He was not long, however, without a royal patron, being invited into England by Henry II., who employed him as his private secretary, made him archdeacon of Bath, and gave him some other benefices. When he had spent a few years at court, he conceived a disgust at that way of life (of which he has drawn a very unpleasant picture in one of his letters), and retired into the family of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, who made him his chancellor about A.D. 1176. In this station he continued to the death of the archbishop, A.D. 1183, enjoying the highest degree of favour with that prelate, though he used much freedom in reproving him for his remissness in the government of the church. Our author remained in the same station in the family of Archbishop Baldwin, who succeeded Richard, acting both as his secretary and chancellor. He was also sent by that prelate on an embassy to Rome, A.D. 1187, to plead his cause before Pope Urban III., in the famous controversy between him and the monks of Canterbury, about the church of Hackington. After the departure of his friend and patron Baldwin for the Holy Land, A.D. 1190, our author was involved in various troubles in his old age, the causes of which are not distinctly known, and died about the end of the twelfth century. He appears from his works, which may be justly reckoned among the most valuable monuments of the age in which he flourished, to have been a man of great integrity and sincere piety, as well as of a lively inventive genius, and uncommon erudition. His printed works consist of one hundred and thirty-four letters, which he collected together at the desire of Henry II.; of sixty-five sermons, delivered on various occasions; and of seventeen tracts on different subjects. Of the quickness of our author's invention, a very remarkable example has been already mentioned; and whoever will give themselves the trouble to peruse his works, will meet with many proofs of his erudition.

Girald Barry, commonly called *Giraldus Cambrensis*, i. e. Girald of Wales, was born at the castle of Mainarper, near Pembroke, A.D. 1146. By his mother he was descended from the princes of South Wales; and his father, William Barry, was one of the chief men of that principality. Being a younger brother, and intended for the church, he was sent to St. David's, and educated in the family of his uncle, who was bishop of that see. He acknowledges, in his history of his own life and actions, that in his early youth he was too playful; but being severely reproached for it by his preceptors, he became a very hard student, and greatly excelled all his school-fellows in learning. When he was about twenty years of age, he was sent, A.D. 1166, for his further improvement, to the university of Paris; where he continued three years, and became, according to his own account, a most excellent rhetorician; which rendered him very famous. On his return into Britain, he entered into holy orders, and obtained several benefices both in England and Wales. Observing, with much concern, that his countrymen, the Welsh, were very backward in paying the tithes of wool and cheese, which he was afraid would involve them in eternal damnation, he applied to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and was appointed his legate in Wales for rectifying that disorder, and for other purposes. He executed this commission with great spirit, excommunicating all without distinction who refused to save their souls, by surrendering the tithes of their cheese and wool. Not satisfied with enriching, he also attempted to reform the clergy, and dilated the archdeacon of Brechin to the archbishop, for the unpardonable crime of matrimony; and the poor old man refusing to put away his wife, was deprived of his archdeaconry; which was bestowed upon our zealous legate. In discharging the duties of this new office, he acted with great vigour, which involved him in many quarrels: but if we may believe himself, he was always in the right and always victorious. His uncle, the bishop of St. David's, dying A.D. 1176, he was elected his successor by the chapter: but this election having been made without the permission, and contrary to the inclination, of Henry II., our author prudently declined to insist upon it, and went again to Paris to prosecute his studies, particularly in the civil and canon law and theology. He speaks with great raptures of the prodigious fame he acquired by his eloquent declamations in the schools, and of the crowded audiences who attended them, who were at a loss to know whether the sweetness of his voice, the beauty of his language, or the irresistible force of his arguments, was most to be admired. Having spent about four years at Paris, he returned to St. David's; where he found everything in confusion; and the bishop being expelled by the people, he was appointed administrator by the archbishop of Canterbury, and governed the diocese in that capacity to A.D. 1184, when the bishop was restored. About the same time he was called to court by Henry II., appointed one of his chaplains, and sent into Ireland A.D. 1185, with Prince John. By this prince he was offered the united bishoprics of Ferns and Leighlin; but declined them, and employed his time in collecting materials for his topography of Ireland, and his history of the conquest of that island. Having finished his topography, which consisted of three books, he published it at Oxford, A.D. 1187, in the fol-



lowing manner, in three days. On the first day he read the first book to a great concourse of people, and afterwards entertained all the poor of the town; on the second day he read the second book, and entertained all the doctors and chief scholars; and, on the third day, he read the third book, and entertained the younger scholars, soldiers, and burgesses. "A most glorious spectacle," says he, "which revived the ancient times of the poets, and of which no example had been seen in England." He attended Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, in his progress through Wales, A.D. 1186, in preaching a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, in which, he tells us, he was far more successful than the primate; and particularly that the people were prodigiously affected with his Latin sermons, which they did not understand, melting into tears, and coming in crowds to take the cross. Although Henry II., as our author assures us, entertained the highest opinion of his virtues and abilities; yet he never would advance him to any higher dignity in the church, on account of his relation to the princes and great men of Wales. But on the accession of Richard I., A.D. 1189, his prospects of preferment became better; for he was sent by that prince into Wales to preserve the peace of that country, and was even joined in commission with William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, as one of the regents of the kingdom. He did not, however, improve this favourable opportunity; refusing the bishopric of Bangor in A.D. 1190, and that of Llandaff the year after, having fixed his heart on the see of St. David's, the bishop of which was very old and infirm. In A.D. 1192, the state of public affairs, and the course of interest at court, became so unfavourable to our author's views, that he determined to retire. At first he resolved to return to Paris, to prosecute his studies; but meeting with some difficulties in this, he went to Lincoln; where William de Mont read lectures in theology with great applause. Here he spent about six years in the study of divinity, and in composing several works. The see of St. David's, which had long been the great object of his ambition, became vacant A.D. 1198, and brought him again upon the stage. He was unanimously elected by the chapter; but met with so powerful an adversary in Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury (who opposed his promotion with great violence), that it involved him in a litigation, which lasted five years, cost him three journeys to Rome, at a great expense, and in which he was at last defeated, A.D. 1203. Soon after this he retired from the world, and spent the last seventeen years of his life in a studious privacy, composing many books, of which we have a very correct catalogue. That Girald of Wales was a man of uncommon activity, genius, and learning, is undeniable; but these and his other good qualities were much tarnished by his insufferable vanity, which must have been very offensive to his contemporaries, as it is highly disgusting to his readers.

Many other men of genius and erudition flourished in Britain in this period; but to give a full account of them, belongs rather to the biographer than to the general historian.

## SECTION III.

*History of the chief Seminaries of Learning in Great Britain, from 1066 to 1216.*

ONE cause of the improvements in the sciences which took place in this period, was the increase of seminaries of learning. These may be divided into five classes, viz.:—1. General studies or universities; 2. Episcopal or cathedral schools; 3. Monastic or conventual schools; 4. The schools of cities and towns; and 5. The schools of the Jews. Of each of these classes we shall give a brief account.

That those seats of learning which are now called *universities* were anciently called *studies*, is well known; as, the study of Oxford, the study of Paris, &c. But about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, the modern name seems generally to have prevailed, either because all kinds of learning were taught in them, and students of all countries were admitted to them, or because they were formed into legal communities, which, in the Latin of those times, were called *universitates*. Of such universities there were only two in Britain, Oxford and Cambridge.

The state of public affairs was so unsettled for a considerable time, both before and after the conquest, and the city of Oxford in particular suffered so much, first from the Danes, and afterwards from the Normans, that it could not be in a flourishing condition as a seat of learning. From Domesday-book we find, that A.D. 1086, there were no fewer than five hundred and twenty-two ruinous or empty houses in Oxford, and only two hundred and forty-three inhabited. It has been warmly agitated, whether the Conqueror's youngest son, afterwards Henry I., was educated at Oxford or Cambridge, without satisfactory evidence on either side. That he built a palace, and sometimes resided in the first of these palaces, is better attested. It is also said, that Robert White, of whom an account has been already given, taught with great reputation at Oxford in the reign of that learned prince. But this seat of the Muses was taken by storm, and reduced to ashes, A.D. 1141, by King Stephen; which dispersed both teachers and scholars. In a little time, however, they returned to their favourite residence; which, before the end of that reign, became famous for the study of the civil law. This university became still more flourishing in the reign of Henry II., who was a learned prince, and a great patron of learning; though a great part of the city, and several schools or halls, were destroyed by an accidental fire, A.D. 1120. Before that time the houses and halls of Oxford had been built of wood, and covered with straw; but after this fire, many of them were built of stone, and covered with tiles or lead. As Richard I. had been born at Oxford, he still retained an affection for it, and granted it so many privileges, that, in his reign, it became a rival to the university of Paris. In the reign of King John, when the university was in a prosperous state, an unfortunate event happened, A.D. 1209, which threatened it with destruction. A scholar, engaged in his diversion, accidentally killed a woman, and made his escape, for fear of punishment. A prodigious mob, with the mayor of the city at their head, immediately assembled, and surrounded the hall t

which the unfortunate scholar belonged; and not finding him, seized and imprisoned other three, who were entirely innocent, and obtained an order from King John, who hated the clergy, to put them to death; which was executed without delay. The greatest part of his professors and scholars, enraged at this act of cruelty and injustice, abandoned Oxford to the number of 3000, and retired, some to Cambridge, some to Reading, and some to Maidstone, in Kent. They complained also to the pope, and obtained a bull, laying the city under an interdict, and discharging all professors from teaching in it. Their superstitious terrors and secular losses soon brought the people of Oxford to repent of the cruelty they had committed; and they sent a deputation of their most respectable citizens to Nicolas, bishop of Tusculum, the pope's legate, to make their submissions, and promise obedience to all his commands. In consequence of this, the legate issued a bull, dated at Ramsey, 26th June, A. D. 1214, suspending those professors who had not left Oxford, from teaching for three years; prescribing the most humiliating penances to the inhabitants, and stipulating many advantages for the members of the university; and obliged the mayor, with fifty of the chief citizens, to take a solemn oath, in the name of all the rest, that they would comply with every article in that bull. When all these preliminaries were settled, the professors and scholars returned in such multitudes, and were so joyfully received by the citizens, that the university became more flourishing than it had ever been; and at the conclusion of this period consisted of about 4000 members.

Cambridge suffered still more than Oxford, both from the Danes before, and the Normans after, the conquest; and seems to have been longer and more entirely deserted as a seat of learning. This appears from the following distinct account of its revival, given by a writer of undoubted credit. "Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, A. D. 1109, sent to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, Master Gisleber, his fellow-monk, and professor of theology, with three other monks who had followed him into England; who being well instructed in philosophical theorems, and other ancient sciences, went every day to Cambridge; and having hired a certain public barn, taught the sciences openly, and in a little time collected a great concourse of scholars. For in the very second year after their arrival, the number of their scholars from the town and country increased so much, that there was no house, barn, nor church, capable of containing them. For this reason they separated into different parts of the town, and imitating the plan of Orleans, brother Odo, a famous grammarian and satirist of those times, read grammar, according to the doctrine of Priscian, and Remigius upon him, to the boys and younger students assigned to him, early in the morning. At one o'clock, brother Terriens, an acute sophist, read Aristotle's logics, according to the introductions and commentaries of Porphyry and Averrois, to those who were further advanced. At three, brother William read lectures on Tully's rhetoric and Quintilian's institutions. But Master Gislebert, being ignorant of the English, but very expert in the Latin and French languages, preached in the several churches to the people on Sundays and holidays. From this little fountain, which hath swelled into a great river, we now behold the city

of God made glad, and all England rendered fruitful, by many teachers and doctors issuing from Cambridge, as from a most holy paradise." This last observation shows, that the university of Cambridge, after its revival by those learned monks in the beginning of the twelfth century, made such rapid progress, that, before the end of that century, when Peter of Blois wrote, it had attained to a very flourishing condition. The town, and consequently the university, suffered much in the civil war between King John and his barons, having been taken and plundered by both parties, A. D. 1215.

So many of the ingenious youth of Britain, in this period, finished their education in the university of Paris, that it merits a little of our attention, though not strictly within our plan. It was unquestionably the most celebrated seat of learning in Europe in those times, and was called by way of eminence, "The city of letters." All who excelled as teachers, or wished to improve as students, crowded to Paris, as the most proper place for displaying or acquiring talents. In the twelfth century we are assured, that the students in the university constituted one half of the inhabitants of that city. The English in particular were so numerous, that they occupied several schools or colleges; and made so distinguished a figure by their genius and learning, as well as by their generous manner of living, that they attracted the notice of all strangers. This appears from the following verses, describing the behaviour of a stranger on his first arrival in Paris, composed by Negel Wircker, an English student there, A. D. 1170.

*Pexus et ablutus tandem progressus in urbem,  
Intrat in ecclesiam, vota precesque facit.  
Idem scholas adiens, secum deliberat, utrum  
Expediat potius illa vel ista schola.  
Et quia subtiles sensu considerat Anglos,  
Pluribus ex causis se sociavit iis,  
Moribus egregiis, verbo vultuque venusti,  
Ingenuis polient, consilioque vigent.  
Dona pliumt populus, et detestantur avaros,  
Fereula multiplicant, et sine lege bibunt.*

A stranger dress'd the city first surveys,  
A church he enters, to his God he prays.  
Next to the schools he hastens, each he views,  
With care examines, anxious which to chuse.  
The English most attract his prying eyes,  
Their manners, words, and looks pronounce them wise.  
Theirs is the open hand, the bounteous mind,  
Theirs solid sense, with sparkling wit combin'd.  
Their graver studies jovial banquets crown,  
Their ranking cares in flowing bowls they drown.

These general studies or universities, as Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Bologna, &c. possessed several advantages, which attracted greater numbers of students to them than to other seats of learning. They had not only the best libraries, and most famous professors in all the sciences, but being incorporated societies, they were governed by their own magistrates, and enjoyed several peculiar privileges, particularly that of conferring academical honours or degrees. These were introduced in the course of this period, and soon became great objects of ambition, and incitements to learning.

In the darkest of the middle ages, the families of bishops were the chief seminaries of learning, in which young persons were educated for the service of the church. These episcopal or cathedral schools still continued in this period. They were even better regulated, and consequently more useful and more famous. In the



most ancient times, the bishop was commonly the chief, if not the only teacher, of his cathedral school; the faithful discharge of which laborious office was hardly compatible with the other duties of his function. But in this period these schools were put under the direction of men of learning, who devoted their whole time and study to the education of youth, and had certain estates or prebends assigned for their support. These teachers of the cathedral schools were called "The scholastics of the diocese;" and all the youth in it who were designed for the church were entitled to the benefit of their instructions. Thus, for example, William de Monte, who had been a professor at Paris, and taught theology with so much reputation, in the reign of Henry II. at Lincoln, was the scholastic of that cathedral. By the eighteenth canon of the third general council of Lateran, A.D. 1179, it was decreed, that such scholastics should be settled in all cathedrals, with sufficient revenues for their support; and that they should have authority to superintend all the schoolmasters of the diocese, and grant them licenses, without which none should presume to teach. The laborious authors of the literary history of France have collected a very distinct account of the scholastics who presided in the principal cathedral schools of that kingdom in the twelfth century, among whom we meet with many of the most illustrious names for learning of that age. To attempt this with respect to England, would be quite unsuitable to the nature of general history. The sciences that were taught in these cathedral schools were such as were most necessary to qualify their pupils for performing the duties of the sacerdotal office, as grammar, rhetoric, logic, theology, and church-music.

The great increase of religious houses in this period very much increased the number of seminaries of learning, as there was a school more or less famous in almost every convent. We may form some idea of the number added to the schools of England by this means, if we consider, that there were no fewer than five hundred and fifty-seven religious houses of different kinds founded in it between the conquest and the death of King John. One design of these monastic schools was, to instruct the younger monks in those branches of learning that were necessary to their decent performance of the service of the church, particularly in the Latin language and church-music. Some degree of knowledge of these parts of learning was so necessary, that without it none could be admitted into the monastic order in any of the chief abbeys; and the famous Nicholas Breakspear, afterwards Pope Adrian IV. was rejected by Richard Abbot of St. Alban's, for want of a sufficient share of learning. In these conventual schools the young monks were carefully instructed in the art of fair and beautiful writing; and those who excelled in that art, were for some years employed in the *scriptorium*, or writing-chamber, in transcribing books for the use of the church and library. There were such schools also in nunneries for the instruction of the younger nuns; and in some of these schools they did not confine themselves to such parts of learning as were absolutely necessary, but studied also the Greek and Hebrew languages, philosophy, physic, and divinity. In the schools of all the larger monasteries, besides the necessary parts of learning, several other sciences were taught, as rhetoric, logic, theology, medicine, with the civil and canon law. These two last branches of learning, law and physic, being very lucrative, were so diligently studied and practised by

the monks, that they were almost the only pleaders and physicians of those times. The abbey school of St. Alban's, for example, was a famous seminary of learning in this period, in which all the sciences, particularly theology, law, and physic, were taught; as appears from the verses of Alexander Neicham, one of the most learned men of the twelfth century, who was educated, and afterwards presided in that school. Many persons of rank and fortune were educated in these conventual schools, to which they frequently became benefactors.

Besides all these seminaries of learning already mentioned, there were established in this period, in all the chief cities and towns of England, a kind of illustrious schools, in which the youth were instructed not only in reading, writing, and grammar, but also in several other branches of learning, as rhetoric, logic, &c. We are told by William Fitz-Stevens, who flourished in the reign of Henry II. that there were three of these illustrious schools in London, firmly established; besides several others that were occasionally opened by such masters as had obtained a high reputation for their learning. "On holidays," says he, "it is usual for these schools to hold public assemblies in the churches, in which the scholars engage in demonstrative or logical disputations, some using enthymems, and others perfect syllogisms; some aiming at nothing but to gain the victory, and make an ostentatious display of their acuteness, while others have the investigation of truth in view. Artful sophists, on these occasions, acquire great applause; some by a prodigious inundation and flow of words, others by their specious but fallacious arguments. After the disputations, other scholars deliver rhetorical declamations, in which they observe all the rules of art, and neglect no topic of persuasion. Even the younger boys in the different schools contend against each other in verse, about the principles of grammar, and the preterites and supines of verbs." There was, about the same time, a very famous academy in the town of St. Alban's (besides that in the abbey), under the government of Matthew, a physician, who had been educated at Salerno, and of his nephew Garinus, who excelled in the knowledge of the civil and canon law. Of this academy Matthew Paris affirms, "That there was hardly a school in all England, at that time, more fruitful or more famous, either for the number or proficiency of its scholars." This plainly intimates, that there were many schools of the same kind in England; which is further evident from the last canon of the council of Westminster, A.D. 1138, prohibiting the scholastics of cathedral churches from taking money for granting licenses to the teachers of the schools in the several towns and villages.

That prodigious numbers of Jews crowded into England soon after the conquest, and resided in all the principal towns for some ages, is attested by all the historians of those times. Their numbers and riches were indeed so great, and the revenues derived from them by government so considerable, that (as we have already seen) a particular exchequer was appointed for their reception. Among these Jews there were many rabbis, and men of learning, who officiated as priests in their synagogues, and professors in their schools, which they had in London, York, Lincoln, Linn, Norwich, Oxford, Cambridge, and every other town where any considerable number of them resided. For though the sciences had been much neglected by the Jews for five or six centuries, they were cultivated by them

in the twelfth with surprising ardour, and many of their rabbis of that age made a distinguished figure in the world of letters. In their schools, besides the rites of their religion, they taught the Hebrew and Arabic languages, arithmetic, for which they had much use in their money transactions; and medicine, by which many of them acquired both riches and reputation. Nor were the academies of the Jewish rabbis shut against the Christian youth, but open to all who chose to take the benefit of their instructions.

From this brief account of the seminaries of learning established in Britain in the period we are now examining, it is abundantly evident, that the general ignorance of the laity was owing rather to the state and manners of the times, than to the want of opportunities of acquiring at least a moderate degree of knowledge. But the truth seems to be, that this ignorance prevailed most amongst those in the highest and those in the lowest ranks of life; which was occasioned by the extreme dissipation of the former, who spent almost all their time, when they were not engaged in war, in rural diversions or domestic riots; and by the no less extreme depression of the latter, who were doomed to perpetual servitude and hard labour. For it is well known, that these two extremes are equally unfriendly to intellectual pursuits.

## SECTION II.

### *History of the necessary Arts in Britain, from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1216.*

As agriculture, in its several branches, is the most useful of all arts, it merits our particular attention in every period. That the conquest of England by the Normans contributed to the improvement of this art in Britain, is undeniable. For by that event many thousands of husbandmen, from the fertile and well-cultivated plains of Flanders, France, and Normandy, settled in this island, obtained estates or farms, and employed the same methods in the cultivation of them that they had used in their native countries. Some of the Norman barons were great improvers of their lands, and are celebrated in history for their skill in agriculture. "Richard de Rulos, Lord of Brunne and Deeping," says Ingulphus, "was much addicted to agriculture, and delighted in breeding horses and cattle. Besides inclosing and draining a great extent of country, he imbanked the river Wielland, which used every year to overflow the neighbouring fields, in a most substantial manner, building many houses and cottages upon the bank; which increased so much, that in a little time they formed a large town called Deeping, from its low situation. Here he planted orchards, cultivated commons, converted deep lakes and impassable quagmires into fertile fields, rich meadows, and pastures; and, in a word, rendered the whole country about it a garden of delights." From the above description, it appears that this nobleman, who was chamberlain to William the Conqueror, was not only fond of agriculture, but also that he conducted his improvements with skill and success.

The Norman clergy, and particularly the monks, were still greater improvers than the nobility; and the lands of the church, especially of the convents,

were conspicuous for their superior cultivation. For the monks of every monastery retained such of their lands as lay most convenient in their own possession, which they cultivated with great care, under their own inspection, and frequently with their own hands. It was so much the custom of the monks of this period to assist in the cultivation of their lands, especially in seed-time, hay-time, and harvest, that the famous Thomas Becket, after he was Archbishop of Canterbury, used to go out to the fields, with the monks of the monasteries where he happened to reside, and join with them in reaping their corn and making their hay. This is indeed mentioned by the historian as an act of uncommon condescension in a person of his high station in the church; but it is a sufficient proof that the monks of those times used to work with their own hands, at some seasons, in the labours of the field. And as many of them were men of genius and invention, they no doubt made various improvements in the art of agriculture. The 26th canon of the general council of Lateran, held A.D. 1179, affords a further proof that the protection and encouragement of all who were concerned in agriculture, was an object of attention to the church. For by that canon, it is decreed, "That all presbyters, clerks, monks, converts, pilgrims, and peasants, when they are engaged in the labours of husbandry, together with the cattle in their ploughs, and the seed which they carry into the field, shall enjoy perfect security; and that all who molest or interrupt them, if they do not desist when they have been admonished, shall be excommunicated."

The implements of husbandry were of the same kind, in this period, with those that are employed at present; but some of them were less perfect in their construction. The plough for example, had but one stilt or handle, which the ploughman guided with one hand, having in his other hand an instrument which served both for cleaning and mending his plough, and breaking the clods. The Norman plough had two wheels; and, in the light soil of Normandy, was commonly drawn by one ox, or two oxen; but in England a greater number, according to the nature of the soil, was often necessary. In Wales the person who conducted the oxen in the plough, walked backwards. Their carts, harrows, scythes, sickles, and flails, from the figures of them still remaining, appear to have been nearly of the same construction with those that are now used. In Wales they did not use a sickle in reaping their corn, but an instrument like the blade of a knife, with a wooden handle at each end. Water mills for grinding corn were very common; but they had also a kind of mills turned by horses, which were chiefly used in their armies, and at sieges, or in places where running water was scarce.

Though the various operations of husbandry, as manuring, ploughing, sowing, harrowing, reaping, threshing, winnowing, &c. are incidentally mentioned by the writers of this period, it is impossible to collect from them a distinct account of the manner in which these operations were performed. Mar. seems still to have been the chief manure next to dung, employed by the Anglo-Norman, as it had been by the Anglo-Saxon and British husbandmen. Summer-fallowing of lands designed for wheat, and ploughing them several times, appears to have been a common practice of the English farmers of this period. For Giraldus Cambrensis, in his description of Wales, takes notice of it as a great singularity in the husbandmen of that country, "that they ploughed their lands only once a-year in



March or April, in order to sow them with oats; but did not, like other farmers, plough them twice in summer, and once in winter, in order to prepare them for wheat." On the border of one of the compartments in the famous tapestry of Baieux, we see the figure of one man sowing, with a sheet about his neck, containing the seed under his left arm, and scattering it with his right hand; and of another man harrowing with one harrow, drawn by one horse. In two plates of Mr. Strutt's very curious and valuable work we perceive the figures of several persons engaged in mowing, reaping, threshing, and winnowing; in all which operations there appears to be little singular or different from modern practice.

Agriculture seems to have been in a very imperfect state in Scotland towards the end of this period. For in a parliament held at Scone, by king Alexander II. A.D. 1214, it was enacted, that such farmers as had four oxen or cows, or upwards, should labour their lands, by tilling them with a plough, and should begin to till fifteen days before Candlemas; and that such farmers as had not so many as four oxen, though they could not labour their lands by tilling, should delve as much with hand and foot as would produce a sufficient quantity of corn to support themselves and their families. But this law was probably designed for the highlands and most uncultivated parts of the kingdom. For in the same parliament, a very severe law was made against those farmers who did not extirpate a pernicious weed called *guilde* out of their lands, which seems to indicate a more advanced state of cultivation.

All the branches of gardening were much improved in England by the Normans, who coming from a country abounding with gardens, orchards, and vineyards, naturally laboured to introduce the same accommodations in their new settlements. William of Malmesbury, who flourished in the former part of the twelfth century, celebrates the vale of Gloucester, near to which he spent his whole life, for its great fertility both in corn and fruit trees, some of which the soil produced spontaneously by the way-sides, and others were cultivated, yielding such prodigious quantities of the finest fruits as were sufficient to excite the most indolent to be industrious. "This vale," adds he, "is planted thicker with vineyards than any other province in England; and they produce grapes in the greatest abundance, and of the sweetest taste. The wine that is made in these vineyards hath no disagreeable tartness in the mouth, and is very little inferior in flavour to the wines of France." This is a decisive proof that vineyards were planted and cultivated in England, in this period, for the purpose of making wine. Many of these vineyards were planted by abbots and bishops for the benefit of their monks and clergy. Martin, for example, Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, planted a vineyard for the use of his abbey, A.D. 1140; and Hugh Bishop of Lincoln paid a fine to the king of no less than five hundred marks, that the crops of corn produced on the estates, and wine made in the vineyards, together with the wine presses, belonging to that see in the year in which a bishop died, should be the property of the bishop, though he should happen to die before Martinmas. This fine, it is true, was paid to Henry III. about fourteen years after the conclusion of this period; but the vineyards had been planted long before, and our kings had been accustomed to claim the produce of them when a bishop died before Martinmas.

But notwithstanding all the improvements that

were made in agriculture, and that England was reputed the most fertile country in Europe, it cannot be denied that there were some very severe famines felt in it in the course of this period. An attentive examination, however, of the circumstances of these famines will serve still further to convince us that agriculture was much improved, and a more constant supply of the necessities of life provided by the Normans after they had obtained a firm establishment. For of the five great famines that raged in this period, four happened within a few years after the conquest, and were partly produced by the dreadful devastations of war; and the only destructive famine that fell out in the twelfth century (A.D. 1125), was occasioned by prodigious rains and floods in harvest; against the fatal effects of which no skill or industry of the husbandmen can guard.

Architecture, in all its branches, received as great improvements in this period as agriculture. The truth is, that the twelfth century may very properly be called the age of architecture, in which the rage for building was more violent in England than at any other time. The great and general improvements that were made in the fabrics of houses and churches in the first years of this century, are thus described by a contemporary writer. "The new cathedrals and innumerable churches that were built in all parts, together with the many magnificent cloisters and monasteries, and other apartments of monks, that were then erected, afford a sufficient proof of the great felicity of England in the reign of Henry I. The religious of every order enjoying peace and prosperity, displayed the most astonishing ardour in every thing that might increase the splendour of divine worship. The fervent zeal of the faithful prompted them to pull down houses and churches every where, and rebuild them in a better manner. By this means the ancient edifices that had been raised in the days of Edgar, Edward, and other Christian kings, were demolished, and others of greater magnitude and magnificence, and of more elegant workmanship, were erected in their room to the glory of God."

As the prodigious power of religious zeal, whatever turn it happens to take, when it is thoroughly heated, is well known, it may not be improper to give one example of the arts employed by the clergy and monks of this period, to inflame the pious ardour of the kings, nobles, and people, for building and adorning churches. When Joffred, Abbot of Croyland, resolved to rebuild the church of his monastery in a most magnificent manner, A.D. 1106, he obtained from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, a bull, dispensing with the third part of all penances for sin, to those who contributed any thing towards the building of that church. This bull was directed not only to the king and people of England, but to the kings of France and Scotland, and to all other kings, earls, barons, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, rectors, presbyters, and clerks, and to all true believers in Christ, rich and poor, in all Christian kingdoms. To make the best use of this bull, he sent two of his most eloquent monks to proclaim it over all France and Flanders, two other monks into Scotland, two into Denmark and Norway, two into Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, and others into different parts of England. "By this means," says the historian, "the wonderful benefits granted to all the contributors to the building of this church, were published to the very ends of the earth; and great heaps of treasure and masses of yellow

metal flowed in from all countries, upon the venerable Abbot Joffred, and encouraged him to lay the foundations of his church." Having spent about four years in collecting mountains of different kinds of marble, from quarries both at home and abroad, together with great quantities of lime, iron, brass, and other materials for building, he fixed a day for the great ceremony of laying the foundation, which he contrived to make a very effectual mean of raising the superstructure. For, on the long expected day, the feast of the holy virgins Felicitas and Perpetua, an immense multitude of earls, barons, and knights, with their ladies and families; of abbots, priors, monks, nuns, clerks, and persons of all ranks, arrived at Croyland, to assist at this ceremony. The pious Abbot Joffred began by saying certain prayers, and shedding a flood of tears, on the foundation. Then each of the earls, barons, knights, with their ladies, sons, and daughters; the abbots, clerks, and others, laid a stone, and upon it deposited a sum of money, a grant of lands, tithes, or patronage, or a promise of stone, lime, wood, labour, or carriages, for building the church. After this, the Abbot entertained the whole company, amounting to five thousand persons, at dinner. To this entertainment they were well entitled; for the money, and grants of different kinds, which they had deposited on the foundation-stones, were alone sufficient to have raised a very noble fabric. By such arts as these the clergy inspired kings, nobles, and people of all ranks, with so ardent a spirit for these pious works, that in the course of this period, almost all the sacred edifices in England were rebuilt, and many hundred of new ones raised from the foundation. Nor was this spirit confined to England, but prevailed as much in Scotland in proportion to its extent and riches. King David I. alone, besides several cathedrals and other churches, built no fewer than thirteen abbeys and priories, some of which were very magnificent structures.

The sacred architecture of the Anglo-Normans in the beginning of this period, did not differ much in its style and manner from that of the Anglo-Saxons; their churches being in general plain, low, strong, and dark; the arches both of the doors and windows semicircular; with few or no ornaments. By degrees, through much practice, our architects, who were all monks or clergymen, improved in their taste and skill, and ventured to form plans of more noble, light, and elevated structures, with a great variety of ornaments; which led to that bold magnificent style of building, commonly, though perhaps not very properly, called the *latter Gothic*. It is not improbable that our monkish architects were assisted in attaining this style of building by models from foreign countries, or by instructions from such of their own number as had visited Italy, France, Spain, or the East. But, without entering into uncertain disputes about the origin of this style of architecture, it is sufficient to observe that it began to appear in England in the reign of Henry II., and was distinguished from the more ancient Gothic by the following marks. The walls were much higher though not so thick, and supported on the outside by buttresses; the doors and windows were wider and loftier, and the arches of both were no longer semicircular, but pointed; and were sometimes ornamented with clusters of pillars on each side, and great variety of carvings—the larger windows had mullions of stone for ornament; and for the convenience of fixing the glass, the pillars that supported the roof were lofty and slender, and frequently surrounded with small

pillars that made them appear like a cluster,—the arches of the roof, like those of the doors and windows, were pointed;—the roof was covered with lead, and the fabric ornamented on the top at each end with pinnacles, and with a tower over the middle of the cross; on which, about the end of this period, very lofty spires of wood and stone began to be erected. This mode of architecture, which, with some variations, flourished more than three centuries, produced many stupendous edifices, which are still viewed with pleasure and admiration. Many of these magnificent structures were built with stones brought from the quarries near Caen in Normandy, which very much enhanced the expense of their erection.

The houses of the common people in the country, and of the lower burghesses in towns and cities were very little improved in their structure in the course of this period; that most numerous and useful order of men being much depressed in the times we are now delineating. Even in the capital city of London, all the houses of mechanics and common burghesses were built of wood, and covered with straw or reeds, toward the end of the twelfth century. But the palaces, or rather castles, of the Anglo-Norman kings, barons, and prelates, were very different from the residences of persons of the same rank in the Anglo-Saxon times. For this we have the testimony of a person of undoubted credit, who was well acquainted with them both. "The Anglo-Saxon nobles," says William of Malmesbury, "squandered away their ample revenues in low and mean houses; but the French and Norman barons are very different from them, living at less expense, but in great and magnificent palaces." The truth is, that the rage of building fortified castles was no less violent among the Norman princes, prelates, and barons, than that of building churches. To this they were prompted, not only by the custom of their native country, but also by their dangerous situation in this island. Surrounded by multitudes, whom they had depressed and plundered, and by whom they were abhorred, they could not think themselves safe without the protection of deep ditches and strong walls. The conqueror himself was sensible, that the want of fortified places in England had greatly facilitated his conquest, and might facilitate his expulsion; and therefore he made all possible haste to remedy this defect, by building very magnificent and strong castles in all the towns within the royal demesnes. "William," says Matthew Paris, "excelled all his predecessors in building castles, and greatly harassed his subjects and vassals with these works." All his earls, barons, and even prelates, imitated his example; and it was the first care of every one who received the grant of an estate from the crown, to build a castle upon it for his defence and residence. The disputes about the succession in the following reigns, kept up this spirit for building great and strong castles. William Rufus was still a greater builder than his father. "This William," says Henry Knyghton, "was much addicted to building royal castles and palaces, as the castles of Dover, Windsor, Norwich, Exeter, the palace of Westminster, and many others, testify; nor was there any king of England before him that erected so many, and such noble edifices." Henry I. was also a great builder both of castles and monasteries. But this rage for building never prevailed so much in any period of the English history as in the turbulent reign of King Stephen, from A. D. 1135 to A. D. 1154. "In this reign," as we are told by the author of the Saxon Chronicle, "every one who was able,



built a castle; so that the poor people were worn out with the toil of these buildings, and the whole kingdom was covered with castles." This last expression will hardly appear too strong, when we are informed, that besides all the castles before that time in England, no fewer than eleven hundred and fifteen were raised from the foundation in the short space of nineteen years.

An art so much practised as architecture was in this period, must have been much improved. That it really was so, will appear from the following very brief description of the most common form and structure of a royal castle, or of that of a great earl, baron, or prelate, in this period; and as these castles served both for residence and defence, this description will serve for an account both of the domestic and military architecture of those times, which cannot well be separated.

The situation of the castles of the Anglo-Norman kings and barons was most commonly on an eminence, and near a river; a situation on several accounts eligible. The whole site of the castle, which was frequently of great extent and irregular figure, was surrounded by a deep and broad ditch, sometimes filled with water, and sometimes dry, called the *fosse*. Before the great gate was an out-work, called a *barbican* or *antemural*, which was a strong and high wall, with turrets upon it, designed for the defence of the gate and drawbridge. On the inside of the ditch stood the wall of the castle, about eight or ten feet thick, and between twenty and thirty feet high, with a parapet, and a kind of embrasures, called *crennels*, on the top. On this wall, at proper distances, square towers of two or three stories high were built, which served for lodging some of the principal officers of the proprietor of the castle, and for other purposes; and, on the inside were erected lodgings for the common servants or retainers, granaries, storehouses, and other necessary offices. On the top of this wall, and on the flat roofs of these buildings, stood the defenders of the castle, when it was besieged, and from thence discharged arrows, darts, and stones, on the besiegers. The great gate of the castle stood in the course of this wall, and was strongly fortified with a tower on each side, and rooms over the passage, which was closed with thick folding doors of oak, often plated with iron, and with an iron portcullis or grate let down from above. Within this outward wall was a large open space or court, called in the largest and most perfect castles, the *outer bayle* or *ballium*, in which stood commonly a church or chapel. On the inside of this outer bayle was another ditch, wall, gate, and towers, inclosing the inner bayle, or court, within which the chief tower or *keep* was built. This was a very large square fabric, four or five stories high, having small windows in prodigious thick walls, which rendered the apartments within it dark and gloomy. This great tower was the palace of the prince, prelate, or baron, to whom the castle belonged, and the residence of the constable or governor. Under ground were dismal dark vaults, for the confinement of prisoners, which made it sometimes be called the *dungeon*. In this building also was the great hall, in which the owner displayed his hospitality, by entertaining his numerous friends and followers. At one end of the great halls of castles, palaces, and monasteries, there was a place raised a little above the rest of the floor, called the *deix*, where the chief table stood, at which persons of the highest rank dined. Though there were unquestionably great variations in the structure of castles and palaces in this period,

yet the most perfect and magnificent of them seem to have been constructed nearly on the above plan. Such, to give one example, was the famous castle of Bedford, as appears from the following account of the manner in which it was taken by Henry III, A.D. 1224. The castle was taken by four assaults. "In the first was taken the barbican; in the second the outer ballia; at the third attack, the wall by the old tower was thrown down by the miners, where, with great danger, they possessed themselves of the inner ballia, through a chink; at the fourth assault, the miners set fire to the tower, so that the smoke burst out, and the tower itself was cloven to that degree, as to show visibly some broad chinks; whereupon the enemy surrendered."

The castles, monasteries, and greater churches of this period, were generally covered with lead, the windows glazed; and when the walls were not of ashler, they were neatly plastered and whitewashed on both sides. The doors, floors, and roof, were commonly made of oak planks and beams, exactly smoothed and jointed, and frequently carved. It is hardly necessary to observe, that the building one of these great and magnificent castles, monasteries, or churches, of which there were many in England, must have been a work of prodigious expense and labour; and that the architects and artificers, by whom that work was planned and executed, must have attained considerable dexterity in their respective arts. Several of these architects have obtained a place in history, and are highly celebrated for their superior skill. William of Sent, architect to Archbishop Lanfranc, in building his cathedral, is said, by Gervase of Canterbury, to have been a most exquisite artist both in stone and wood. He made not only a model of the whole cathedral, but of every particular piece of sculpture and carving, for the direction of the workmen; and invented many curious machines for loading and unloading ships, and conveying heavy weights by land, because all the stones were brought from Normandy. Matthew Paris speaks even in a higher strain of Walter of Coventry, who flourished towards the end of this period, when he says, that, "so excellent an architect had never yet appeared, and probable never would appear, in the world." This encomium was undoubtedly too high; but it is impossible to view the remains of many magnificent fabrics, both sacred and civil, that were erected in this period, without admiring the genius of the architects by whom they were planned, and the dexterity of the workmen by whom they were executed.

Though the arts of refining and working metals, which are so useful in themselves, and so necessary to the practice of the other arts, were very far from being in an imperfect state among the Anglo-Saxons, they certainly received some improvements in the present period. The art of making defensive armour, in particular, was brought to such perfection, that a knight completely armed was almost invulnerable. A suit of this armour consisted of many different pieces, for the several parts of the body, nicely jointed, to make them sit easy, and allow freedom of motion and exertion of strength; the whole was well tempered, finely polished, and often beautifully gilt, which are sufficient evidences of the dexterity of the artists. But those who wrought in the more precious metals, of gold and silver, had attained to still greater perfection in their art. This appears from the direct testimony of contemporary writers, and from the descriptions of some of the works of these critics. When Re-

bert, Abbot of St. Alban's, sent a present of two candlesticks made of gold and silver, with wonderful art, to his countryman, Pope Adrian IV., A.D. 1158, they were greatly admired and praised by that pontiff and his courtiers, who acknowledged they had never beheld any pieces of workmanship of that kind so exquisitely beautiful. A goldsmith, named Baldwin, who flourished in the reign of Henry II., was very famous, and made many admirable pieces of plate for the use of Churches. "Simon, Abbot of St. Alban's," says Matthew Paris, "dedicated to God, and the church of the holy martyr Alban, for the perpetual preservation of his own memory, a very large cup of gold, than which there was not one more noble or beautiful in all England. It was made of the purest gold, by that renowned goldsmith, Master Baldwin, adorned with flowers and foliages of the most delicate workmanship, and set around with precious stones, in the most elegant manner. Besides this, he gave to that church, a vessel for keeping the Eucharist, which was suspended over the high altar, and excited universal admiration. It was made by the hand of the same Baldwin; and though it was of the finest gold, and enriched with precious stones of inestimable value, the workmanship was more excellent than the materials." These artists also excelled in casting figures of all kinds, in brass, silver, and gold, for ornamenting cabinets, shrines, altars, and the like. There was in the same abbey of St. Alban's, a shrine adorned with the whole history of our Saviour's passion, in such cast figures. The excessive riches of the church in this period, and the ambition of many prelates and abbots, to display their piety and gratify their pride, by adorning their cathedrals and abbeys, contributed very much to the improvement of this, and of several other arts, by affording the highest encouragement to the artists. The truth is, that many of the most curious artists of this period were ecclesiastics, and some of them even prelates; and that in some churches, there were certain prebends appropriated to those of their clergy who excelled as architects, workers in stone, wood, or metals, and such arts as were necessary in building and adorning monasteries and cathedrals.

The arts of dressing and spinning wool and flax, weaving both linen and woollen cloth, and several other clothing arts, were well known to the Anglo-Saxons, and practised by them with no little success, before the conquest. There is, however, sufficient evidence that all these arts were improved after that event, in the course of our present period. This was partly owing to the great multitude of manufacturers of cloth, who came from Flanders, and settled in England, in those times. The people of that country were then so famous for their skill in the woollen manufactory, that one of our ancient historians says, "the art of weaving seemed to be a peculiar gift bestowed upon them by nature." By this they were so much enriched, that some of their manufacturers and merchants rivalled princes in wealth and luxury. Besides the great number of Flemings who came over in the army of the Conqueror, there were several considerable emigrations of them from their own country into England, particularly in the reigns of Henry I. and King Stephen. After their settlement in this island, which abounded in the best materials for their manufactories, they pursued their former occupation with great advantage to themselves and to the kingdom. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Itinerary of Wales, observes, that "the inhabitants of the district of Ross, in Pembrokeshire, who derived their

origin from Flanders, were much addicted to, and greatly excelled, in the woollen manufactory.

For the improvement of the clothing arts the weavers in all the great towns of England were formed into gilds or corporations, and had various privileges bestowed upon them by royal charters, for which they paid certain fines into the exchequer. The weavers of Oxford paid a mark of gold for their gild, in the fifth of King Stephen: those of London paid sixteen pounds for theirs in the fifteenth, and those of Lincoln fined two chauseurs or hounds for theirs in the twelfth of the same reign. In the twelfth of Henry II. the weavers of Winchester paid one mark of gold as a gresome, and two marks as their annual rate, for enjoying the rights of their gild, and the privilege of choosing their own aldermen; and in the same year the fullers of the same city, who formed another corporation, paid six pounds for their gild.

In the reign of Richard I. the woollen manufactory became the subject of legislation; and a law was made, A.D. 1197, for regulating the fabrication and sale of cloth. By that law it was enacted, "That all woollen cloths shall every where be made of the same breadth, viz. two ells within the lists; and of the same goodness in the middle as at the sides. —That the ell shall be of the same length over all the kingdom, and that it shall be made of iron. —That no merchant in any part of the kingdom of England shall stretch before his shop or booth, a red, or black cloth, or any other thing, by which the sight of buyers is frequently deceived in the choice of good cloth. —That no cloth of any other colour than black shall be sold in any part of the kingdom, except in cities and capital burghs; and that in all cities and burghs, four or six men, according to the size of the place, shall be appointed to enforce the observation of these regulations, by seizing the persons and goods of all who transgress them." This remarkable law demonstrates, that the manufactory of broad cloth was not only established in England in this period, but that it had arrived at considerable maturity, and had become an object of national attention. There is evidence still remaining that this law was for some time very strictly executed; but that in the reign of King John, when every thing became venal, the merchants and manufacturers purchased licenses to make their cloth either broad or narrow as they pleased, which brought considerable sums into the royal exchequer.

That tapestry hangings, with historical figures woven in them, were used in England in this period, we have the clearest evidence. Richard, who was Abbot of St. Alban's from A. D. 1088 to A. D. 1119, made a present to his monastery of a suit of hangings, which contained the whole history of St. Alban. But whether these hangings had been made in England or not is uncertain, although it is not improbable that this curious art might be introduced by some of the many manufacturers from the Netherlands, who settled in Britain in this period.

Silks of various kinds are frequently mentioned both in the records and by the historians of this period, and even seem not to have been very uncommon. For we often meet with accounts of silk vestments, cops, altar-cloths, hangings, &c. in great quantities, purchased by prelates, for the use of themselves, their clergy, and their churches. Nor was the use of silks confined to the church and clergy. They were worn also by kings, queens, princes, and other persons of high rank, especially on solemn occasions. But it is much more probable, that these



silks were imported from Spain, Sicily, Majorca, Ivice, and other countries, than that they were manufactured in Britain. The silk manufactory seems to have flourished greatly, at this time, in the two last-mentioned islands, as each of them paid an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of silk to the king of Arragon. Roger king of Sicily having taken the cities of Corinth, Thebes, and Athens, A. D. 1148, got into his hands a great number of silk weavers, brought them, with the implements and materials for the exercise of their art, and settled them at Palermo, in Sicily. A writer who visited this manufactory, A. D. 1169, represents it to have been then in a most flourishing condition, producing great quantities of silks, both plain and figured, of many different colours. "There (adds he) you might have seen other workmen making silks interwoven with gold, and adorned with figures composed of many sparkling gems." It will afterwards appear, that those elegant arts were not long confined to Sicily.

We have already seen that the Anglo-Saxon ladies before the Conquest excelled in the art of embroidery. This art was rather improved than injured by that event, and the English ladies still maintained their superiority in this respect. When Robert Abbot of St. Alban's visited his countryman Pope Adrian IV., he made him several valuable presents, and, amongst other things, three mitres, and a pair of sandals, of most admirable workmanship. His Holiness refused his other presents, but thankfully accepted of the mitres and sandals, being charmed with their exquisite beauty. These admired pieces of embroidery were the work of Christina Abbess of Markgate. Another pope, not long after, admired the embroidered vestments of some English clergymen, asked where they had been made; and being answered, in England, he cried out, "O England! thou garden of delights, thou inexhaustible fountain of riches, from thee I never can exact too much;" and immediately despatched his bulls to several English abbots, commanding them to procure him some of these embroidered cloths and silks for his own dress. From the descriptions of these sacerdotal vestments in our ancient writers, they seem to have merited the admiration which they excited. Some of them (as we are informed by contemporary writers) were almost quite covered with gold and precious stones, and others adorned with the most beautiful figures of men, beasts, birds, trees, and flowers. It may not, however, be improper to suggest, that if these and other works, which appeared so exquisitely beautiful to the writers of this period, were now extant, it is probable that they would not excite so much admiration in the present age, when the arts are so much improved.

No art was more necessary, more cultivated, or more improved in Britain, in this period, than that of war. "The Normans," says William of Malmshury "are a people who delight in war, and are unhappy when they are not engaged in some military operation. They excel in all the arts of attacking their enemies when their forces are sufficient; and, when these are defective, they are no less expert in military stratagems, and the arts of corruption by money."

The armies of Britain, and of all the nations of Europe, in the feudal times, consisted chiefly of cavalry, composed of earls, barons, knights, and others, who held their lands by knight's service, or of their substitutes. All these were obliged, by their tenures, to take the field when called upon by their

sovereign, together with a certain number of knights, well mounted and properly armed, and to serve a certain number of days at their own expense, their lands being considered as their pay. As it often happened, that many who held lands by knights' service were superannuated, or infirm, or otherwise incapable of performing that service in person, they were permitted, or rather obliged, to perform it by proper substitutes. The clergy also, who possessed a great proportion of lands, for which they could not in person perform the military services, because they were prohibited by the canons, were subjected to the same necessity of performing these services by substitutes, that the national defence might be complete. As many of the wars of the kings of England, in this period, were carried on in Normandy and France, the personal performance of their military services became very inconvenient and expensive to the possessors of lands in England; which induced many of them to redeem these services by paying the tax called *scutage*. With the money arising from this tax, the kings engaged soldiers of fortune to perform the services. The cavalry, therefore, of the British armies, in this period, consisted of such earls, barons, and knights, as were able and willing to perform the military services for their lands in person, and of the substitutes of the clergy and others, either provided by themselves, or hired by the king. If all these, belonging to England, had been collected together, they would have formed a body of sixty thousand horsemen, as there were sixty thousand knights' fees in that kingdom.

The defensive armour of the British cavalry have been already described, except their shields, which they carried on their left arms, and with which they warded off the blows of their enemies. These shields were of an oval form, considerably broader at the top than at the bottom. Even the horses of some of the princes, earls, barons, and chief knights, were covered with armour of steel or iron. The offensive arms of the cavalry were, 1. Long spears, or lances, made of some light strong wood, as fir or ash, and pointed with steel, very sharp, and well tempered; 2. Long and broad swords, double-edged, and sharp-pointed; 3. A short dirk or dagger.

The infantry of the British armies of this period consisted of the freemen of the several British states, who did not hold lands of the sovereign by knights' service, but were possessors of property to a certain extent, for which they were obliged to contribute to the public defence. By the famous assize of arms made by Henry II., A.D. 1181, every freeman who was possessed of sixteen marks, either in land or goods, was obliged to provide the armour and weapons of a man at arms; and every freeman and burgess who possessed ten marks was obliged to provide the armour and arms of an ordinary foot-soldier. The defensive armour of a man at arms was a coat of mail, a helmet, and a shield; and his offensive weapons, a spear and a sword. The defensive armour of an ordinary foot-soldier was a wamboy, or jacket twilted with cotton, and an iron skull-cap; his offensive arms, a spear, or a bow and arrows, or a sling, with a sword. These arms, by the same assize, were neither to be sold, nor pledged, nor seized for debt, nor any way alienated, but transmitted by every man to his heir; and if any one who possessed them was not capable of using them, he was obliged to provide one who was capable, when he was called into the field. By these politic regulations every man who had any valuable stake in the state was obliged to contribute to the public

safety, and was constantly provided with the means of doing it.

Besides these national forces, there were, in this period, several bands of mercenary soldiers of fortune, who made a trade of war, and were occasionally taken into the pay of the kings of England. These were called by various names, as *Ruparii*, *Bragmanni*, *Coterelli*, and most commonly *Brabançons*, because many of them were natives of Brabant. They are painted by the historians of those times in the most odious colours, as a collection of desperate lawless ruffians, who lived by plunder when they were not employed in war. Stephen seems to have been the first English king who took these miscreants into his pay; and his example was imitated by his three successors, Henry II. Richard I. and John. But it was only in times of great confusion, when many of their own subjects had revolted, that our princes had recourse to such destructive auxiliaries. These troops of banditti, rather than of soldiers, became at length so terrible, especially to the clergy, that they were solemnly excommunicated by the third general council of Lateran, A.D. 1179, and a crusade was set on foot for their extermination. One Durand, a common carpenter, pretending to have received a commission from the Virgin Mary in a vision, A.D. 1182, put himself at the head of this crusade, and formed a military society for the destruction of the *Brabançons*; which, after a long and bloody struggle, was accomplished.

The sovereign of every feudal state was, by the constitution, generalissimo or commander-in-chief of its forces; and all the British princes of this period performed that office in person, appearing constantly at the head of their armies. This was not altogether owing to the martial character of these princes, but was absolutely necessary to preserve some degree of discipline in armies composed of haughty independent barons and their followers. The constable, who was the highest military officer, commanded under the king, and, with the assistance of the marshal and his officers, superintended the musters, regulated the quarters, marches, and encampments; determined all disputes, and appointed the punishment of delinquents, according to martial law. Every earl commanded the troops of his county, and every baron those of his barony. All these offices or commands were hereditary; which, as John of Salisbury observes, was a defect in the military system of the middle ages, because by this means many persons were invested with offices of great importance, for which they were naturally unqualified. "In our time," says he, "military skill and discipline have much declined, and are almost quite destroyed; because many possess the highest offices, without having passed through the subaltern degrees; who are proud indeed of their commands and titles, but despise the most necessary qualifications. Young men who are gamesters, hunters, hawkers, and even natural fools, who have never handled arms, or acquired any knowledge of the arts of war, take upon them to act the part of generals."

The royal standard was considered as the centre of the whole army. In the day of battle it was carried by some great baron, who was standard-bearer of the kingdom, whose office was very honourable, and commonly hereditary. Henry de Essex was standard-bearer of England in the reign of Henry II., but in a battle against the Welsh, A.D. 1157, he was seized with a panic, and threw down the royal standard, on which the whole army concluded that the king was killed. Being tried for this crime,

and convicted, he was condemned to lose his office, his fortune, and his life; which last was spared by the clemency of the king. Every earl and baron had his particular standard painted with the armorial ensigns of his family; and even bishops and abbots had also standards, with different devices, that accompanied their troops when they took the field. These standards served not only to distinguish one body of troops from another, and to be a centre of union to each, but they also contributed to animate the soldiers to fight with courage for their preservation; because to lose their standard was esteemed the greatest disgrace. The shapes and devices of these standards may be seen in Mr. Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, and his complete *View of the Manners, &c. of England*.

The several corps in the army had bands of martial music, which served to cheer them in their marches, to rouse and inflame their courage in battle, and to drown the cries and groans of the wounded. These martial musicians made use of various instruments, as horns, trumpets, drums, flutes, fifes, and heroins; the last of which are now unknown. The charge to battle was given by the sound of all the instruments of martial music in both armies, commonly accompanied with the shouts of martial songs of the combatants.

It is not to be imagined that any particular rule was fixed for the arrangement of the troops in the order of battle. This must at all times be liable to great variations, arising from the nature of the ground, the quality of the troops, the genius of the commanders, the dispositions of the enemy, and other circumstances. In general, however, the Normans seem to have drawn up their different kinds of troops in different lines, rather than to have formed them into one solid compact body, which was the most common method of the Anglo-Saxons. In the famous battle of Hastings, the different practice of the two nations was most conspicuous. King Harold formed his whole army into one solid body, which made a kind of castle, impenetrable on all sides, of which the royal standard was the centre. The duke of Normandy, on the contrary, drew up his army in three lines, according to the custom of his country. "In the first line," to use the words of a contemporary historian, who was a witness of what he relates, "he placed the foot, who were armed with bows and arrows, or with slings; in the second line he placed the heavy armed foot, who were defended with coats of mail; and in the third line he placed his cavalry, in which his chief strength consisted, and among whom he was in person." Agreeable to this disposition of the Norman army, the battle was begun by the first line, with a shower of arrows and stones from their bows and slings; which did considerable execution, but could not break the solid phalanx of their enemies, who repulsed them by throwing darts, javelins, and stones. The second line then advanced to the attack; and was in the same manner repulsed. At last the cavalry advanced in a deep and heavy body, and with their lances and swords made a most furious assault upon the English; who stood firm like a wall composed of shields and spears; and if they had not been tempted, by the pretended flight of their enemies, to depart from their original disposition, they would have been invincible. But though the above seems to have been the most common method used by the Normans in the arrangement of their troops, yet so many deviations from it occur in the descriptions of the battles fought in Britain and Normandy in this period, that



they cannot be enumerated. In the famous battle of the Standard, for example, they adopted the Anglo-Saxon method, and formed their forces into one compact body, with the standard in the centre. In the great battle (to give only one example more) that was fought between Henry I. and the king of France at Brenneville in Normandy, A.D. 1119, a different disposition was made by Henry, who formed the first and second lines of cavalry, and the third of infantry.

Besides their lances, spears, darts, cross-bows, arrows, slings, which may be called the small arms of the middle ages, they had a kind of field-artillery which they used in battle. This artillery consisted of certain machines made of wood, which, by various contrivances, and combinations of the mechanic powers, threw darts and stones with great force to a great distance. Such machines were used with success in the famous battle of Hastings, and in several other battles. The darts that were shot from these machines, as well as from the cross-bows, were called quarrels, and were pointed with heavy pieces of steel, shaped like pyramids, and very sharp, which made them very destructive. This kind of artillery was more frequently used in sea-fights, than in battles on shore; and in these fights they discharged not only stones and darts, but also pots full of Greek-fire, quick lime, and other combustible materials.

As sea-fights have been mentioned, it may not be improper to give the following description of one that was fought in this period, between the Christian and Turkish fleets, before Ptolemais, translated from an author who was an eye witness of what he describes:—"Modern ships of war," says Geoffrey de Vinesauf, "are either galleys or galliots. Galleys are long, low, and narrow, with a beam extended from the prow, which is commonly called the spur, with which they pierce the ships of the enemy. Galliots have only one bank of oars, are much shorter, more easily wrought, and fitter for throwing fire. When both parties prepared for battle, our men drew up their ships, not in a straight line, but bending a little like a crescent, placing the strongest ships on the points, that if the enemy attempted to break our line, they might be surrounded. The sea was perfectly calm and smooth, as if it had been prepared for the occasion, that neither the rowers nor combatants might miss their strokes. The signal of battle was given by the sound of trumpets on both sides, followed by dreadful shouts and showers of darts. Our men, imploring the Divine assistance, plied their oars, and pushed the spurs of their galleys against the ships of their enemies. Now the battle raged.—Oars are entangled with oars,—grappling-irons fix one ship to another,—the combatants engage hand to hand,—and the boards are set on fire by a flaming oil, which is commonly called Greek-fire. This fire hath a most fetid smell, with livid flames, and consumes even flints and iron: water makes no impression upon it; a sprinkling of sand abates it; but it can only be extinguished by vinegar. O how terrible, how cruel, is a sea engagement! Some are tortured by fire,—some absorbed by the waves,—and others expire with wounds. One of our galleys was set on fire and boarded by the Turks. The rowers plunged into the sea, to save their lives by swimming; but a few knights, who were armory-armed, fought in despair, slew all the Turks, and brought their galley half-torn to land. In another of our galleys, the Turks seized the upper bank of oars, where the Christians kept possession of

the lower, and by their pulling different ways, it was tossed in a miserable manner. In this engagement the Turks lost one galley and one galliot, with their crews, while we came off triumphant and victorious."

The Greek-fire, mentioned in the above description, seems to have been one of the most terrible instruments of destruction employed in military operations, before the invention of gunpowder. It was called Greek-fire, because it was invented by the Greeks of the Eastern empire, who, for several centuries, kept the composition of it a profound secret. In that period, the emperors of Constantinople used to send quantities of this fire to princes in friendship with them, as the most valuable present they could give them, and as the greatest mark of their favour. But the composition of this liquid fire, as it is sometimes called, seems to have been no longer a secret in the twelfth century, as it was then used in very great quantities, not only by the Christians of all nations in the Holy Land, but also by the Turks. It is said to have been a composition of sulphur, bitumen, and naphtha. It had a very strong and disagreeable smell, as we may easily suppose from its ingredients; burnt with a livid flame, and so intense a heat, that it consumed not only all soft combustible substances, but even stones and metals. When it fell in any considerable quantity, upon a warrior, it penetrated his armour, and peeled his flesh from his bones with exquisite pain, which made it an object of great terror. This liquid fire was kept in phials and pots, and in these was discharged from machines on the enemy. One of its most singular properties was, that it burnt in water, which did not in the least abate its violence; but it yielded to several other things, particularly to sand, urine and vinegar. For this reason, when an army made an assault, in which they expected to be opposed by Greek-fire, they provided themselves with these things for its extinction. "Greek-fire," says Geoffrey de Vinesauf, in describing an assault, "was discharged upon them from the walls of the castle and city, like lightning, and struck them with great terror; but they endeavoured to preserve themselves from it, by sand, vinegar, and other extinguishers."

As Britain abounded, in this period, in fortified towns and castles, much of the art of war consisted in defending and assailing places of strength. The manner in which these fortifications were constructed has been already described. They were defended by discharges of the various kinds of small arms and artillery then in use, from the ramparts, and by counteracting all the arts and efforts of the besiegers. It would be a very tedious work to enumerate all the arts and all the machines that were employed in this period in assailing and defending places. For as the combinations of the mechanic powers in forming engines for bursting open gates, undermining, scaling, and battering walls, throwing stones, darts, and fire, and for opposing all these efforts, are almost innumerable, great scope was given to the genius and invention both of the besiegers and besieged. The consequence of this was, that there were few sieges of great importance in which some new machine was not invented. Of these machines above twenty different kinds are mentioned by the writers of this period. But a plain description of a siege, given by a contemporary writer, will probably be more satisfactory to the reader, and give him a clearer idea of the means employed in attacking and defending places, than the most laborious investigation of the constructions and uses of all

these machines. For this purpose I have chosen the relation given by an eye-witness of the siege of the castle of Exeter by King Stephen, A.D. 1136: "The castle of Exeter is built on a lofty mount, surrounded with impenetrable walls, strengthened with Cæsarean towers. In this castle Baldwin de Redvers placed a garrison composed of valiant youths, the flower of all England, to defend it against the king, to which he bound them by a solemn oath, and by putting under their protection his wife and children. When the king invested the castle, they mounted the walls in shining armour, and treated him and his army with scorn and defiance. Sometimes they sallied out from secret passages, when least expected, and put many of the besiegers to the sword; sometimes they poured down showers of arrows, darts, and other weapons on the assailants. On the other hand, the king and his barons laboured with the greatest ardour to distress the garrison. Having formed a very strong and well-armed body of foot, he assaulted the barbacan, and, after a fierce and bloody struggle, carried it. He next beat down, with his engines, the bridge of communication between the castle and the town: after which he erected lofty towers of wood, with wonderful art, to protect his men, and enable them to return the discharges from the walls. In a word, he gave the besieged no rest, either day or night. Sometimes his men mounted on a machine supported by four wheels, approached the walls, and engaged hand to hand. Sometimes he drew up all the slingers of the army, and threw into the castle an intolerable shower of stones. Sometimes he employed the most skilful miners to undermine the foundations of the walls. He made use of machines of many different kinds; some of which were very lofty, for inspecting what they were doing within the castle; and others very low, for battering and beating down the walls. The besieged, making a bold and masterly defence, baffled all his machinations with the most astonishing dexterity and art." After this siege had lasted three months, and King Stephen had expended upon it, in machines, arms, and other things, no less than fifteen thousand marks, equal in efficacy to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money, the besieged were obliged to surrender for want of water.

*The History of the fine or pleasing arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music, in Great Britain, from 1066 to 1216.*

MANKIND, in every stage of society, have some taste and capacity for the imitative and pleasing arts; and from the indulgence of that taste, and exertion of that capacity, they derive many of their most rational enjoyments. On this account, the state of these arts is an object worthy of attention in every period of the history of our country.

Sculpture, or the art of forming the figures of men, birds, beasts, &c. in metal, stone, wood, or other materials, flourishes most under the patronage of riches and superstition, among a wealthy people addicted to idolatry. As Britain was one of the richest countries of Europe, in the period we are now delineating, and its inhabitants were much addicted to a superstitious veneration for the image of their saints, we have good reason to believe that sculpture was much cultivated and encouraged. Every church had a statue of its patron saint, while

cathedrals and conventual churches were crowded with such statues. We may form some judgment of the number of these statues in conventual churches from the following account given by Matthew Paris, of those that were erected in the abbey church of St. Alban's, by one Abbot:—"This Abbot William removed the ancient statue of the Virgin Mary, and placed it in another part of the church, erecting a new and more beautiful one in its room. He did the same with respect to the ancient crucifix, which stood aloft in the middle of the church, and another image of the Virgin Mary, that stood over the altar of St. Blasius, removing them into the north side of the church, and substituting others of more excellent workmanship in their places, for the edification and consolation of all the laity who entered. This abbot also set up a great crucifix with its images over the great altar." Some of these statues, if we may believe this historian, were executed in a very masterly manner. "It must be mentioned also," says he, "to the praise of Abbot William, that the new statue of the Virgin Mary, which he presented to our church, is admirably beautiful, having been made by Mr. Walter de Colchester, with the most exquisite art and skill."

Besides statues, the sculptors of this period executed many figures, and even historical pieces, in basso and alto relievo, or ornaments of churches, and objects of superstitious veneration. In the same abbey church of St. Alban's, we are told by the same historian, who was a monk of that abbey, there was a curious piece of this kind in wood, over the high altar:—"In the middle," says he, "of this piece, was a representation of the Divine Majesty, with that of a Christian church and of a Jewish synagogue. On one hand was a series of figures representing the twelve patriarchs, and on the other hand another series representing the twelve apostles." In a word, when architecture was cultivated with so much ardour, sculpture could not be neglected; and when so many noble and magnificent churches were built, artists could not be wanting to adorn and furnish them with images, which were esteemed so essential to the worship that was to be performed in these sacred structures.

The art of painting was never wholly lost in any of those countries of Europe, which had been provinces of the Roman empire. For though the barbarous conquerors of those countries destroyed many magnificent edifices and beautiful paintings, not a few of both escaped their ravages, and became the objects of their admiration. Some of these conquerors also, when the rage of war was at an end, discovered a taste for the fine arts, and became their patrons. Even the Anglo-Saxons, who were amongst the most destructive of the northern conquerors who overturned the Roman empire, did not continue long to despise the pleasing arts, particularly that of painting, which was practised by them with considerable success. But the Norman conquest contributed not a little to the improvement of the art of painting as well as of architecture, in Britain; for the Normans being as superstitious, and more magnificent than the Anglo-Saxons, they built more beautiful churches, and adorned them with a greater profusion of paintings. The roof, for example, of the cathedral church of Canterbury, built by Archbishop Lanfranc, was painted, if we may believe a contemporary author, in the most elegant manner. Aldred, archbishop of York, who put the crown on the head of William the Conqueror, added much to the magnitude and beauty of the church of St. John



of Beverley. "He enlarged (says his historian) the old church, by adding a new presbytery, which he dedicated to St. John the Evangelist; and he adorned the whole roof, from the presbytery to the great tower, with the most beautiful paintings, intermixed with much gilding of gold, performed with admirable art." In a word, it seems to have been the constant custom of this period, to paint the inner roofs or ceilings of cathedrals and conventual churches; but of what kind these paintings were, and with what degree of delicacy they were executed, we have now no means of judging, as we cannot depend very much on the taste of the monkish writers of those times, who speak of them in the highest strains of admiration. It is, however, highly probable that these paintings were of the historical kind, the subjects of which were taken from the Scriptures: for Dudo of St. Quintin tells us, that Richard I., duke of Normandy, who died A.D. 1002, painted the inside of a magnificent church, which he built at Rouen, with historical paintings.

Portrait paintings appear to have been very common in this period; and it is probable that there were few kings, queens, or princes, who had not their pictures drawn. The learned Montfaucon has published prints of four pictures at full length, representing William the Conqueror, his Queen Matilda, and their two sons Robert and William. These pictures, which are believed by many to have been drawn from the life, were painted in fresco, on the walls of a chapel belonging to the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, which was built A.D. 1064. They are thus described:—"The conqueror was drawn as a very tall man, clothed in a royal robe, and standing on the back of an hound couchant: on his head was a diadem, ornamented with trifolds; his left hand pointed to his breast, and in his right he held a sceptre surmounted with a fleur-de-lys. Queen Matilda was dressed in a kirtle and mantle, and had on her head a diadem similar to that of her husband; from the under part whereof hung a veil, which was represented as falling carelessly behind her shoulders; in her right hand was a sceptre, surmounted with a fleur-de-lys, and in her left a book: her feet were supported by the figure of a lion. Duke Robert was represented as standing on a hound, and clad in a tunique, over which was thrown a short robe or mantle: his head was covered with a bonnet; upon his right hand, clothed with a glove, stood a hawk, and in his left was a lure. The picture of Duke William represented him as a youth, bare-headed, dressed in the same habit as his brother, and standing on a fabulous monster: the left hand of this prince was clothed with a glove, and supported a falcon, which he was feeding with his right. These paintings are supposed to have been coeval with the foundation of the abbey of St. Stephen, and to have been drawn from the life." The learned Montfaucon says, "That these four pictures have all the air and appearance of originals."

There is an anecdote preserved by William of Malmshbury, which seems to indicate that portrait painting was practised in great perfection in this period. A company of banditti in Flanders, who pretended to be adherents of Guibert the anti-pope, had formed a plot to intercept and rob Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, in his way to Rome, A.D. 1067. The archbishop having received intelligence of their design, escaped by means of a disguise. That he might not escape in the same manner on his return, the banditti sent an excellent painter to

Rome to draw his picture so exactly, that they might know him under any disguise. Of this also the archbishop received intelligence; and was so much alarmed that he went a great way out of his road, to avoid the danger. About the same time the pope and clergy employed the art of painting in promoting a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, by sending certain irritating pictures to the courts of princes, and exposing them to the view of the people. In one of these pictures, Christ was represented tied to a stake, and scourged by an Arabian, supposed to be Mahomet; and in another an Arabian was painted on horseback, with his horse staling on the holy sepulchre. These pictures, it is said, excited the indignation both of princes and people, in a very high degree, and contributed not a little to their taking the cross.

Painting, in this period, was not confined to the use of the church, or to the portraits of great men, but was employed for various other purposes; particularly for ornamenting the apartments, furniture, shields, &c. of persons of rank and fortune. In the seventeenth of Henry III. a precept was directed to the sheriff of Hampshire, commanding him, "to cause the King's wainscotted chamber in the castle of Winchester to be painted with the same histories and the same pictures which it had been painted before." This is an authentic proof that wainscotted chambers, and painting the wainscot with historical paintings, was practised in England so long before the 17th of Henry III. A.D. 1233, that the paintings were so much faded or tarnished that they needed to be renewed. Peter de Blois, archdeacon of Bath and chaplain to Henry II., acquaints us, in one of his letters, that the great barons and military men of his time, had their shields and saddles painted with the representations of battles. In that letter he censures the vices, and particularly the ostentatious vanity, of these barons, with no little severity; and amongst other things, says, "They carry shields into the field so richly gilded, that they present the prospect of booty rather than danger to the enemy; and they bring them back untouched, and, as I may say, in a virgin state. They also cause both their shields and saddles to be painted with representations of battles and equestrian combats, that they may please their imaginations with the contemplation of scenes in which they do not choose to engage."

The art of painting glass was known and practised in France, and very probably in England, in this period. Father Montfaucon has given several plates of the paintings in the windows of the abbey of St. Dennis that were painted in the twelfth century, particularly a representation of the progress of the first crusade, in ten compartments. This art, it is believed, was brought into England in the reign of King John.

There was a kind of miniature painting much practised in Britain in this period, and of which many curious specimens are still remaining. This was called *illuminating* (from which limning is derived); and was chiefly used as we now use copper-plates, in illustrating and adorning the Bible and other books. This art was much practised by the clergy, and even by some in the highest stations in the church:—"The famous Osmond (says Brompton), who was consecrated bishop of Salisbury A.D. 1076, did not disdain to spend some part of his time in writing, binding, and illuminating books." Mr. Strutt hath given the public an opportunity of forming some judgment of the degree of delicacy

and art with which these illuminations were executed, by publishing prints of a prodigious number of them in his two works. In the first of these works, we are presented with the genuine portraits in miniature, of all the kings, and several of the queens, of England, from Edward the Confessor to Henry VII., mostly in their crowns and royal robes, together with the portraits of many other eminent persons of both sexes.

The illuminators and painters of this period seem to have been in possession of a considerable number of colouring materials, and to have known the arts of preparing and mixing them, so as to form a great variety of colours. In the specimens of their miniature-paintings that are still extant, we perceive not only the five primary colours, but also various combinations of them. There is even some appearance that they were not ignorant of the art of painting in oil, from the following precept of Henry III., dated only twenty-three years after the conclusion of this period:—"Pay out of our treasury to Odo the goldsmith, and Edward his son, one hundred and seventeen shillings and ten pence, for oil, varnish, and colours bought, and pictures made, in the chamber of our queen at Westminster, between the octaves of the Holy Trinity, in the twenty-third year of our reign, and the feast of St. Barnabas the apostle, in the same year, which is fifteen days." This was a considerable sum (equal in quantity of silver to seventeen pounds fourteen shillings of our money, and in efficacy to eighty-eight pounds,) to be expended in painting one chamber in so short a time.

As the Normans were more learned, and no less fond of poetry than the Anglo-Saxons, that most pleasing and delightful art, especially Latin poetry, was cultivated with no less ardour, and with greater success, in this than in the former period. On this account it may be proper to pay a little more attention to this than to any of the other arts.

The vernacular language of England, in this period, was in such an imperfect and unsettled state, that it was hardly fit for transacting the common business of society, and very improper for the sublime and melodious strains of poetry. No sciences were taught, few letters were written, few accounts were kept, few treatises in prose, on any subject, were composed in that language. But so strong a propensity to poetry prevailed, that a prodigious number of poems on different subjects, and in various kinds of verse, were written in that crude unformed tongue. Many of our best poets indeed in this period, sensible of the imperfection of their native language, wrote their poems in Latin, and some in the Romance or Provençal tongue. This makes it necessary to give a very brief account: first, of the English; second, of the Latin; and third, of the Provençal poetry of this period.

As many of the poets of this period were clerks and monks, many of their poems were on religious subjects. Of this kind is a translation of the Old and New Testaments into English verse, supposed to have been made before the year 1200—a version of the psalms, made about the same time—and a large volume of the lives of the saints. The only specimen of these poems our limits can admit is the following version of the hundredth psalm:—

Mirthes to God al erthe that es  
Serves to Louerd in faine.  
In go yhe ai in his siht,  
In gladnes that is so briht

Whites that louerd god is he thus  
He us made and our self noht us,  
His folk and shep of his fode:  
In gos his yhates that are gode:  
In schrit his vorches belive,  
In yannes to him yhe schrive.  
Heryhes his name for Louerde is hende  
In all his merci do in strende and strande.

The minstrels of those times had a set of songs of a religious cast, and on religious subjects, which they sung to their harps, in the courts of kings, and in the halls of barons, on Sundays, instead of those on love and war, and such subjects, which they sung on other days. The following lines are the exordium of one of these Sunday-songs:—

*The Visions of Seynt Pouel won he was rapt into  
Paradys.*

Lusteneth lordynges leof and dere,  
Ze that wolen of the Sunday here:  
The Sunday a day hit is  
That angels and archangels join i wis,  
More in that like day  
Than any odur, &c.

The monks and other clerical poets of this period, composed many short hymns, in various kinds of verse. The following stanza of one of these hymns may serve as a specimen. The subject of it is our Saviour's crucifixion:—

I syke when y singe for sorewe that y se  
When y with wypping bihold upon the tre,  
Ant se Jhesu the suete  
Is hert blod for lete,  
For the love of me;  
Ys woundes waxen wete,  
Thei wepen, still and mete,  
Marie reweth me.

Religion was not the only subject of the English poetry of this period. Love, the favourite theme of many poets, produced its share of verses. The following little poem, in which the poet compares his mistress to a great variety of gems and flowers, may serve as a specimen of this kind of poetry, and of that alliteration which was esteemed a great beauty in this period:—

Ice hot a burde in a bour, ase beryl so bryght,  
Ase saphyr in selver semely on syght,  
Ase jaspé the gentil that lemeth with lyght,  
Ase garnet in golde and rubye well ryht,  
Ase onycle he is only holden on yght:  
Ase a diamant the dere in day when he is dyht.  
He is a coral yend with Cayser and knyght,  
Ase emeraude a morewen this may haveth myht.  
The myht of the margaryte haveth this mai mere,  
Ffor charbocele iche hire chase bi chyn and bi chere,  
Hire rede ys as rose that red ys on ryse,  
With lilye whyte leves lossom he ys,  
The primros he passeth, the penenke of prys,  
With alisaundre thareto ache and anys:  
Coynte as columbine such hire cande as,  
Glad under gore in gro and in grye  
Heo is blomse upon bleo brightest under bis  
With celydone ant sange as thou thy self sys,  
From Weye he is wisist into Wyrhale,  
Hire nome is in a note of the nyghtigale;  
In a note is hire nome nampneht hit non  
Who so ryht redeth romne to Johon.

Several satirical poems appear among the remains of the English poetry of this period. Some of these are general satires against monks, bishops, lawyers, physicians, and people of other professions. That part of a very curious satire against monks, in which the author lashes them for their incontinence, may serve as an example of this kind of poetry.



After the satirist had described the delightful situation, magnificent fabric, and great provision of meats and drinks of an abbey, with the indolence, gluttony, and drunkenness of its monks, he proceeds thus:—

An other abbat is ther bi  
For soth a great nunnerie;  
Up a river of sweet milk  
Whar is plente grete of silk.  
When the summeris dai is hote,  
The yung nunnes takith a bote,  
And doth ham forth in that river  
Both with oris and with stere:  
Whan hi beth fur from the abbei  
Hi makith him naked for to plei,  
And leith dune into the brimme  
And doth him stelicly for to swimme  
Thyng monkes that hi seeth  
Hi doth han up, and forth he beeth,  
And comith to the nunnes anon,  
And each monk him takith on,  
And smellich berith forth har prei  
To the mochill grei abbei,  
And teclith the nonnes an oreisun  
With jambleus up and dun.  
The munke that wol be stalun gode,  
And can set a riyt hi hode,  
He schal hab withoute danger  
xii wives each yer,  
Al throy riyt and noyt throy grace,  
For to do himself solace  
And thilk monk that clepeth best  
And doth his likam all to rest,  
Of him is hope, God hit wote,  
To be sone vader abbot.

It was far from being safe at this time to write satirical verses against particular persons, especially against those in power. As in the instance of Henry I., and Luke de Barra: the particulars of which have been given in the reign of that monarch.

But though the kings and great men of those times were thus impatient of satire, they were fond enough of panegyrics; which produced poems of that kind in great abundance. The famous William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, chancellor and chief justice of England, the pope's legate, and the great favourite of Richard I. (if we may believe his brother Hugh Nunant, bishop of Chester), "kept a number of poets in his pay, to make songs and poems in his praise; and allured the best singers and minstrels by great gifts, to come over from France, and sing these songs in the streets of the several cities of England." Matilda, queen of Henry I., was so generous, or rather so profuse a patroness of poets, that they crowded to her court from all parts to present her with their panegyrics. So much were the muses both courted and dreaded by the great in this period.

Among the remains of the English poetry of the twelfth century, are several elegiac, pastoral, and descriptive poems; but for specimens of these, we must refer the reader to the very able work of Warton on English poetry, to which we have been so much indebted in this article.

The unsettled state of the English language fluctuating between the Norman spoken by one part of the people, and the Saxon by another, was, no doubt, one reason why the Latin language was studied with so much ardour in England in this period; and that not only our divines, philosophers, and historians, but also many of our poets, wrote in that language. Several learned men, whom we have already mentioned for their other works, were excellent Latin poets, and in that capacity claim a little of our attention.

Henry of Huntingdon, the historian, was also a

voluminous Latin poet, and wrote several books of epigrams and love-verses, and a poem upon herbs. This we are told by himself, in the conclusion of his curious letter on the contempt of the world. His invocation of Apollo, and the goddesses of Tempe, in the exordium of his poem on herbs, may serve as a specimen of his poetry:—

Vatum magne parens, herbarum Phœbe repertor,  
Vosque, quibus resonant Tempe Jocosæ, Deus!  
Si mihi sarta prius hedera florentie parastis,  
Ecce meos flores sarta parate, fero.

The famous John of Salisoury was not only well acquainted with the best Roman poets, as appears from the numerous quotations from them in his works, but was himself no contemptible Latin poet. His poem prefixed to his book, *De nugis curialium*, is equally elegant and witty. It is an address to his book, containing many directions for its conduct.

Eadmer, William of Malmesbury, Peter of Blois, Girald Barry, and several others of whom we have already given some account, have left proofs of their proficiency in Latin poetry, as well as in other parts of learning; but extracts from their works would swell this section beyond its due proportion. It will be more proper to take a little notice of a very few of the Latin poets of this period, who addicted themselves chiefly to poetry, and who have not yet been mentioned.

John Hanvill, or Hautvill, a monk of St. Alban's, flourished towards the end of the twelfth century, and was far from being a contemptible Latin poet. His chief work was a kind of moral heroic poem, in nine books, the hero of which he calls *Architrieni*, who travelled over the world, and every where found reason to lament the follies, vices, and miseries of mankind. He dedicated this work to his great friend and patron Walter de Constans, who was made bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1183. Besides his *Architrieni*, he wrote a volume of Latin epigrams, epistles, and smaller poems, which (as an excellent judge who perused them declares), have considerable merit.

Josephus Iscanus, Joseph of Exeter, was the prince of Latin poets, in this period we are now examining, and wrote two heroic poems. The Trojan war was the subject of one of these poems, which consisted of six books, and was dedicated to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury. The subject of the other, which was called *Antiocheis*, was the croisade, in which his sovereign Richard I., and his patron Archbishop Baldwin were engaged. Of the beauty and excellence of the first of these poems we have an opportunity of judging, because it is still extant, and has been published. "Warton says, 'the diction is generally pure, the periods round, and the numbers harmonious; and, on the whole, the structure of the versification approaches nearly to that of polished Latin poetry.'" It is hardly possible to dip into any part of this poem, which consists of no fewer than three thousand six hundred and forty-six lines, without finding passages that will justify this favourable opinion of its merit. The *Antiocheis* is unhappily lost, except a small fragment, in which the ancient heroes of Britain are celebrated in a strain not unworthy of the Mantuan bard.

Alexander Necham was another elegant Latin poet, who flourished in England at the same time with Joseph of Exeter. He was born and educated at St. Alban's, as appears from some of his verses.

Walter Mapes, the jovial and witty archdeacon of Oxford, and chaplain to Henry II., was a good Latin poet, and a voluminous writer. His poems were chiefly of a satirical or festive strain, and in the rhyming kind of verses, commonly called *Leonine*, which were much used by the minor poets of those times.

Among the English monks of this period, there were many smart satirical epigrammatists; a considerable number of their epigrams, which are far from being contemptible, are still preserved.

Latin elegies and epitaphs were written upon almost all the kings, princes, prelates, and other eminent persons who died in England in this period; and not a few of these performances approach to classical purity of diction. In a word, every kind of Latin poetry was cultivated by the clergy and monks of the 12th century, with a degree of success that will hardly be credited by those who are not acquainted with their writings.

The language which the Normans brought with them into England, was that which was called *lingua Romana*, or the Romance language, which was the vulgar tongue of all the provinces of France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In this language the Normans had already composed many poems and songs, one of which was sung by the champion Taillefer, at the head of the Norman army, before the battle of Hastings, as we learn from the following lines of Master Wace, an Anglo-Norman poet of this period:—

Taillefer, qui moult bien chantoit,  
Sur un cheval qui tost aloit,  
Devant eus aloit chantant  
De l'Allemagne et de Rollant,  
Et d'Olivier, et de Vassaux,  
Que moururent a Rainschevaux

It was in this *lingua Romana*, or Romance tongue, (the daughter of the Latin, and mother of the French,) that many metrical romances were composed by the French and Normans of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: and it was from the language in which they were written, rather than from the extravagant fables which they commonly contained, that these poems were called Romances. In the exordium of a metrical life of Tobiah, written by a monk at the desire of the abbot of Kenilworth, the language in which it is composed is called the *Roman* or *Romance*:—

Le prior Gwilleyme me prie,  
De l'eglyse seynte Marie  
De Kenelworth an Ardenne,  
Ki porte le plus haute peyne  
De charite, ke nul eglyse  
Del reaume a devyse  
Ke jeo liz en romaunz le vie  
De kelui ki ont nun Tobie, &c

Some of the French and Norman poets of this period pretended, at least, that their poems were true histories, though they gave them the title of Romances, on account of the language in which they were written. Of this kind was the long historical poem of Maister Robert Wace, chaplain to Henry II., which is sometimes called *Roman de Rois d'Angleterre*, and sometimes *Roman le Rou, et les vies des Ducs de Normandie*. Robert de Bruane, in the prologue to his translation of one of these metrical historical poems, written by an Anglo-Norman, says the language of his original was called *Romance*:—

Frankis spech is cald Romance,  
So sais clerkes and men of France.  
Pers of Langtoft, a chanon  
Schaven in the house of Bridlington  
On Frankis style this storie he wrote  
Of Inglis kings, &c.

Many of these poems, which were originally written in Romance, because it was the language of their authors, and of the court and nobility, to whom they were addressed, were soon after translated into the English of those times, for the entertainment of the native English, who were called *lewed*, i. e. ignorant men. This is the motive assigned by Robert de Brunne for his translating one of these poems:—

For lewed men I undyrtoke,  
In Englyshe tongue to make this boke:  
For many beyu of such manere  
That talyz and rymys wyle bleihty here.

The Provençal poets were very famous in the twelfth and thirteen centuries, not only in their own, but in several neighbouring countries. They were called *Troubadours*, or *Finders*, from the fertility of their invention; and were in reality the fathers of modern poetry. No poets were ever more loved, admired, and cherished than these Provençal bards. They were invited to the courts of the greatest princes, where they became the delight of the brave, and the favourites of the fair, by celebrating the achievements of the one, and the charms of the other, in their poems. In a word, the admiration which they acquired was so flattering, that several sovereign princes became Troubadours, and wrote poems in the Provençal language, which was then the most perfect of all the modern languages of Europe. Richard I. of England was one of these royal songsters; some of whose poems, in the Provençal tongue, are still extant; and one of them has been published in the "Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England." The first stanza of that poem, which was composed in prison in Germany, with a translation, is all the specimen of this kind of poetry that our limits will admit:—

Ja nus hom pris non dira sa raison,  
Adreitement se com hom dolent non.  
Ma per conort pot il faire chanson.  
Pro a d'amis, mas poure son li don.  
Ontai i auron se por ma reeson,  
Sois fait des yver pris.

No prisoner his condition can explain,  
But he will fall into a plaintive strain.  
Yet to divert his sorrows he may sing,  
Though he have friends, how poor the gifts they bring!  
Shame be on them! my ransom they deny,  
And I in prison two long winters lie.

[The following remarks are from Sharon Turner's "History of England during the middle ages."]

#### On the Origin and Progress of Rime in the Middle Ages.

As rime has become the principal characteristic of all English poetry but the dramatic, in which it cannot be successfully naturalized, it deserves a more enlarged consideration.

Of all the forms of modern poesy, though other metrical modes of verse have been tried, and with grand and pleasing effect, yet rime appears to have been the most universally liked, the most frequently



praised, and the most abundantly practised. Rhythm, cadence, and metre, may exist without it; but with all these it associates, and adds to them its own peculiar pleasurable; and therefore, in its most perfect composition may be said to present the most perfect versification of English poetry. It is a sovereign which admits of viceroys, companions and allies, but which seems to claim to itself the superior throne, and to have the power of giving to poetry an elegance, a melody, a strength, an intonation, a sweetness, and yet also a pathos and a grandeur, which its absence lessens, and which no substitute can so completely supply.

As its effects greatly impress, its principle, like that of all verbal cadence and rhythm, must be deeply seated in the human mind. There is a charm in peculiar collocations and sequences, and in the consonancies of words, which the cultivated taste as sensibly feels, and with a gratification as agreeable as the duly organized and accustomed ear perceives and relishes the harmonies of musical sound. This mysterious effect upon our minds has always formed one of the sweetest enchantments of poetry. What that music of the soul is, which, independently of audible sound, can be awakened and pleased by unknown sympathies with the measured order of selected words and syllabic prosody, we have yet to discover; but that there are some fine chords of melodious sensibility within us, the universal gratification experienced from peculiar combinations of syllables, well-cadenced prose, and the metres and consonancies of poetry, impressively indicates. It does not depend upon the ear, because the mind perceives and enjoys the grateful beauty without the use of any organical vocality. The effect is, an intellectual sensation without the instrumentality of sense; and this implies, that there must be something responsive to it in the intellect, which occasions the feeling, and makes that feeling so generally delectable. But, however it originates, it comes in various shapes, and is producible by many verbal arrangements. The ending cadence of the hexameter suited the language and delighted the nations of Greece and Rome. The pentameter, which is less rhythmical to us, was yet pleasing to the latter. Their lyrical prosodies had also melodious agencies on their accordant sensibilities, which we cannot adequately enjoy. Instead of these, each of the vernacular tongues of Europe has found and formed from its separate capabilities, positions of words, time, measure, succession, and combination of syllables, modes of enunciation, pauses, flow and cadences of phrase, and connected resemblances of terminal sounds, which constitute the various species of poetical versification, that every nation has appropriated to itself, and loves and cherishes with intellectual delight. Among these, rime has been our property from the era of the Norman conquest; we have withdrawn it, almost without a dissentient voice, from the colloquial poetry of the stage; but we have attached it to every other department of the muse, with a perseverance of approving taste, which no censuring denunciation of it, as the invention of barbarian times, has persuaded us to discontinue.

It is true that it is barbaric to us in its chronology; but it is not barbaric in its primeval ancestry or its mental operation. It certainly came into English composition amid the movements and from the nations of the grand Gothic stem, who broke up the Roman empire, and who introduced the feudal system; the duel, the ordeal, the common law, the jury and the parliament. So far, therefore, like these, it

comes from a barbaric lineage; but there is no more reason to brand it as a rude barbarism, a pleasing contagion, or a degrading deterioration, unless all the intellectual improvements which have flowed upon us from the new fountains of mind and pursuits that were opened by our Gothic forefathers, are to be considered as barbarian innovations.

But rime cannot have had a barbarian origin, because rime is one of the chief poetical forms and graces of the most ancient, the first cultivated, and once most civilized nations and languages of the world. That it was one of the greatest characteristics of the ancient eastern poetry, and abounds in the Sanscrit and Chinese, in the Arabic, and in the Persian, and that it existed in the Hebrew and ancient Carthaginian, was shown in a former essay. Some of these nations or their ancestors were the primeval stocks of all the civilization and literary mind of the ancient world; and as rime was unquestionably used by them, we may justly infer, that from them it has descended to their branches and descendants.

That the Celtic and Kimmerian tribes entered Europe and its islands from Asia, and were therefore ramifications of the great Oriental trunk, has been shown in the History of the Anglo-Saxons; of these, the Cymry, or the Welsh, were descendants, as well as the Irish and the Gaelic nations; and among all these people, rime has been an inseparable addition to their poetical compositions; unlike in this respect to the Saxons, who used metre and cadence, without rime, in their poetical effusions. All the remains of the ancient Welsh poetry composed in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, uniformly exhibit the riming terminations. That rime, though not made the characteristic of the cultivated poetry of the Greeks and Romans, was yet not unknown to them, I attempted to prove, not only from its forming one of the figures of rhetorical and poetical diction particularized by their critical writers on elocution, but from the instances of it which were traced from their compositions, and which seemed not to be casual. It was shown decidedly, that it was used in the Latin popular poetry in the fourth century; and an instance, which I was fortunate enough to find in Aldhelm's works, that had escaped the notice of preceding inquirers, demonstrated that it was known in England in the beginning of the seventh century, and was then used in his Latin poems by his venerated ecclesiastic. The instances which I also adduced from poems of Boniface and his friends, soon after Aldhelm, confirmed this certain chronology of its existence.

In times when poetry was so much cultivated, we may be certain, that music could not be neglected, especially when we consider, that the union between these two arts was much greater in those times than it is at present. For in the middle ages, almost all the poets of France and England, like the ancient bards of Gaul and Britain, were musicians, and sung their verses to the music of their harps. These poetical musicians, commonly called minstrels, were the delight of princes, prelates, and barons, who entertained them in their courts and castles, and lavished upon them much of their wealth. Matilda, queen of Henry I., was so fond of music, and so profusely generous to musicians and poets, that she expended almost all her revenues upon them, and even oppressed her tenants, in order to procure money to reward them for their songs. John of Salisbury censures the great people of his time, for imitating Nero in his extravagant fondness for mu-

sicians; and says, that "they prostituted their favour, by bestowing it on minstrels and buffoons; and that, by a certain foolish and shameful munificence, they expended immense sums of money on their frivolous exhibitions." "The courts of princes," says another contemporary writer, "are filled with crowds of minstrels, who extort from them gold, silver, horses, and vestments, by their flattering songs. I have known some princes who have bestowed on these ministers of the devil, at the very first word, the most curious garments, beautifully embroidered with flowers and pictures, which had cost them twenty or thirty marks of silver, and which they had not worn above seven days." An art that was so highly honoured, and so liberally rewarded, could not fail to flourish.

Both the vocal and instrumental music of this period was of three kinds, viz. sacred, civil, and martial. Of the last, enough has been already said. Of the state of the other two it may be proper to give a very brief account.

Sacred or church music was cultivated with great ardour by the British clergy of all ranks in this period, both because it attracted the people to the church, and because it rendered the performance of the public service more agreeable to themselves. The Anglo-Norman clergy, in particular, applied with much diligence and success to this delightful art: of which it may not be improper to give one example, out of many that might be given. Thomas, the first Norman archbishop of York who was advanced to that see by William the Conqueror, A.D. 1070, was one of the most pious and learned prelates of the age in which he flourished. Having a fine voice, and a great taste for music, he made that art his particular study, and attained to great perfection in it, both in theory and practice. He composed many pieces of music for the use of his cathedral, in a grave, solemn, manly style, avoiding all light effeminate airs, as unsuitable to the nature of religious worship. When he heard any of the secular minstrels sing a tune which pleased him, he adopted and formed it for the use of the church, by some necessary variations. "There was nothing," says one of his historians, "which Archbishop Thomas studied so much as to have a good and virtuous clergy in his cathedral. With them he sometimes read, sometimes disputed, sometimes sung, or played upon the organ: he even spent some of his leisure hours in making organs, and in teaching his clergy to make them, and to set hymns both in prose and verse to music." When so great and learned a prelate employed so much time in the study and practice of church-music, and was so highly commended for it, we have reason to think that it was an object of great and general attention among the clergy.

The invention of the new musical scale, or modern gamut, by an Italian monk named Guido Aretine, a native of Arezzo, about A.D. 1022, contributed not a little to increase the ardour of the clergy in their application to music, by facilitating the acquisition of musical knowledge. This invention made a mighty noise in the church at that time. The author of it was sent for thrice to Rome, to explain and teach it to the clergy of that city. Aretine, in a letter to the pope, affirms, that any person, by the help of his invention, may make as great proficiency in music in one year, as before he could have made in ten. He insinuates to his holiness, that he had been inspired by Heaven with this happy thought, which had atoned for all his sins, and secured the

salvation of his soul. There is no room to doubt that this invention was well known to Archbishop Thomas, who had spent some time at home soon after his elevation to the see of York, and that it was by this scale that he and the other English composers of this period regulated their musical compositions.

The church-music of Britain did not continue long in the grave and solemn style. Before the end of the twelfth century it had lost the primitive simplicity of plain song, and become soft, effeminate, and artificial, in a very high degree. Of this change in the church-music of his time, John of Salisbury thus complains: "This soft effeminate kind of music has even debased the dignity, and stained the purity of religious worship. For in the very presence of God, and in the centre of his sanctuary, the singers endeavour to melt the hearts of the admiring multitude with their effeminate notes and quavers, and with a certain wanton luxuriandy of voice. When you hear the soft and sweet modulations of the choristers; some leading, others following; some singing high, others low; some falling in, others replying; you imagine you hear a concert of sirens, and not of men; and admire the wonderful flexibility of their voices, which cannot be equalled by the nightingale, the parrot, or any other creature, if there be any other more musical. Such is their facility in rising and falling, in quavering, shaking, and trilling, in blending and tempering all the different kinds of sounds, that the ear loses its capacity of distinguishing, and the mind, overpowered with so much sweetness, cannot judge of the merit of what it hears. When they have thus far departed from the bounds of moderation they are more apt to excite unhalloved passions than devout affections in the hearts of men." Though this music was certainly very much misplaced when it was introduced into the church, yet, if it really answered the description which is here given of it, we cannot entertain a very contemptible opinion, either of the skill of the composers, or of the ability of the performers.

By civil music is to be understood that which was in common use in civil society, for alleviating the cares and labours of the poor, and exhilarating the festivities of the rich. The minstrels, a very numerous and much-respected order of men, were the professors and practitioners of this pleasing art, from their excellence in which they derived all their honours and advantages. Not being under the same restraint with the composers for the church, they indulged their imaginations, and invented tunes of many different kinds, from the most slow and solemn, to the most quick and joyous.

In general, as we are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, the genius of the English music was slow and grave, whilst that of the Scotch, Irish, and Welsh music, was quick and gay. The same writer expresses great surprise at the masterly execution of these three last nations on the harp: "It is wonderful, that in such quick and rapid motions of the fingers any musical proportion is preserved, and that without violating any of the rules of art, the music is rendered harmonious, in the midst of warbling, and intricate modulations, by sounds, rapid yet sweet, unequal yet proportioned, discordant yet consonant, and the harmony is completed, whether they play upon fourth or fifths. They always begin upon B flat, and return upon the same, which makes the whole uniformly sweet and sonorous. They begin and end their modulations with so much delicacy, and intermix the sounds of the bass strings, with the wanton and sportive tinklings of the treble,



in such a manner that, by the excellency of their art, they even conceal their art. Hence it is that those who are intimately acquainted with the theory of music are penetrated and transported with delight, while those who are ignorant of the rules of art are apt to be teased and wearied with what appears to them a confused and noisy jumble of discordant sounds."

From the account which is given by the same writer, of the manner in which the people of Wales, and the north of England, sung their songs, it seems to be very evident that they were not unacquainted with the laws, or at least with the practice of harmony, or counter-point: "In Wales," says he, "they do not sing in one uniform musical modulation, as in other places, but in several different tones or modulations, in so much that in a company of singers you hear almost as many different parts as there are voices, all forming one pleasing delightful harmony in B flat. The English also, in the country about York, and beyond the Humber, use a similar symphonious harmony in singing, consisting only of two parts, the one, the deep murmuring bass, the other, the high and sweet-sounding treble."

The chief, if not the only instrument that was used in sacred music, was the organ. We have already heard of a great and learned prelate, and his clergy, who spent some part of their time in making these instruments, which indicates that they were esteemed necessary at least in cathedral churches. The figures of two organs, of this period, differing considerably in their structure from one another, and from those now in use, may be seen in Mr. Strutt's "View of the Manners, &c." In civil music, if we may believe Giraldus Cambrensis, the Scots, Irish, and Welsh, used but few instruments: "The Irish," says that author, "use only two musical instruments, the harp and the timbrel; the Scots use three, the harp, the timbrel, and the bag-pipe; the Welsh also use three, the harp, the pib-corn, and the bag-pipe. The Irish harps have brass strings. It is the opinion of many, that the Scotch music at present not only equals, but even very much excels the Irish; for which reason they go to Scotland as to the fountain-head of perfection in that art." The English seem to have been acquainted with a greater variety of musical instruments, some of which, it is probable, were introduced by the Normans. The violin is mentioned in books written in this period, and represented in illuminations. Some of their violins had five strings. Mr. Strutt has collected from illuminations, the figures of no fewer than sixteen different kinds of musical instruments, if some of the figures do not represent different sizes of the same instrument. The harp, however, seems to have been the favourite and most admired instrument of the English, as well as the other British nations in this period. That was the instrument to the sound of which the minstrels, the admired musicians of this period, sung their songs and poems.

### SECTION III.

*The history of Commerce, Coin, and Shipping, in Great Britain, from the landing of William duke of Normandy, 1066, to the death of King John, 1216.*

No apology is necessary for introducing the history of commerce into the history of Britain, which has derived so many advantages from that source. But it is much to be regretted, that genuine authentic materials, for executing this part of my plan in this period to the entire satisfaction of the reader,

are very difficult, if not impossible, to be collected. All our ancient historians being monks, they paid little attention to the affairs of trade, and dropped only a few incidental hints on this important subject. Let us attend to the information which these hints convey.

It is sufficiently well known,—that the foreign trade of Britain was almost annihilated by the departure of the Romans,—that it continued in a very languid state in the times of the heptarchy,—that it gradually revived after the establishment of the English monarchy,—and that towards the end of the last period it was not inconsiderable. This last circumstance is confirmed by the testimony of a contemporary historian, William of Poitou, who was chaplain to the duke of Normandy, and attended him in his expedition into England. "The English merchants add to the opulence of their country, rich in its own fertility, still greater riches, and more valuable treasures, by importation. These imported treasures, which were considerable both for their quantity and quality, were either to have been hoarded up to gratify their avarice, or to have been dissipated to satisfy their luxurious inclinations. But William seized them, and bestowed part of them on his victorious army, and part of them on churches and monasteries. To the pope and church of Rome he sent an incredible mass of money in gold and silver, and many ornaments that would have been admired even at Constantinople."

It has been disputed, whether the Norman conquest was an event favourable or unfavourable to the foreign commerce of Britain. The truth seems to be, that in some respects it was, and in others it was not favourable. Every violent revolution must give a temporary check to commerce, by fixing the attention of all the members of society on other objects, and by rendering property precarious. The feudal form of government that was established in England soon after the conquest, had more of a martial than of a mercantile spirit in it; and was better calculated for defending a kingdom by arms, than for enriching it by commerce. The Conqueror himself having obtained his crown, and the great Norman barons their princely fortunes, by the sword, arms became the most honourable and lucrative profession; trade was held in little estimation, and those who were engaged in it, were exposed to many injuries. Many of the chief towns in England, the greatest seats of trade, suffered much between the conquest, and the time when Doomsday-book was composed. In all these respects the conquest was unfriendly to commerce, and obstructed its progress for some time.

But, on the other hand, the conquest contributed to increase the trade of England in several ways, after the disorder inseparable from such revolutions was at an end. It opened a free communication with Normandy, and afterwards with several other rich provinces of France, which came under the dominion of our Anglo-Norman kings; and this soon produced a brisk and constant trade between England and these provinces. It made also a very great addition both to the ships and sailors of England, which are the chief instruments of foreign trade. For William was so far from burning the fleet in which he brought his army into England, as some modern writers have affirmed, that his first care was to erect fortifications for its protection. The frequent expeditions of the Conqueror and his successors to the continent, obliged them to give constant attention to trade and maritime affairs

The settlement of the Jews in England about the time of the conquest, brought great sums of money into the kingdom, and contributed to increase both internal and foreign commerce, in which they were constantly employed.

It is quite unnecessary to spend any time in delineating the internal trade of Britain in this period, as there was little or nothing remarkable in the manner in which it was conducted. Fairs and markets, which are the principle scenes of internal commerce, continued to be held in many places on Sundays, in spite of all the canons that had been made against it. This was one of the abuses which the famous preacher Eustace, abbot of Flay, in Normandy, came over into England to correct, A. D. 1200; and he was so successful, that he prevailed upon the people of London, and of several other towns, not to hold their markets on Sundays. But we are informed by one of our best historians, that some of these towns soon after returned to their former practices.

To prevent any degree of obscurity or confusion in our delineation of the foreign trade of Britain in this period, it may be proper to consider the following particulars in the order in which they are here mentioned. 1. The chief seats of trade;—2. The most valuable articles of exports and imports;—3. The persons by whom it was conducted;—4. Laws and regulations respecting trade;—5. Shipping;—6. Coin;—7. The comparative value of money, prices of commodities, and expense of living;—8. The balance of trade.

London was unquestionably the chief seat of trade in this, as it had been in the former period. Situated on the noble river Thames, at no great distance from the sea, amidst the most fertile plains of this island, it enjoyed every advantage for importing the commodities of other countries, and exporting those of Britain in return. These advantages were not neglected by its citizens, who were much addicted to trade, and acquired so much wealth and influence by it, that they were called barons, and respected in public assemblies of the kingdom, as possessing a kind of nobility. "London," says William of Malmesbury, "is about twenty-five miles distant from Rochester. It is a noble city, renowned for the riches of its citizens, and crowded with merchants, who come from all countries, and particularly from Germany, with merchandise." In this city," says William Fitz-Stephen, in his description of London, "merchants from all nations under heaven reside, for the sake of trade." The great multitude of Jews who resided in London, and possessed several entire streets, afford a further proof of the flourishing state of trade in that city in this period. For trade was almost the only occupation of that people; and they never settled in great numbers in any place, but where they either found or brought commerce.

As Bristol had been a place of considerable trade in the Anglo-Saxon times, it continued to be so in the present period. This we learn from William of Malmesbury, in his description of the vale of Gloucester. "In the same vale is a very famous town named Bristow, in which there is a sea-port, a safe receptacle for ships from Ireland, Norway, and other foreign countries; that this happy region, which abounds so much in its native riches, might not be destitute of the commodities procured by commerce." The trade between England and Ireland, which was for the most part carried on by the merchants of Bristol, was so great and so essential to the support of the Irish, that when it was interrupted,

they were reduced to great distress. "Murcard, monarch of Ireland, behaved a little haughtily towards Henry I. I know not for what reason; but he was soon humbled by a prohibition of all trade between England and his dominions. For how wretched would Ireland be if no goods were imported into it from England."

The Flemings, who were settled in the fine country of Ross, in Pembrokeshire, by Henry I. were bold adventurous sailors, and much addicted to commerce. "They are," says Giraldus Cambrensis, "a people much used to the woollen manufacture, and to foreign trade; and in order to increase their store, they spare no pains either by sea or land." The vicinity of the spacious harbour of Milford-haven was probably a great advantage to this industrious colony.

The city of Exeter appears to have been a place of considerable trade at the conquest, and continued to enjoy that advantage through the whole of this period. When it was besieged by the Conqueror, A.D. 1068, the inhabitants compelled a great number of foreign merchants and mariners, who were then in their harbour, to assist them in their defence, William of Malmesbury acquaints us, that, in his time, though the soil about Exeter was so barren that it hardly produced a meagre crop of oats, yet its extensive trade made it abound in every thing that contributed to the comfort of human life.

The five towns on the coasts of Kent and Sussex, commonly called the *cinque ports*, were certainly among the most considerable seats of foreign commerce in England, in this period. Their merchants, like those of London, enjoyed the honourable appellation of barons, which their representatives in parliament still enjoy. Government depended very much upon them for a fleet on any emergency; and they were obliged to furnish no fewer than fifty-seven ships for the public service, at forty days notice, to continue fifteen days in that service, with their crews, at their own charges. This is a sufficient proof that they abounded in shipping and sailors, which they could not have done without a flourishing trade. The five towns which originally formed the *cinque ports*, were Hastings in Sussex, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Sandwich in Kent; to which were added Winchelsea and Rye as principals, and some other towns as members, though they still retained the name of the *cinque ports* from their original number. We may form some idea of the comparative trade of these towns, by observing the number of ships which each was obliged to furnish. Hastings (with its members) was obliged to furnish twenty-one ships;—Romney (with its members) five; Hythe and Sandwich (with their members) each five; and Dover (with its members) twenty-one. For this important service of the state, the people of the *cinque ports* had various honours and privileges conferred upon them. Their merchants were not only styled barons, but four of these barons had a title to support the canopy over the king on the day of his coronation, and to dine at a table on his right hand. The inhabitants of these towns were exempt from the several feudal servitudes and prestations, and could be sued only in their own court. These honours and privileges afford a proof, that the government of England, in this period, was not inattentive to the encouragement of trade and shipping.

When Bishop Herebert, in the reign of William Rufus, removed the seat of his see from Thetford to Norwich; that town, we are told by William of Malmesbury, was famous for the number of its inhab-



bitants and the greatness of its commerce. In the same county, the town of Yarmouth abounded in ships, and was a formidable rival in power and commerce to the cinque ports, though both its commerce and its shipping increased very much in the succeeding period. The town of Lynn seems to have possessed a still greater share of foreign trade than Yarmouth, if we may rely on the testimony of William of Newborough, who resided at no great distance. That author tells us, that in the reign of Richard I. the town of Lynn was famous for its riches and commerce, and was inhabited by many wealthy Jews; who, being enraged against one of their nation who had embraced Christianity, at tempted to kill him, and assaulted a church in which he had taken shelter. This raised a tumult. A great multitude of foreign sailors who were in the harbour, attacked the Jews, and beat them from the church with some slaughter. Not contented with this, they plundered and then burnt several of their houses, and having carried the plunder, which was of great value, on board their ships, they immediately set sail, in order to secure their booty, and escape punishment.

Several places in Lincolnshire had a considerable share of trade, in this period, which some of them have since lost, by the choking of their harbours and other accidents. Lincoln, the capital of the county, was a rich and populous city; and, though at a distance from the sea, was not destitute of foreign trade, which was carried on by the navigable canal between the rivers Trent and Witham, made A.D. 1121, by order of Henry I. The towns of Grimsby, Saltfleet, Waynfleet, and Boston, though they had much declined from what they had been in this period, sent some ships to the fleet of Edward III., A.D. 1359. Boston, in particular, was a very rich and flourishing place before it was plundered and burnt in the reign of Edward I. The great numbers and riches of the Jews who resided at Lincoln, Stamford, and other towns in this county, plainly indicate that there was then a flourishing trade in those towns.

York, the northern capital of England, and residence of Roman emperors, made a distinguished figure in the Anglo-Saxon times, but was much reduced soon after the conquest. It revived however in a little time; and William of Malmesbury tells us, that in the reign of King Stephen, when he wrote, it was become a place of great trade; and that ships from Ireland and Germany sailed up the river Ouse into the very heart of the city. Great numbers of Jews settled in York about this time, and acquired immense wealth by usury and commerce, which, together with their magnificent houses and splendid way of living, excited the envy and indignation of the people to such a degree that they determined to destroy them. As soon as the news of the slaughter of that people at the coronation of Richard I. reached York, the mob arose, assaulted the Jews, plundered and burnt their houses, killed many, and drove others in despair to kill themselves, after they had despatched their wives and children with their own hands. This outrageous tumult, in which some hundreds of Jews were killed, and their houses, furniture, and riches, reduced to ashes, seems to have been fatal to the trade of York, which declined so fast, that it was able to send only one small ship, with nine mariners, to the fleet of Edward III.

Many other towns situated on the sea-coasts and navigable rivers of Britain, had their share of foreign trade in this period. But a more particular enumeration of them is unnecessary, and would be tedious. One of our ancient historians, referring to

the times we are now delineating, has the following exclamation:—"O England! thou wast lately equal to the ancient Chaldeans in power, prosperity, and glory. The ships of Tarshish could not be compared with thy ships, which brought thee spices, and every precious thing from the four corners of the world. The sea was to thee an impregnable wall, and thy ports on all sides as the well-fortified gates of a strong castle."

It is curious, and may be useful, to know what were the most valuable articles of the foreign trade of Britain in every period. By this we shall at least discover wherein the superfluities and necessities of our country consisted from time to time, and in what manner the former were disposed of, and the latter were supplied.

Slaves still continued to be a capital article, both in the internal and foreign trade of Britain. When an estate was conveyed from one proprietor to another, all the villains or slaves annexed to that estate, were conveyed at the same time, and by the same deed. When any person had more children than he could maintain, or more domestic slaves than he chose to keep, he sold them to a merchant, who disposed of them either at home or abroad, as he found would be most profitable. "It was a common vice," says Giraldus Cambrensis, "of the English, when they were reduced to poverty; that rather than endure it patiently, they exposed their own children to sale." Many of these unhappy persons were carried into Ireland, and no doubt into other countries, and there sold. A strong law was made against this barbarous kind of commerce, in a great council held at St. Peter's, Westminster, A.D. 1102. "Let no man, for the future, presume to carry on the wicked trade of selling men in markets, like brute beasts, which hitherto has been the common custom of England." But this law did not put an end to this trade in slaves. For in the great council held at Armagh, A.D. 1171, the whole clergy of Ireland, after having deliberated long concerning the cause of the calamities with which they were threatened by the invasion of the English, at length agreed, that this great judgment had been inflicted upon them by the displeasure of God, for the sins of the people, particularly for their having bought so great a number of English slaves from merchants, robbers, and pirates, and for detaining them still in bondage. To appease therefore the divine displeasure, which had been excited against them on that account, they decreed,— "That all the English slaves in the whole island of Ireland should be immediately emancipated, and restored to their former liberty."

English horses had been long admired and coveted on the continent; and such multitudes of them had been exported, that a law was made by King Athelstan,— "That no man shall export any horses beyond seas, except such as he designs to give in presents." But this law, it is probable, did not continue long in force, especially after the conquest, when the intercourse between this island and the continent was under no restrictions, and our great barons had estates in both countries. The very high price of horses, especially of those which were used by the nobility in war and tournaments, is a presumption that they were exported. A great baron named Amphilil Till, agreed to pay to King John, A.D. 1207, as a part of his ransom, ten horses, each worth thirty marks, equivalent to three hundred pounds of our money at present. Whether any other animals were exported in this period or not, we are not informed.

Wool was for several centuries the most valuable article of the British exports. Gervase de Aldermanbury, in his accounts of the chamberlainship of London, A.D. 1199, charges himself with twenty-three pounds twelve shillings, which he had received from several merchants, for leave to export wool and leather out of England. He also accounts for two hundred and twenty-five marks, which had arisen from the sale of forty-five sacks of wool seized from the merchants, for attempting to export them without leave. Many other proofs, if it were necessary, might be produced, of the exportation of wool, woollens, and leather, in this period.

It is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that woollen yarn, and even woollen cloth, were exported from England in this period. In the tenth year of Richard I., the chamberlain of London accounted for eleven marks, which had arisen from the sale of a parcel of woollen yarn seized from John de Birchamstede, because he had attempted to export it to Flanders, contrary to the liberties of the city of London. From this it appears, that woollen yarn was exported, and that the privilege of exporting it had been granted to the merchants of London. That the manufacture of woollen cloth was in a much more flourishing state in England in this than in the succeeding period, there is the clearest evidence; which induced a well-informed writer to say,—"That in the time of Henry II. and Richard I., this kingdom greatly flourished in the art of manufacturing woollen cloth; but by the troublesome wars in the time of King John and Henry III., and also of Edward I. and Edward II., this manufacture was wholly lost, and all our trade ran out in wool, woollens, and leather, carried out in specie." The Flemings settled in England seem to have exported some of the woollen cloths which they manufactured. For we are told by a contemporary writer, that they applied with equal ardour to the woollen manufacture and to foreign trade.

Although agriculture was far from being in a flourishing state in Britain in this period, yet, in favourable seasons, the natural fertility of the soil, even with imperfect cultivation, made it produce more corn than was necessary for home consumption, and at those times considerable quantities of it were exported. "Then," says one of our ancient historians, "England might be called the store-house of Ceres, out of which the world was supplied with corn." Many examples are to be found in the records of this period, of fines paid to the king for licences to export corn; which is a sufficient proof that it was at some times an article of exportation.

Metals, particularly lead and tin, constituted one of the most valuable articles of exportation in the times we are now delineating. Almost all the cathedral and abbey churches, together with many palaces and castles in France, and other countries on the continent, are said to have been covered with lead brought from England. We may form some idea of the great quantities of tin that were exported, from an article in the accounts of Henry de Castellan, chamberlain of London, A.D. 1198, in which he charges himself with three hundred and seventy-nine pounds eighteen shillings, which he had received in fines from the merchants of London, for leave to export tin. The royal revenues arising from the tin-mines of Cornwall and Devonshire, were valued at two thousand marks a-year, equivalent to ten thousand pounds of our money; and were granted, at that rate, to Queen Bereugaria, widow of I.

Besides these capital articles of exportation there were many others of smaller value, as salt, salmon, cheese, honey, wax, tallow, &c. &c. as appears from the licences granted for exporting them, which are still extant in our record. But it is not necessary to make this enumeration more perfect.

In return for the goods which they exported, the British merchants of this period imported not only gold and silver, in coin and bullion, but several other commodities, for which they found a demand at home. It is proper to mention some of the most valuable of these commodities.

As the English were not very famous for their sobriety in this period, we may be certain that wine was a saleable commodity, and made one of the most valuable articles of importation. "The French," says William Fitz-Stephen, "import their wines into London, which they expose to sale both in their ships and in their wine-cellars near the river." The duties payable on wines imported, called *prisa vinorum* (the price of wines), constituted no inconsiderable branch of the royal revenue; and particular officers were appointed for collecting these duties. The importation of wines increased very much after the marriage of Henry II. with Eleanor, heiress of some of the finest provinces in the south of France, where the best wines were produced. The wine-trade was become a matter of so much importance in the beginning of King John's reign, that a law was made for regulating the prices of all the different kinds of wine, and twelve men appointed in each city, town, and borough, to superintend the execution of that law. "By this means," says a contemporary historian, "the land was filled with drink and drunkards."

Spiceries, drugs, and aromatics, of various kinds, the productions of the East, were imported in considerable quantities in this period; because they were much used by persons of rank and fortune in their meats and drinks, as well as by physicians in the composition of their medicines. "The Sabeans," says Fitz-Stephen, "import into London their frankincense and other spices; and from the rich country, about Babylon, they bring the oil of palms." The spice-trade formed so capital a branch of the commerce of this period, that merchants in general are often called *speciarii* in the barbarous Latin of those times.

Gold and precious stones were imported from Egypt, Arabia, and other eastern countries. For though no gold was used at this time in coinage, much of it was used in manufactures of various kinds, by goldsmiths, jewellers, gilders, embroiderers, illuminators, and painters. The monks, in particular, were bitterly reproached by several writers, for expending so much gold in gilding and illuminating books. Many precepts of our ancient kings are still extant, directing certain persons to buy gold from the merchants for their use. The sheriffs of London, in the second year of Henry II., paid fifty-six shillings for gold to gild the king's bridles.

Silks, and other fine fabrics of the East, were also imported; but not in very great quantities, because they were used only by the church, the royal family, and perhaps by a few of the most wealthy barons. Many cathedral and abbey churches were adorned with altar cloths, veils, and curtains of silk, and had also vestments of it, in which their clergy officiated on some occasions. It appears from the records of this period, that silks were purchased from time to time for the use of the royal family. At the conquest, and for some time after, silks were very dear and



source; but manufactories of them having been established in Sicily, Spain, Majorca, and Ivice, in the course of the twelfth century, they became much cheaper and more common.

Tapestry, together with linen and woollen cloths of the finer kinds, were among the British imports of this period. For though great quantities of woollen cloths were manufactured in England, and some of them were exported; yet they seem to have been generally of the coarsest kinds, and most common colours; while those of finer texture, and more delicate colours, for the use of persons of high rank, were imported from Flanders; which was then so famous for woollen manufacture, that it was called *Flandria Textrix*. Tapestries for hangings were manufactured in the city of Arras, even in this period, and from thence imported into England. Though linen, as well as woollen cloths, were manufactured in Britain, yet it seems probable that the finest linens were imported, as the first notice we meet with of fine linen made in England is in the thirty-seventh of Henry III.

Furs of various kinds, and in great quantities, were imported from Norway, Russia, and other northern countries. For furs were very much used, both by the clergy and laity: and all persons who could afford to purchase them had their winter garments lined with them. Some of these furs, particularly sables, bore a very high price, and could only be obtained by princes or prelates of the greatest wealth. Robert Bloit, Bishop of Lincoln, made a present to Henry I. of a cloak of the finest cloth lined with sables, which cost no less than one hundred pounds, equivalent to fifteen hundred pounds of our money.

Dye-stuffs, particularly woad, may be reckoned among the imports of Britain in this period, which is an additional proof that the woollen manufacture was not neglected. Henry de Castellan, who was chamberlain of the port of London, charged himself, in his accounts for A.D. 1197, with the sum of ninety-six pounds six shillings and eightpence, which he had received from certain merchants, for licences to import woad, and sell it in England. The quantity of woad imported by these merchants must have been very great, when they could afford to pay a sum equivalent to more than fourteen hundred pounds of our money at present, for their licences.

Besides gold and silver, other metals, particularly iron and steel, were imported into Britain from Germany, and other countries, in this period. The German merchants of the Steel-yard in London, are thought by some to have derived that name from the great quantities of iron and steel which they imported, and sold at a place called the *Steel yard*.

Though corn was exported from Britain in years of plenty, we have good reason to believe that it was imported in still greater quantities in times of scarcity, which were but too frequent in our present period. The merchants of London seem to have been the chief importers of corn: for we are told by a contemporary writer, that they kept many granaries full of it in that city: and that from these granaries all parts of the kingdom were supplied. Several other articles of importation, as arms, books, pictures, &c. might be mentioned; but it seems to be unnecessary, and would be tedious, to make this enumeration more particular.

The internal trade of England was managed chiefly by Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans, who were natives of the country, and members of the merchant guilds established in the several towns and

cities of the kingdom; but they do not seem to have had a great share in its foreign commerce, which was for the most part in the hands of foreigners. Fitz-Stephen, who flourished in the reign of Henry II., acquaints us, in his description of London, that "in this city all nations under heaven had factors residing for the management of their commerce."

Great numbers of Jews came from Normandy, and other countries on the continent, soon after the conquest, and, settling in all the trading towns in England, got possession of a very great proportion of the commerce of the kingdom. Having larger capitals, greater knowledge of trade, and a more extensive correspondence with those of their own nation in other parts of Europe, than the native English merchants, they were able to undersell them in every market. By these means they acquired great riches; but at the same time drew upon themselves the indignation of the public, and the most oppressive exactions of the government. For they and their families were considered as the slaves, and all their possessions as the property of the sovereign, which he might seize at pleasure, which he might even sell at mortgage like any other estate. We may form some idea of the great trade and riches of the Jews at this period, as well as of the oppressions of the government, by observing that a particular exchequer, called the *Exchequer of the Jews* was established for receiving the prodigious sums extorted from them in customs, fines, forfeitures, tallages and various other ways. To give one example, out of many, of the cruelty of the government towards the Jews, and of the great sums extorted from them we are told, "That the king, A.D. 1210, commanded all the Jews in England, of both sexes, to be imprisoned, in order to compel them to pay him great sums of money. Some of them, after they had been grievously tortured, surrendered all the money they had, and even promised more, to preserve themselves from further tortures. Amongst others, the king demanded ten thousand marks (equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds at present) from a certain Jew at Bristol, and commanded one of his teeth to be pulled out every day till he paid that sum. The Jew held out seven days, but submitted on the eighth, and parted with his money to preserve the remainder of his teeth."

All Christians, in this period, were prohibited both by the laws of the church and state, from lending money at interest, which was called usury; and those who were convicted of it were punished by excommunication, and the forfeiture of all their goods. By these imprudent laws, the business of lending money was thrown into the hands of the Jews, from whence they derived the most exorbitant profits, and in which they practised the most cruel exactions. For as the rate of interest was not regulated by any law, they set no bounds to their avarice, and took every advantage of the necessities of those who applied to them for a loan of money. On some occasions, if we are not misinformed, they took no less than fifty per cent. per annum. This, though almost incredible, is highly probable, from an order of Henry III. restraining them from taking more than twopence in a week for every twenty shillings they lent to the scholars of Oxford, which is little more than forty-three per cent. From the following letter of the famous Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, to his friend the Bishop of Ely, we may form some idea of the extreme severity of the Jews to their unhappy debtors: "I am dragged to Canterbury to be crucified by the perfidious Jews, amongst

their other debtors, whom they ruin and torment with usury. The same sufferings await me also in London, if you do not mercifully interpose for my deliverance. I beseech you therefore, O most revered father, and most loving friend, to become bound to Sampson the Jew, for six pounds, which I owe him, and thereby deliver me from that cross." After this we need not be surprised, either at the prodigious opulence of the Jews, or at the universal execration in which they were held.

The German merchants of the Steel-yard, who had been settled in London before the conquest, continued in the same place, and enjoyed the same privileges, after that event. For Fitz-Stephen, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, says, in his description of London, that the merchants of all nations had their distant quays and wharfs in that city; and, particularly, that the Germans had the Steel-yard. But as the society of the merchants of the Steel-yard made a more conspicuous figure in the next period, we shall insert a more particular account of it in our next book.

The trade of Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Amalphi, and some other cities of Italy, was, in this period, in a very flourishing state. The truth is, that almost all the commerce between Asia, Africa, and Europe, was in the hands of the merchants of these cities, who exported the superfluities of Europe, and brought home the spices, gold, silks, and other precious commodities of the East, which they sent into every country where they could find a market, and particularly into Britain. For the management of this trade, companies of Italian merchants were settled in London, and perhaps in some other towns.

Amongst these companies the Causini were the most famous about the end of this and the beginning of the next period. It is imagined, that they were called Causini, because many of them belonged to a numerous and opulent family of that name in Italy. However this may be, the Causini in England, by departing from the proper business of merchants, and becoming agents for the Pope in his usurious transactions, rendered themselves as odious as the Jews. But a more full account of this society, as well as that of the Lombards, shall be given in the sixth chapter of our next book.

Some of the great barons of England, among the officers of their household, had one who was called the Merchant, who transacted all the mercantile business of the baron to whom he belonged; disposing of his corn, cattle, and every thing he had to sell; and purchasing cloths, wines, spices, and every thing else he wanted to buy. It appears from records, that these baronial merchants even engaged in foreign trade, and imported wines and other goods, for which they were liable to pay customs.

Commerce had been an object of the attention of government, and a subject of legislation, in the Anglo-Saxon times, and continued to be so in the present period. It was one of the first cares of the Conqueror to encourage trade. With this view he published a proclamation, inviting foreign merchants to frequent the ports of England, and promising them the most perfect security for their goods and persons. This prince adopted several Anglo-Saxon regulations, with respect to trade, into his own laws, and enforced them by his authority. By one of these laws, it is decreed, "That no live cattle shall be bought or sold, but in cities, and before three credible witnesses;" by another, "That all fairs and markets shall be kept in fortified cities, towns, or castles." These laws were inconsistent; but

they were necessary in those turbulent times. The Conqueror also prohibited the selling of Christian slaves to infidels: but this prohibition, it is probable, was not much regarded. We know of no laws respecting trade made by William I.; but his successor, Henry I., was more attentive to that important object. By the ancient law and custom of England, when a ship was wrecked on the coast, if those who escaped from it did not return to it within a limited time, the ship and cargo became the property of the lord of the manor. This most unjust and cruel law was abrogated by Henry I., who decreed, that if one man escaped alive out of the wreck, the lord of the manor should have no claim either to the ship or cargo.

But this just and merciful regulation was very disagreeable to many of the rapacious barons, and was quite disregarded after the death of the prince by whom it was made, till it was revived by his grandson Henry II. "That prince," as we are told by one of our ancient historians, "in the very beginning of his reign, abolished the cruel custom towards shipwrecked sailors, which had too long prevailed; and commanded that those who escaped from the dangers of the sea, should be treated with kindness; and that such as did them any injury, or seized any of their goods, should be severely punished,"—a law which does much honour both to the wisdom and humanity of its author. However this may be, it is certain, that Henry II., A.D. 1174, promulgated the three following regulations on this subject: 1. That if but one man escaped from a ship alive, that ship and cargo could not be considered as a wreck, but should be kept for the use of the owners. 2. Though no man escaped alive, yet if any animal escaped, or was found in the ship alive, the ship and cargo should be committed to the custody of four persons of credit, to be kept three months, to be delivered to the owners if they appeared within that time, or to the King at the end of it, if the owners did not appear. 3. But if neither man nor beast escaped alive, the ship and cargo should belong to the King, or to the person having right to wreck at that place. This prince cultivated the friendship of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, to whom he sent a splendid embassy, with magnificent presents, A.D. 1157, with a view to promote a free trade between their subjects. To prevent the diminution of the ships and sailors of his kingdom, which he knew to be so necessary both for its defence and trade, Henry II., A.D. 1181, commanded his justices itinerant, "to give a strict charge in every county, that no man, as he valued his life and fortune, should buy or sell any ship to be carried out of England, or should send, or cause to be sent, any mariner out of England."

The importance of trade to the prosperity of the kingdom becoming more conspicuous, Richard I. paid great attention to it, and made many mercantile regulations. The laws and regulations, published by this prince at Chinon, in France, A.D. 1189, for the government of his great fleet in his expedition into the Holy Land, are very curious, but too long to be here inserted; and being rather of a martial than a mercantile nature, do not so properly belong to our present subject. By the last of these laws, it is decreed, "That whoever is convicted of theft, shall have his head shaved, melted pitch poured upon it, and the feathers from a pillow shaken over it, that he may be known; and shall be put on shore on the first land at which the ship touches." The famous maritime laws called "The Laws of Oleron" as



it is asserted by many modern authors, were promulgated by this prince on that island, at his return from the Holy Land; but on what foundation this is built, I have not been able to discover. These laws, which are forty-seven in number, are evidently very ancient, and no less prudent, humane, and just; though several of them, from a change of manners and circumstances, are now obsolete. We have better evidence that Richard I. made various mercantile regulations, soon after his return into England from his unfortunate expedition into the East. By the first of these regulations he commanded the sea-ports to be carefully guarded that no corn or provisions of any kind might be exported either in English or foreign bottoms. But this was only a temporary prohibition, to prevent a famine, with which England was then threatened. Having set forth the great inconveniences arising from the diversity of weights and measures in different parts of the kingdom, he, by a law, commanded all measures of corn, and other dry goods, as also of liquors, to be exactly the same in all his dominions; and that the rim of each of these measures should be a circle of iron. By another law, he commanded all cloth to be woven two yards in breadth within the lists, and of equal goodness in all parts; and that all cloth which did not answer this description, should be seized and burnt. He enacted further, that all the coin of the kingdom should be exactly of the same weight and fineness; that no Christian should take any interest for money lent: and to prevent the extortions of the Jews, he commanded that all compacts between Christians and Jews should be made in the presence of witnesses, and the conditions of them put in writing, of which three copies should be made, one to be lodged in a public repository, and one to be given to each party. Many of these regulations were wise and useful, but some of them were tainted with the prejudice of the times.

If there was any thing commendable in the character of King John, it was his attention to maritime and mercantile affairs. Of this he gave a proof, soon after his accession to the throne, by publishing the famous edict of Hastings, A.D. 1200, in which he asserted his dominion over the British seas in the strongest terms, and commanded his captains to seize all ships which did not strike their topsails to them, to confiscate their cargoes, and imprison their crews, even though they were the subjects of a power in friendship with England. In a word, the attention of this prince to maritime affairs was such, that he was served with zeal and fidelity by his sailors, when he was abandoned by almost all his other subjects. It is a sufficient evidence of this, that, at a time when his affairs were in the most desperate state on shore, his fleet destroyed the whole naval power of France, and sent home no fewer than three hundred sail of French ships which had been taken. King John contributed also to the improvement of commerce, by establishing guilds or societies of merchants, with various privileges and immunities, in all parts of the kingdom, where there was any considerable trade. By the forty-first article of Magna Charta, foreign merchants are secured against all violence and every illegal exaction in times of peace; and it is declared, that when a war breaks out, they shall be treated in England in the same manner in which the English merchants are treated in the enemy's country.

As ships are the chief instruments of foreign trade, the state of the shipping of this island is an

object worthy of some attention in every period of its history.

It is conjectured, at the time of the Norman conquest, that the shipping of England amounted to two or three thousand vessels, from twenty to one hundred tons, at the conclusion of the former period; and that after that event the ships belonging to Britain became more numerous, and were of a larger size, and better construction.

The very fleet which brought over the duke of Normandy and his army into England, made a great addition to the English shipping. Some of our ancient historians affirm, that this fleet consisted of no fewer than three thousand ships. Though this may be an exaggeration, we may be certain that the transportation of sixty thousand men, with their horses, arms, and other necessities, required a very numerous fleet of such small ships as were then in use. Some of these ships were carried back to the continent; but the greatest part of them, together with their crews, remained in England, and made a great addition to its naval power. The frequent voyages of our Anglo-Norman kings, between this island and their dominions on the continent, attended by large armies, chiefly composed of cavalry, rendered numerous fleets absolutely necessary. These, it is true, bore a greater resemblance to fleets of transports, than to the royal navies of the present times. For they consisted chiefly of merchant-ships, collected together when it was necessary, and dismissed as soon as the service was performed. But the very possibility of collecting together a fleet of several hundred ships, in a few weeks, affords a demonstration that England abounded in shipping in this period.

The Anglo-Saxon ships were very small, and far from being perfect in their construction. But the English ships of this period appear to have been both larger and better built. Those of the largest size, and strongest construction, were called *dromones*. The famous Saracen ship, which was taken by Richard I. near the port of Acon, was of this kind; and must have been of an enormous magnitude, as it contained no fewer than fifteen hundred men. Those *dromones* had three masts, and are said to have sailed very slowly, being too lofty to make use of oars. Ships of the second rate, called *bussæ* or *buccæ*, were also large vessels, and had three masts. Galleys were of various kinds, and different degrees of magnitude; but they all made use of oars as well as sails. The ships most commonly used in trade, both at sea and on large rivers, were called *barcæ*, or *barks*; and those of them which were of the smallest size were called *barbotte*. All these vessels had decks, for securing the goods with which they were loaded, from the injuries of the sea. Besides these, they had boats of different kinds and dimensions, for plying on rivers, for fishing, and for other purposes.

That the English ships of this period had the reputation of being excellent in their several kinds, is at least highly probable, from the law of Henry II., which prohibited the selling of them to foreigners. We are told by a contemporary author, who was present at Messina, in Sicily, with Richard I., in his way to the Holy Land,—that the people of that city were filled with admiration at the number, beauty, and magnitude, of the ships of which that monarch's fleet was composed; and declared, that so fine a fleet had never been seen, and probably never would be seen in the harbour of Messina. This was indeed a very gallant fleet. It consisted

of thirteen ships of the largest kind, called *dromones*, one hundred and fifty of the second rate, called *bussæ*, fifty-three galleys, besides a great number of tenders. Such a fleet would make no contemptible appearance even in foreign times.

As the British ships were better built, so they were also better navigated, in this than in the preceding period. The English sailors were much admired, both at home and abroad, for their dexterity and courage; which produced the law of Henry II., prohibiting them from entering into foreign service. Geoffrey of Vinesauf, who accompanied Richard I. in his expedition to the Holy Land, ascribes the preservation of that prince from shipwreck in a storm, to the uncommon skill and courage of his sailors, "who did every thing that it was possible for human art to do, to resist the fury of the winds." This character, which the English sailors so early acquired, they have long retained, and I hope will never forfeit.

It is a little uncertain, whether or not the English sailors towards the end of this period, had the advantage of the mariner's compass to guide them in their voyages. For neither the person who invented that most useful instrument, nor the time when it was invented, is very well known. It is however certain, that it had been discovered about the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century, that a needle touched with a loadstone pointed towards the north; and that endeavours were then used to apply this discovery to navigation, though the most convenient way of doing it was not then invented. For Hugh de Bercy, a French poet, who flourished in the former part of the thirteenth century, mentions this property of a needle touched with a loadstone very plainly, and describes an instrument called *la marinier*, used by the sailors in his time, in which the needle was placed upon a board that floated in a vessel of water.

If ships and sailors are necessary to foreign trade, especially in an island, money is no less necessary both to foreign and internal commerce. It has long been the common measure of all commodities, and the chief instrument of their circulation, and must therefore never be neglected in the history of trade.

Living money, which made so great a figure in the former, is seldom or never mentioned by the writers of the present period. For, when coin became common, the conveniency of it, as a representative of all commodities, appeared so great, that all others were soon laid aside.

The full account that has been given of the several denominations of money, and of the real coins that were used in Britain in the preceding period, makes it unnecessary to say much on these subjects in the present; because the changes made in them by the conquest were but few and inconsiderable. These changes were the following. Some denominations of money, as mancuses, oras, and thrimsas, that were common in the Anglo-Saxon times, fell into disuse, and are seldom mentioned by the writers after the conquest. If the mancus of gold was a real coin among the Anglo-Saxons, which is not very certain, it ceased to be coined after the conquest; for there is not the least vestige of such a coin among the Anglo-Normans; nor do we hear any thing of the copper coin called a *sticca*, after the conquest.

The Tower pound, which had been the money pound after the Anglo-Saxons, continued to be the money pound of England for several centuries after the conquest. This pound was three-fourths of an

ounce lighter than the Troy pound, to which it was in the proportion of fifteen to sixteen. It was divided into twelve ounces, each ounce weighing 450 Troy grains, which made 5400 such grains in the pound. Whenever therefore a pound of money is mentioned by the writers in this period, it signifies as many silver coins as weighed 5400 Troy grains; or, in other words, a Tower pound weight of silver coins. The pound was both the largest and most common denomination of money.

The mark is another denomination of money, which is frequently mentioned in the histories and records of this period. It weighed exactly two-thirds of a Tower pound; and was the same with the Anglo-Danish mark, which has been fully described already.

The shilling was not a real coin, but only a denomination of money in this period, whatever it might have been in the former. The Anglo-Norman shilling was also very different in its weight and value from the Anglo-Saxon. The largest of the latter weighed only  $112\frac{1}{2}$  Troy grains, whereas the former represented as many silver coins as weighed 270 of the same grains, or the twentieth part of a Tower pound.

The penny was by far the most common real coin in the present period. Every Tower pound of silver was coined into two hundred and forty of these pennies, each weighing  $22\frac{1}{2}$  Troy grains. Twelve of these pennies, weighing 270 grains, were paid for one shilling. In a word, the Anglo-Norman penny was the same in weight with the Anglo-Saxon. Many of the former, as well as some of the latter are still preserved, and have been published.

Though the silver penny of this period was but a small coin, yet it was of considerable value, and would have purchased as much provisions, or other goods, as four or five of our shillings will do at present. To have had no smaller coins than pennies, would have been very inconvenient to the poor in the purchase of provisions and other necessaries. We may be certain, therefore, that silver half-pennies and farthings were coined in this, as well as in the former period; though few or none of these small coins of some of our Norman kings have been preserved. It seems probable, however, that the smaller coins were sometimes very scarce, and that the people had been accustomed to cut or break silver pennies into halves and quarters, which passed for half-pennies and farthings. For Henry I., A.D. 1108, prohibited this practice; and commanded, that all half-pennies and farthings, as well as pennies, should be entire and round. It appears also, that this law did not put an end to the practice of cutting pennies into halves and quarters, but that it continued through the whole of this period; because we meet with a law against it in the reign of Edward I., A.D. 1279.

In the course of this period, the silver penny is sometimes called an *esterling* or *sterling*; and good money in general is sometimes called *esterling* or *sterling* money. It is unnecessary to mention the various conjectures of antiquaries about the origin and meaning of this appellation. The most probable opinion seems to be this, that some artists from Germany, who were called *Esterlings*, from the situation of their country, had been employed in fabricating our money, which consisted chiefly of silver pennies; and from them the penny was called an *esterling*, and our money *esterling* or *sterling* money.

As the silver coins of England, in this and the



former period, were of the same kinds, and of the same weights, they were also of the same standard or degree of fineness. Both our Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman princes paid great attention to the purity of their coin, and punished those who attempted to debase it, with great severity. Henry II., A.D. 1180, called in all the coin, because some of it had been debased; and issued new money, which was to be the only current coin of the kingdom.

Coining money was not confined to one place in England, as it is at present, but was practised in every town of any considerable trade. The workmen, however, who were employed in coining, did not enjoy the same liberty with other artists, of following their own fancies, and making such coins as they pleased; but they received all their dyes from the exchequer, and they wrought under the inspection of officers, who were called *examinatores monete*, and *custodes cuneorum*, "Assayers and keepers of the dyes," whose business it was, to take care that their coins were of the standard weight and fineness. All these workmen, together with the assayers and keepers of the dyes, in all the different mints, were under the immediate direction of the barons of the exchequer; who, from time to time, commanded them to appear before them with their implements of coining. Thus, in the 9th of King John, writs were issued by the barons of the exchequer, commanding all the moneyers, assayers, and keepers of the dyes, in London, Winchester, Exeter, Chichester, Canterbury, Rochester, Ipswich, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Carlisle, Northampton, Oxford, St. Edmunds, and Durham, to appear before them at Westminster, in the quinzienne of St. Denys, and to bring with them all the dyes sealed up with their own seals.

Though it is highly probable that money was coined in Scotland before the beginning of this period, yet as none of that ancient money has been discovered, nothing certain can be said on that subject. Nor have any coins of Malcolm Canmore, or of his three successors, Donald, Duncan, and Edgar, kings of Scotland, yet appeared; the most ancient Scotch coins that are known being those of Alexander I., who began his reign A.D. 1107. From that æra the series is almost complete. It is unnecessary to spend one moment in describing the money of Scotland, in this period, as it was exactly the same in weight, fineness, and fabrication, with that of England, already described.

If any gold was coined in Britain in the times we are now considering, it has disappeared. For no gold coins of any of the kings who reigned in England, in this period, have been yet discovered, nor are any such coins mentioned by the contemporary historians. But foreign gold coins, of the same kinds, which had circulated among the Anglo-Saxons, still continued to circulate through the whole of this period. These were commonly called Byzants, or Byzantines, and have been described in the sixth chapter of the second book of this work.

The proportion of gold to silver appears to have been as one to nine. The abbot of Thorney being obliged to pay to King Stephen yearly, for the privilege of a market at Jakesley, one mark of gold, paid nine marks of silver, and was discharged. The same proportion was observed in the succeeding reign. For Peter Turk paid six pounds of silver to the exchequer, for one mark of gold, which he owed to Henry II. The cheapness of gold, in this period, seems to be an indication of its abundance in proportion to silver.

The most natural and easy way of paying any sum of money, is to pay as many real coins of gold or silver as are nominally and legally contained in that sum. This is called paying by tale; and is almost the only method now in use. But as the real value of coins, in some periods, may fall considerably short of their nominal value, either by a deficiency in their weight, or fineness, or in both, it becomes necessary, at those times, to contrive some method to guard against this deception. Several methods were used for this purpose, in the times we are now considering, by those who received the royal revenues at the exchequer, and probably by all who had extensive dealing in money.

When the coins offered to the receivers at the exchequer, appeared to them sufficiently pure, but a little lighter than the standard, they contented themselves with demanding and receiving six silver pennies in every pound, more than was nominally contained in it, to make up the supposed deficiency in the weight. For example, they demanded and received two hundred and forty-six silver pennies for one pound, instead of two hundred and forty pennies, which made a nominal pound. The six silver pennies extraordinary were called the increment; and this way of paying was called paying *ad scalam*, and was an easy and amicable method of adjusting the difference between the legal and real weight of coins.

When the coins presented in payment at the exchequer appeared to be so much diminished that the ordinary increment would not make up the deficiency, they were put into the scales, and taken by weight, without any regard to number. This was called payment *ad pensum*, and was certainly the most just.

But as coins might be defective in fineness as well as in weight, the receivers at the exchequer sometimes melted a few of them by way of trial, and calculated the value of the whole, according to the issue of that trial. This was called payment by *combustion*; and when a quantity of coins had undergone this trial, they were said to be *blanched*. To prevent the trouble of melting, a certain allowance, as one shilling in the pound, was sometimes offered and accepted, to make up the deficiency in fineness. There were proper officers in the exchequer for performing these operations, such as a *pesour* for weighing, and a *fusor* for melting the coins that were to be tried; and these officers were furnished with proper instruments and conveniences for their respective works.

It will readily occur to every reader, that these different modes of payment made a very essential difference both to the debtor and creditor, especially in large sums; because it required a greater number of the same kind of coins to pay the same debt in one way than another. For this reason, in making bargains, and settling the rents of farms, &c., it was usual to stipulate in which of these ways the money was to be paid, by tale, by scale, by weight, or by combustion.

If the same nominal sum of money had always contained the same quantity of the precious metals of the same fineness, we might easily and certainly have discovered the comparative value of money, and expense of living, at any two periods, only by comparing the nominal prices of labour and commodities at these different times. But this has not been the case. The same nominal sum of money, as a pound, a mark, a shilling, &c. has at some periods contained a greater, and at others a smaller quantity

of silver, to say nothing of its different degrees of fineness. In order therefore to discover the comparative value of money, and expense of living, at any two periods, two things must be taken into the account: 1st, The quantity of silver contained in the same nominal sum at each of these periods; and, 2dly, the efficacy or power of the same quantity of silver in purchasing labour and commodities of all kinds at each period.

Any nominal sum of money, or number of pounds, marks or shillings, in the period we are now delineating, contained nearly thrice as much silver, as the same nominal sum, or number of pounds, marks, or shillings, contain at present. Whenever, therefore, we meet with any sum of money, or number of pounds, marks, or shillings, in the histories or records of this period, said to be the price of any commodity, we must multiply it by three to discover how many of our pounds, marks, or shillings, it contained. Thus, for example, we are told by several of our ancient historians, that there was so great a scarcity of corn in England, A.D. 1126, that a quarter of wheat sold for six shillings, that is, for eighteen shillings of our money.

The same nominal sum of money not only contained a much greater quantity of silver than it does at present, but the same quantity of silver was also much more valuable than it is at present. It is difficult, if not impossible, to discover the difference in this respect with certainty and exactness. This difficulty is occasioned by two things: 1. Because we are not sufficiently informed of the common prices of the most necessary and useful commodities, particularly of corn, in this distant period: 2. Because the prices of some commodities, as of books, silks, and spices, bore a much higher proportion than the prices of some others, as of corn, cattle, and wine, to the prices of the same commodities in the present times. Accordingly we find, that the most ingenious and best-informed writers have entertained very different sentiments on this subject; some estimating the value or efficacy of any given weight of silver coins in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to the value or efficacy of the same weight of our silver coins at present, to have been in the proportion of ten to one, and some estimating it to have been only in proportion of five to one. That is to say, some of these writers think, that a quantity of silver coins, of an equal weight with one of our crownpieces, would have purchased ten times as much labour, meat, drink, and clothing, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as one of our crown pieces can purchase at present, while others of them think that it would have purchased only five times as much.

If we could discover the average price of corn in the times we are now examining, we might determine this question with tolerable certainty; because the price of corn has a considerable influence on the price of labour, and the expence of living. The historians of this period represent it as a great dearth, or rather as a famine, when wheat was sold for six of their shillings (containing as much silver as eighteen of our shillings) the quarter. "This year, A. D. 1126, (says Henry of Huntingdon), was the greatest dearth in our times, when a quarter of wheat was sold for six shillings." If we suppose the same quantity of silver to have been ten times as valuable then as it is now, this makes the dearth, A. D. 1126, to have been as great as it would be at present, if wheat was sold for nine pounds the quarter, or 11 2s. 6d. the bushel—a dearth that would be

quite ruinous and insupportable. But if we suppose the value or efficacy of the same quantity of silver to have been only five times as great then as it is now, this makes the dearth, A. D. 1126, to have been as great as it would be at present if a quarter of wheat was sold for 4l. 10s., or a bushel for 11s. 3d.—a dearth sufficiently distressful, and of which we have few examples. We can hardly imagine that our historians would have mentioned this dearth in such strong terms, if the price of corn had not then been the double of its common or average price. On the other hand, our historians speak of it as a proof of uncommon plenty and cheapness, when wheat was sold for two of their shillings (containing as much silver as six of our shillings) the quarter. "This year, A. D. 1244, (says Matthew Paris) was so fruitful, that a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings." Upon the whole, it seems to be no improbable conjecture, that the most common price of wheat in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was about three of their shillings or nine of our shillings the quarter. If we suppose the same quantity of silver to have been then ten times the value it is now, we must also suppose that the most common or average price of wheat in our times is 4l. 10s. the quarter—a supposition which we know to be very remote from truth. But if we estimate any given quantity of silver as nine of our shillings, the average price of a quarter of wheat in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to have been only five times the value of the same quantity of silver at present; this corresponds with the supposition, that the average price of a quarter of wheat, in modern times, is 2l. 5s. or 5s. 7½d. the bushel. This is evidently not far from the truth. The justness of this supposition, that any given quantity or weight of silver coins, in the period we are now delineating, was equal in value and efficacy to five times the same weight or quantity of our silver coins at present, might, if it was necessary, be confirmed by many other arguments.

According to this supposition, a person who had a nominal income of 10l. a-year, in this period, received as much silver as one who hath a nominal income at present of 30l. a-year; and could have lived as well, purchased as much labour, meat, drink, and clothing, as one who has an income of 150l. at present. A constant attention to these two things, the different quantity of silver in the same nominal sum of money, and the different value of the same quantity of silver, is necessary to our understanding the meaning of our ancient historians on many occasions, and particularly to our comprehending the real value of the several sums of money that are mentioned by them.

The materials of our commercial history, in this period, are not so perfect as to enable us to form a judgment, or even a guess, concerning the balance of trade between Britain and any one particular country. But we have good reason to believe that the balance of trade, upon the whole, was in favour of Britain; or in other words, that the British exports were more valuable than the British imports; and that to make up the deficiency in the imports, Britain received a balance in cash or bullion.

This may be proved in this manner. We had no mines of gold or silver in this island in those times, to supply the daily diminution of the national stock of the precious metals, by manufacturers—by the wear and loss of plate and coin—and by the great sums of money which were carried out of the kingdom from time to time; yet this diminution was actually supplied, and the national stock was kept



up, if not increased; which must have been by cash or bullion brought home by the balance of trade.

That no mines of gold or silver were wrought in Britain in this period, the silence of all our records, historians, and other writers, seems to be a sufficient proof. That the national stock of the precious metals must have been gradually diminished—by the quantities of them that were used in illuminating, gilding, and other manufactures—and by the necessary wear and loss of plate and coins, is too evident to need any proof.

That very great sums of money were carried out of Britain in the course of this period we have the clearest evidence. What prodigious sums of money were carried to Rome alone by the clergy, in purchasing their palls, prosecuting their appeals, and procuring favours of various kinds, to say nothing of the annual payment of Peter-pence! Many of our writers in this period complain bitterly of the avarice of the pope and cardinals, and of the great sums of money which they extorted from the English clergy and others. Nay, King John, in a letter which he wrote to the pope A. D. 1208, affirmed that the court of Rome received more money from England than from all the other kingdoms on this side of the Alps. The long residences of our kings upon the continent and their frequent wars with the kings of France and other princes, must have occasioned a great drain of money from England. The unfortunate expedition of Richard I. into the Holy Land, together with his ransom from his captivity, carried out an incredible mass of money. To say nothing of the great sums which the prelates, nobles, and others, who embarked in that expedition carried with them, the king not only expended on it all his father's treasures, but all the money which he collected from the sale of every thing belonging to the crown for which he could find a purchaser.

But notwithstanding all these drains, and others which might have been mentioned, England still continued to be rich in money. If the Jews, in particular, who were settled in Britain, had not been very rich in money they could not have paid the heavy and frequent demands that were made upon them by government. All our kings were rich in gold and silver; and great sums of ready money, as well as great quantities of plate and jewels, were found in their repositories when they died. Many subjects also, particularly among the prelates, possessed great quantities of the precious metals, both in coin and plate. No less than forty thousand marks, equal in quantity of silver to 80,000*l.*, and in value or efficacy to 400,000*l.* of our money, were found in the castle of the Devezes, when it was taken from Roger Bishop of Salisbury, A. D. 1139. Eleven thousand pounds of silver, and three hundred pounds of gold coins, besides great quantities of gold and silver plate, were found in the treasury of Roger Archbishop of York at his death, A. D. 1181. The silver coins alone in this archiepiscopal treasury were equal in value to 165,000*l.* of our present money; and if we reckon one pound of the gold to have been worth only nine pounds of silver, the gold coins were equal in efficacy to 49,500*l.* of our money. Many other examples, if it was necessary, might be given from the genuine monuments of this period, of particular persons and of societies who possessed great quantities of the precious metals, both in coins and plate. In a word, there is sufficient evidence, that though great sums of money were annually carried out of England to Rome, to Normandy, and other places, the national stock of gold and silver was not

diminished but rather increased in the course of this period. This cannot be accounted for, but by supposing that considerable quantities of coin and bullion were imported by the merchants as the balance of their trade with foreign nations. All the gold coins, in particular, which appear to have been numerous, must have been imported, as no gold was coined in Britain in this period.

#### SECTION IV.

*History of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Customs, Language, Dress, Diet, and Diversions, of the people of Great Britain, from the landing of William Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066, to the death of King John, A.D. 1216.*

THOSE destructive bands of piratical adventurers which issued from Scandinavia, and invested all the seas and coasts of Europe, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, were sometimes called Saxons, sometimes Danes, and sometimes Normans. "From the fury of the Normans, Good Lord deliver us," was then a petition in the litanies of all the nations, which dreaded the depredations of those northern plunderers, who were called Normans from the situation of the countries from whence they came.

About the beginning of the tenth century, a very numerous bands, or rather army, of these northern adventurers, under the conduct of Rollo, a Norwegian chieftain, invaded, and almost desolated the fine province of Neustria. This province, extending from the river Ept to the confines of Brittany, was at length granted, A. D. 911, by Charles the Simple, king of France, to Rollo and his followers, on condition that they became Christians, and that they held the ceded territories of the crown of France. With these conditions they complied; and having obtained possession of so fine a country, they abandoned their former roving and predatory course of life, and began to rebuild the cities which they had destroyed, and to cultivate the fields which they desolated. From that time the country which had formerly been called Neustria, was called Normandy, from its new masters, who were called Normans, because all the different countries from whence they came lay to the north of France.

Duke Rollo and his Normans, though they had been as great barbarians as any of the other swarms of savages which had issued from Scandinavia, gradually became a civilized and polished people, after their settlement in Normandy. This was owing to several causes. The Christian religion, which they then embraced, was of a more humane and peaceful spirit than the barbarous superstition in which they had been educated—the mild climate and fertile soil of Normandy inspired them with the love of home, and of a quiet and settled way of life—their intercourse and intermarriages with the French inhabitants, made them adopt the manners, customs, language, and dress of that people. This was so much the case, that the Normans, when they invaded England, called themselves, and were called by others, Frenchmen. They are so called in the laws of William the Conqueror, and in the charters of that prince and of his successors for a century after the conquest. In a word, the manners, customs, virtues, vices, language, dress, diet, and diversions of the predominant people of England, through the greatest part of this period, were exactly the same with those of persons of the same rank on the continent of France,

A very brief delineation of these must now be given.

There is hardly any thing more remarkable in the manners and customs of this period, than the sovereign contempt in which the name of an Englishman was held, and the cruel indignities with which the persons of Englishmen were treated. William of Poitou, in describing the battle of Hastings, at which he was present, frequently denominates the English—the barbarians. “The cries (says he) of the Normans on one side, and of the barbarians on the other, were drowned by the clashing of arms, and the groans of the dying.” After that fatal battle, and a few unfortunate revolts, the native English sunk into great contempt and wretchedness. Their estates were confiscated, their persons insulted, their wives and daughters dishonoured before their eyes. “The Normans (says an ancient historian) were astonished at their own power, became as it were mad with pride, and imagined that they might do whatever they pleased to the English. Young ladies of the highest rank and greatest beauty having lost their fathers, brothers, and protectors, and being violated by armed ruffians, called upon death to come to their relief. In a word, the name of an Englishman became a term of reproach. “The Normans (says Brompton) reduced almost all the English to such a state of servitude, that it was a reproach to be called an Englishman. This insolence of the Normans, and depression of the English, continued almost to the very conclusion of our present period. For we are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, who flourished in those times, that in the reign of Richard I., when a Norman was accused of any thing which he thought dishonourable, and chose to deny, he commonly said,—“What! do you imagine I am an Englishman?” or—“May I become an Englishman if I did it! By slow degrees, however, the animosity between the Normans and the English abated, and they coalesced into one powerful people, who have long been, and still are, justly proud of the honourable name of Englishman.

A new method of education was one of the many changes introduced into England by the Normans. For the Conqueror having formed the design of extirpating the English language, and making the French the vulgar tongue of all his subjects, commanded, that the children of the English should be taught the first rudiments of grammar at school in French, and not in English. This mode of education, introduced by the Normans with a design to establish their own language on the ruins of the Anglo-Saxon, continued more than three centuries after the conquest. This we learn from Trevisa, a writer who flourished in the fourteenth century, whose testimony we shall give in his own words:—“John Cornwalle, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar scole, and construction of Frenche into Engliche; and Richard Pincriche lerned the manere techge of him, as other men of Pencriche. So that now, the yere of our Lorde a thousand three hundred and four score and five, and of the seconde kyng Richard, after the conquest nyne, and alle the gramere scoles of Englonde, children levethe Frensche, and construeeth and lerneth an Engliche, and haveth thereby advantage in oon side, and disadvantage in another side. Here advantage is, that they lerneth her gramer in lasse tyme, than children were wonted to doo; disadvantage is, that now children of gramer scole conneth na more Frensche than can her lift heele, and that is harm for him, and they schulle passe the see, and

travaille in strange landes, and in many other places. Also gentilmen havith now moche left for to teche here children Frenche.” Thus the long struggle between the French and English languages, after it had continued more than three centuries, drew towards a conclusion, and victory began to declare in favour of the English.

The very singular spirit of chivalry which began to display itself about the beginning of this period, and was introduced into England by the Normans, gave a new turn to the education of the young nobility and gentry, in order to fit them for obtaining the honour of knighthood, which was then an object of ambition to the greatest princes. Those noble youths who were designed for the profession of arms and the honours of knighthood, were early taken out of the hands of the women, and placed in the family of some great prince or baron, who was also esteemed an expert and valorous knight.

At their first entrance into this school of chivalry, they acted in the capacity of pages or valets. For those names which are now appropriated to domestic servants, were then sometimes given to the sons and brothers of kings. In this station they were instructed in the laws of courtesy and politeness, and in the first rudiments of chivalry, and martial exercises; to fit them for shining in courts, at tournaments, and on the field of battle. Henry II. received this part of his education in the family of his uncle, Robert Earl of Gloucester, who was one of the most accomplished knights of the age in which he flourished.

After they had spent a competent time in the station of pages, they were advanced to the most honourable rank of esquires. Then they were admitted into more familiar intercourse with the knights and ladies of the court, and perfected in dancing, riding, hawking, hunting, tilting, and other accomplishments necessary to fit them for performing the offices, and becoming the honours of knighthood to which they aspired. In a word, the courts of kings, princes, and great barons, were a kind of colleges of chivalry, as the universities were of the arts and sciences; and the youth in both advanced through several degrees to the highest honours.

The exercises of the youth in these schools of chivalry, are thus described by Fitz-Stephen, who flourished in the reign of Henry II. “Every Sunday in Lent, immediately after dinner, crowds of noble and sprightly youths, mounted on war-horses, admirably trained to perform all their turnings and evolutions, ride into the fields in distinct bands, armed with lances and shields, and exhibit representations of battles, and go through all their martial exercises. Many of the young nobility, who have not yet received the honour of knighthood, issue from the king’s court, and from the houses of bishops, earls, and barons, to make trial of their courage, strength, and skill in arms. The hope of victory rouses the spirits of these noble youths; their fiery horses neigh and prance, and champ their foaming bits. At length the signal is given, and the sports begin. The youths, divided into opposite bands, encounter one another. In another place, one of the bands overtakes and overturns the other.”

The noble youth in those schools of chivalry, sometimes contracted the most sincere and lasting friendships, and became what they then called *sworn brothers*. Those who were sworn brothers, cemented their friendship with vows of inviolable attachment to each other, in peace and war, in pros-



perity and adversity;—that they would share the same dangers, and divide equally all their acquisitions. Of this custom it may not be improper to give one example. Robert de Oily, and Roger de Ivery, two young gentlemen who came into England with the Duke of Normandy, were sworn brothers. Some time after the conquest, King William granted the two great honours of Oxford and St. Waleries, to Robert de Oily, who immediately bestowed one of them, that of St. Waleries, on his sworn brother Roger de Ivery. A custom similar to this prevailed in Wales. The princes of that country placed one of their sons in the family of one chieftain, and another in the family of another, where they were educated with the sons of these chieftains, who became the sworn brothers of the young prince who had been educated with them. This produced frequent civil wars, each of the families endeavouring with all their power to raise their sworn brother and favourite prince to the government.

It was also in these schools of chivalry, the courts of kings, princes, and great barons, that the youth of this period imbibed that spirit of romantic gallantry and devotion towards the ladies, which was esteemed the most necessary qualification of a true and gentle knight. These courts were the schools in which the ladies, as well as the gentlemen, received their education. Both were often the wards of the prince or great baron; and while those of the one sex were educated with his sons under his own eye, those of the other sex were educated with his daughters under the inspection of his lady. In this situation it was natural for the young persons of each sex to cultivate those qualities which would render them most acceptable to the other. These were gentleness, modesty, and virtue, in the ladies; courtesy, valour, and gallantry in the gentlemen. Accordingly we are told, that in these schools of chivalry, the youth were carefully instructed in the arts of love, and in all the rules and punctilios of a virtuous and honourable gallantry. To render these lessons more effectual, the young gentlemen chose mistresses among the young ladies of the courts in which they resided, to whom they addressed all their vows, and practised all the arts of pleasing. They became their constant attendants in assemblies, their champions at tournaments, the protectors of their person, fame, and fortune, and the avengers of their wrongs.

When the youth in those schools of chivalry had spent seven or eight years in the station of esquires, they received the honour of knighthood, most commonly from the hands of the prince, earl, or baron, in whose court they had spent their youth and received their education. That honour was preceded by various preparations, and accompanied with several pompous ceremonies; which are thus described by the best modern writer on this subject, who has confirmed every article of his description by the most solid proofs. "Severe fastings,—nights spent in prayer in a church or chapel,—the sacraments of penance, and the eucharist received with devotion,—bathing and putting on white robes, as emblems of that purity of manners required by the laws of chivalry,—confession of all their sins,—with serious attention to several sermons, in which the faith and morals of a good Christian were explained, were the necessary preparations for receiving the honour of knighthood. When a candidate for that honour had performed all these preliminaries, he went in procession into a church, and advanced to the altar, with his sword slung in a scarf about

his neck. He presented his sword to a priest; who blessed it, and put it again into the scarf, about the neck of the candidate; who then proceeded in a solemn pace, with his hands joined to the place where he was to be knighted. This august ceremony was most commonly performed in a church or chapel, in the great hall of a palace or castle, or in the open air. When the candidate approached the personage by whom he was to be knighted, he fell on his knees at his feet, and delivered to him his sword. Being asked for what end he desired the honour of knighthood? and having returned a proper answer, the usual oath was administered to him with great solemnity. After this, knights and ladies, who assisted at the ceremony, began to adorn the candidate with the armour and ensigns of knighthood. First, they put on his spurs, beginning with the left foot; next his coat of mail; then his cuirass; afterwards the several pieces of armour for his arms, hands, legs, and thighs; and, last of all, they girt him with the sword. When the candidate was thus *dubbed*, as it was called, the king, prince, or baron, who was to make him a knight, descended from his throne or seat, and gave him, still on his knees, the accolade, which was three gentle strokes, with the flat of his sword on the shoulder, or with the palm of his hand on the cheek; saying at the same time, —*In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight; be thou brave, hardy, and loyal.* The new knight was then raised from the ground, his helmet put on, his shield and lance delivered to him, and his horse brought; which he mounted without using the stirrup, and performed several courses, displaying his dexterity in horsemanship, and in the management of his arms, amidst the acclamations of great multitudes of people, who had assembled to behold the ceremony." Could any institution be better adapted to inflame the ardour of the young nobility in acquiring the accomplishments necessary to obtain an honour which was courted by the greatest monarchs?

The virtues and endowments that were necessary to form an accomplished knight in the flourishing times of chivalry, were such as these—beauty, strength, and agility of body—great dexterity in dancing, wrestling, hunting, hawking, riding, tilting, and every other manly exercise;—the virtues of piety, chastity, modesty, courtesy, loyalty, liberality, sobriety; and above all, an inviolable attachment to truth, and an invincible courage.

To perform the duties of a good and valiant knight not one of these virtues and endowments was unnecessary. For he was not only to be the delight and ornament of courts by his gallantry and politeness, but he was bound by oath to serve his prince,—to defend the church and clergy,—to protect the persons and reputations of virtuous ladies,—and to rescue the widow and orphan from oppression with his sword, at the hazard of his life. Few, we may presume, possessed all these qualifications, and performed all these duties in perfection. But still an institution so virtuous in its principles, and honourable in its ends, must have done much good and prevented many evils.

The use of family-surnames, descending from father to son, seems to have been introduced into Britain by the Normans at the beginning of this period. For among the Anglo-Saxons, persons who bore the same Christian name were distinguished from one another by descriptive epithets, as the black, the white, the long, the strong, &c., and these epithets were not given to their sons if they did not

possess their properties. Family-surnames, at their first introduction, like family-arms, were confined to persons of rank and fortune, who most commonly took their surnames from the castles in which they resided, or the estates which they possessed. This is the true reason of the surnames of so many of the noble and honourable families in England being the same with the names of certain towns, castles, and estates in Normandy, France, and Flanders. The ancestors of these families were lords of these estates and castles; and being proud of their native country and family possessions, they retained their names after they had settled in England, and transmitted them to their posterity. It was not till after the conclusion of this period that surnames were universally assumed by the common people.

The use of coats of arms, distinguishing one great family from another, and descending from father to son, appears to have been introduced into Britain about the same time with family-surnames, and by the same noble Normans. The Anglo-Saxon warriors adorned their shields and banners with the figures of certain animals, or with other devices; but in doing this every particular person followed his own fancy without any regard to the figures or devices that had been borne by his ancestors. But about the time of the first crusades, greater attention began to be paid to these devices, when it was discovered that they might be useful as well as ornamental. "About this time," says Camden, "the estimation of arms began in the expedition to the Holy Land; and afterwards by little and little became hereditary; when it was accounted most honourable to carry those arms which had been displayed in the Holy Land in that holy service against the professed enemies of Christianity." Jousts and tournaments, the favourite diversions of the great and brave in this period, contributed not a little to render arms hereditary. For a noble son, proud of the honours that had been gained by an illustrious father in those fields of fame, delighted to appear with the same devices on his shield at the like solemnities. It was only, however, by slow degrees, and in the course of almost two centuries, that this custom became constant and universal even in noble families.

The many noble Normans who settled in England after the conquest, introduced a more magnificent and splendid manner of living than had been known among the Anglo-Saxons. This we learn from a writer who flourished soon after the conquest, and had the best opportunities of being well informed; who tells us, that the English nobles were universally addicted to excessive drinking, and spent their ample revenues in a sordid manner in mean and low houses; but that the Norman barons dwelt in stately and magnificent palaces, kept elegant tables, and were very splendid in their dress and equipage. William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, had no fewer than a thousand, some contemporary writers say fifteen hundred, horsemen in his retinue; and to furnish his table, says a prelate who was his contemporary, all the different kinds of beasts that roam on the land, of fishes that swim in the waters, and of birds that fly in the air, were collected. The Norman kings and nobles displayed their taste for magnificence in the most remarkable manner at their coronations, their royal feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and at their tournaments, which were all celebrated with incredible expence and pomp.

One thing that contributed very much to swell the

retinues of the Norman kings, prelates, and nobles, was the necessity they were under of carrying with them not only their provisions, but even a great part of the furniture of their houses, in their journeys. Peter of Blois, who was chaplain to Henry II., in his curious description of a court-life, paints the prodigious crowds, confusion, and bustle, with which the royal progresses were attended, in very strong colours. "When the king sets out in the morning, you see multitudes of people running up and down as if they were distracted; horses rushing against horses: carriages overturning carriages; players, whores, gamesters, cooks, confectioners, mimics, dancers, barbers, pimps, and parasites, making so much noise, and, in a word, such an intolerable tumultuous jumble of horse and foot, that you imagine the great abyss hath opened, and that hell hath poured out all its inhabitants."

The custom of covering up their fires about sunset in summer, and about eight or nine at night in winter, at the ringing of a bell called the *couvre-feu*, or *curfew-bell*, is supposed by some to have been introduced by William I., and imposed upon the English as a badge of servitude. But this opinion does not seem to be well founded. For there is sufficient evidence, that the same custom prevailed in France, Spain, Italy, Scotland, and probably in all the other countries of Europe, in this period; and was intended as a precaution against fires, which were then very frequent, and very fatal, when so many houses were built of wood. Henry I. restored the use of lamps and candles at court in the night, after the ringing of the *couvre-feu* bell, which had been prohibited by his predecessor William Rufus.

Piety, or a regard to religion, may not improperly be placed at the head of the national virtues of the Anglo-Normans. The best of our ancient historians make great complaints of the decay of piety among the Anglo-Saxons immediately before the conquest, and ascribe that great calamity to the wrath of heaven against them on that account. Nothing can exhibit a stronger picture of the different characters of the two nations in this respect, than the different behaviour of the Norman and Saxon armies in the night before the famous battle of Hastings. The Normans spent that awful night in confession, prayer, and other acts of devotion; while the English wasted it in noise and riot. "Religion," says William of Malmesbury, "which was almost extinct in England, revived after the settlement of the Normans. Then you might have seen magnificent churches and monasteries arising in every village, town, and city. In a word, so much did religious zeal flourish in our country, that a rich man would have imagined he had lived in vain, if he had not left some illustrious monument of his pious munificence." The religion, however, of the Anglo-Normans, in this period, was not of the most pure and rational kind. On the contrary, it consisted chiefly in building, adorning, and endowing churches, in performing certain superstitious ceremonies, in believing all the opinions, and obeying all the commands, of the clergy.

There was no virtue of which the Normans who settled in England were so proud, and to which they made such high pretensions, as martial courage and valour. This they claimed in a degree peculiar to themselves, above all other nations. The speech of William the Conqueror to his army, before the battle of Hastings, was in this boastful strain: "I address you, O Normans! the most valiant of all nations, not as doubting, but as secure of victory,



which neither force nor fortune can wrest out of your hands. O ye bravest of mortal men! what availed the king of France at the head of all the nations between Lorrain and Spain, against your ancestor Hasting, who seized as much of France as he pleased, and kept it as long as he thought proper?" &c. &c. Almost a century after the conquest, the Normans still considered themselves as a distinct people from the English, and had lost nothing of their high opinion of their own valour. This appears from the speech of that venerable warrior Walter Espec, before the battle of the Standard: "Why should we despair of victory, though we are few in number? Has not the almighty bestowed victory upon our nation, as its peculiar property? How often have small bodies of brave Normans obtained glorious victories over great armies of the people of France, Maine, Anjou, and Aquitaine? Did not our own fathers conquer this island at one blow, on which the invincible Julius bestowed so much time and blood? We have seen, my brave Normans, we ourselves have seen, the king of France, and his whole army, flying before us, many of his greatest barons slain, and others taken prisoners. Who were the conquerors of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, but the valiant Normans?" &c. &c.

Sobriety may not improperly be reckoned among the national virtues of the Anglo-Normans, especially at the time of their settlement in England. The most ancient of our historians who had opportunities of conversing with the Normans and English, before they were so blended together as to form one people, commend the former for their sobriety, as much as they condemn the latter for their intemperance. The English," says William of Malmesbury, "were much addicted to excessive eating and drinking, in which they sometimes spent both day and night, without intermission. The Normans were very unlike them in this respect, being delicate in the choice of their meats and drinks, but seldom exceeding the bounds of temperance. By this means the Normans lived with greater elegance, and at less expense than the English." The custom, however, of drinking to pegs, which had been introduced by a law of Edgar the Peaceable, still continued in this period. For by a canon of the council of Westminster, held A.D. 1102 the clergy are prohibited to frequent ale-houses, or to drink to pegs. It appears also, that before the conclusion of this period, many of the Normans had adopted the manners of the English, and departed from the sobriety of their ancestors. "When you behold," says Peter of Blois, "our barons and knights going upon a military expedition, you see their baggage-horses loaded, not with iron but wine, not with lances but cheeses, not with swords but bottles, not with spears but spits. You would imagine they were going to prepare a great feast rather than to make war. There are even too many who boast of their excessive drunkenness and gluttony, and labour to acquire fame by swallowing great quantities of meat and drink."

The point of honour was very much respected by the Normans in this period, and they paid much regard to their plighted faith, especially to the ladies. A most remarkable example of this occurs in the history of King Stephen, when Empress Maud was besieged by him in Arundel castle.

The Normans appear to have been a cheerful, witty, and facetious people, delighting much in innocent frolics and convivial jocularities. No qualities were more admired amongst them than those of

wit and humour. It was to these qualities chiefly that King Stephen owed his popularity, and the success of his usurpation. "Stephen, when he was an earl (says William of Malmesbury, who was well acquainted with him), gained the affections of the people to a degree that can hardly be imagined, by the affability of his manners, and the wit and pleasantry of his conversation. He condescended sometimes to chat and joke with persons in very humble stations, and the nobility were in general charmed with him, and embraced his party." Our historians of this period have taken the trouble to record many of the frolics and repartees of our princes, prelates, and great men; which is a sufficient proof that they were considered as matters of importance, and not unworthy of a place in history. Nay, so fond were the Normans of the innocent conflicts of wit and humour, that the greatest enemies, in the very heat of a siege, sometimes suspended their hostilities, in order to engage in a more harmless combat of banter and repartee. When one of the contending parties designed this, he appeared in sight of the other, dressed in white; which was understood and accepted as a challenge to a trial of wit. John of Salisbury censures, with great severity, the excessive fondness of his countrymen and contemporaries for professed wits and jesters, and reproaches them for spending too much time, and taking too much delight in their company.

The Normans seem also to have been a generous open-hearted people, capable of very noble acts of bounty and liberality. Their profuse donations to the church are well known, and were certainly far too great and numerous. Few princes have had more to give, or were more liberal in their donations, than the Norman kings of England. To say nothing of the inestimable grants made by William I. to his followers, all his successors in this period displayed both their wealth and liberality at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, every year, and on many other occasions. "In the month of February, A.D. 1191, (says John Brompton), when Richard I. was at Messina, in Sicily, he made a present of several ships to the King of France and his nobles. He also opened his treasures, and distributed to the earls, barons, knights, and esquires of the army, greater sums of money than any of his predecessors had ever distributed in one year."

The same historian has preserved the following curious anecdote, which may serve both as a proof and illustration of the wit, politeness, and generosity of the Normans. When Robert, Duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror, was at Constantinople, in his way to the Holy Land, he lived in uncommon splendour, and was greatly celebrated for his wit, his affability, and other virtues. Of these many remarkable examples were related to the Emperor; who resolved to put the reality of them to a trial. With this view he invited the duke and all his nobles to a feast in the great hall of the Imperial palace, but took care to have all the tables and seats filled with guests, before the arrival of the Normans, of whom he commanded them to take no notice. When the duke, followed by his nobles in their richest dresses, entered the hall, observing that all the seats were filled with guests, and that none of them returned his civilities, or offered him any accommodation, he walked, without the least appearance of surprise or discomposure, to an empty space, at one end of the room, took off his cloak, folded it very carefully, laid it upon the floor, and sat down

upon it; in all which he was imitated by his followers. In this posture they dined, on such dishes as were set before them, with every appearance of the most perfect satisfaction with their entertainment. When the feast was ended, the duke and his nobles arose, took leave of the company in the most graceful manner, and walked out of the hall in their doublets, leaving their cloaks, which were of great value, behind them on the floor. The emperor, who had admired their whole behaviour, was quite surprised at this last part of it; and sent one of his courtiers to entreat the duke and his followers to put on their cloaks. "Go," said the duke, "and tell your master, that it is not the custom of the Normans to carry about with them the seats which they use at an entertainment."

The Normans were no less credulous than the Anglo-Saxons. This is evident from the prodigious number of miracles, revelations, visions, and enchantments, which are related with the greatest gravity by the best of their historians and other writers. "In this year, 1171, about Easter," says Matthew Paris, "it pleased the Lord Jesus Christ to irradiate his glorious martyr Thomas Becket with many miracles, that it might appear to all the world he had obtained a victory suitable to his merits. None who approached his sepulchre in faith, returned without a cure. For strength was restored to the lame, hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, health to lepers, and life to the dead. Nay, not only men and women, but even birds and beasts, were raised from death to life." Giraldus Cambrensis, amongst many ridiculous stories of miracles, visions, and apparitions, tells of one devil who acted a considerable time as a gentleman's butler with great prudence and probity; and of another who was a very diligent and learned clergyman, and a mighty favourite of his archbishop. This last clerical devil was, it seems, an excellent historian, and used to divert the archbishop with telling him old stories. "One day, when he was entertaining the archbishop with a relation of ancient histories and surprising events, the conversation happened to turn on the incarnation of our Saviour. Before the incarnation, said our historian, the devils had great power over mankind; but after that event their power was much diminished, and they were obliged to fly. Some of them threw themselves into the sea; some concealed themselves in hollow trees, or in the clefts of rocks; and I myself plunged into a certain fountain. As soon as he had said this, finding that he had discovered his secret, his face was covered with blushes, he went out of the room, and was no more seen."

The Normans were as curious as they were credulous. This prompted them to employ many vain fallacious arts to discover their future fortunes, and the success of their undertakings. John of Salisbury enumerates no fewer than thirteen different kinds of diviners or fortunetellers, who pretended to foretell future events; some by one means, and some by another. Nor did this passion for penetrating into futurity prevail only among the common people, but also among persons of the highest rank and greatest learning. All our kings, and many of our earls and great barons, had their astrologers, who resided in their families, and were consulted by them in all undertakings of importance. We find Peter of Blois, who was one of the most learned men of the age in which he flourished, writing an account of his dreams to his friend the bishop of Bath, and telling him how anxious he had been about the in-

terpretation of them; and that he had employed for that purpose *divination by the psalter*. The English, it seems probable, had still more superstitious curiosity, and paid greater attention to dreams and omens than the Normans. For when William Rufus was dissuaded from going abroad on the morning of that day on which he was killed, because the abbot of Gloucester had dreamed something which portended danger, he is said to have made this reply:—"Do you imagine that I am an Englishman, to be frightened by a dream, or the sneezing of an old woman?" But the truth is, that excessive credulity and curiosity were the weaknesses of the times, rather than of any particular nation.

The declamations of recluse and melancholy men have abounded in every age, and are always to be read with some degree of caution and distrust. We have, however, the fullest evidence, that violations of the laws of humanity, chastity, and justice, prevailed so much amongst the Normans in this period, that they may justly be called their national vices.

Though they were a brave and generous, they were also a haughty, passionate, and fierce people, and their fierceness often degenerated into cruelty. "When it pleased God," says one of our ancient historians, "to bring destruction upon the English, he employed the Normans to execute his vengeance, because he knew that they delighted more in blood and slaughter than any other nation."

The great prosperity of the Normans in England seems to have contributed not a little to inflame their passions and corrupt their manners. Of the licentiousness of manners in this respect, it will probably be thought sufficient evidence that public stews were established by law in London, and probably in other cities, in this period; and that the ladies of pleasure who followed the camps and courts of the kings of England in all their motions, were formed into regular incorporations, and put under the government of officers, who were called *the marshals of the whores*. These officers, both in the camp and court, had estates annexed unto them, and were hereditary.

Several of our historians, and other writers in this period, reproach the Normans in the severest terms for introducing and practising an unnatural crime, which is too detestable to be named.

The people of Normandy and Flanders, of which great numbers followed the Conqueror into England, were remarkable for the beauty and elegance of their persons. They were also very ostentatious and fond of pomp. These two things prompted them to pay great attention to their dress; of which it is proper to give a very brief description.

There was hardly any thing against which the clergy in this period declaimed with greater vehemence, than the long curled hair of the laity, especially of the courtiers. Deprived of this ornament themselves, by their clerical tonsure, they endeavoured to deter others from enjoying it, by representing it as one of the greatest crimes, and most certain marks of reprobation. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, even pronounced the then terrible sentence of excommunication against all who wore long hair, for which pious zeal he is very much commended. Serlo, a Norman bishop, acquired great honour by a sermon which he preached before Henry I., A.D., 1104, against long and curled hair, with which the king and all his courtiers were so much affected, that they consented to resign their flowing ringlets, of which they had been so vain. The prudent prelate gave them no time to change



their minds, but immediately pulled a pair of shears out of his sleeve, and performed the operation with his own hand. Another incident happened about twenty-five years after, which gave a temporary check to the prevailing fondness for long hair: it is thus related by a contemporary historian: "An event happened, A.D. 1129, which seemed very wonderful to our young gallants; who, forgetting that they were men, had transformed themselves into women by the length of their hair. A certain knight, who was very proud of his long luxuriant hair, dreamed that a person suffocated him with its curls. As soon as he awoke from his sleep, he cut his hair to a decent length. The report of this spread over all England, and almost all the knights reduced their hair to the proper standard. But this reformation was not of long continuance. For in less than a year, all who wished to appear fashionable, returned to their former wickedness, and contended with the ladies in length of hair. Those to whom nature had denied that ornament, supplied the defect by art."

The Normans had as great an aversion to beards as they had a fondness for long hair. Among them, to allow the beard to grow, was an indication of the deepest distress and misery. They not only shaved their beards themselves, but, when they had authority, they obliged others to imitate their example. It is mentioned by some of our ancient historians, as one of the most wanton acts of tyranny in William the Conqueror,—that he compelled the English (who had been accustomed to allow the hair of their upper lips to grow) to shave their whole beards. This was so disagreeable to some of that people, that they chose rather to abandon their country than resign their whiskers.

The vestments of the Normans at the conquest, and for some time after, were simple, convenient, and even graceful; but before the end of this period they degenerated not a little from their simplicity, and became fantastical enough in some particulars. Those of the men were—caps or bonnets for the head,—shirts, doublets, and cloaks, for the trunk of the body,—and breeches, hose, and shoes, for the thighs, legs, and feet. It may be proper to take a little notice of what was most remarkable in each of these.

The caps or bonnets of the Anglo-Normans were made of cloth, or furs. They were of various shapes and colours, and differently ornamented, according to the taste, rank, and circumstances of the wearers. The Jews were obliged to wear square caps of a yellow colour, to distinguish them from other people. The bonnets of kings, earls, and barons, especially those which they used at public solemnities, were of the finest cloths, or richest furs, and adorned with pearls and precious stones.

The shirts of all persons of rank and fortune, and even of the great body of the people, were of linen; which was now become so common, that it was no longer taken notice of by our writers as a singularity. As this part of dress is not much seen, it has not been much affected by the tyranny of caprice and fashion.

Doublets or circoats were worn next the shirt, and made to fit the shape of the body. This vestment appears to have been used shorter or longer, at different times, and even at the same time, by persons of different ranks. For while the circoats of kings, and persons of quality, reached almost to their feet, those of the common people reached no lower than the middle of the thigh, that they might

not incommode them in labouring. The sleeves of these doublets reached to the wrists. They were put on, over the head, like a shirt, and made fast about the waist with a belt or girdle. The girdles of kings were commonly embroidered with gold, and set with precious stones.

The cloak or mantle was one of the chief vestments of the Anglo-Normans. The mantles worn by kings, and other great persons, were very valuable, being made of the finest cloths, embroidered with gold or silver, and lined with the most costly furs. Robert Bloet, the second bishop of Lincoln, made a present to Henry I., of a cloak of exquisitely fine cloth, lined with black sables, with white spots, which cost 100*l.* of the money of those times, equal in efficacy to 1500*l.* of our money at present. The cloak of Richard I. was still more splendid, and probably more expensive. It is thus described by his historian: "The king wore a cloak, striped in straight lines adorned with half-moons of solid silver, and almost covered with shining orbs, in imitation of the system of the heavenly bodies." The fashion of their cloaks changed oftener than once in this period, particularly as to their length. Henry II. introduced the short cloak of Anjou, from which he got the surname of *Court-Mantle*. At another time the fashion was in the other extreme. "In our days," says Ordericus Vitalis, "they sweep the ground with their long cloaks and gowns, whose long and wide sleeves cover their hands, so that they can neither walk nor act with freedom."

Kings, earls, and great barons, used a garment in this period, called, in Latin, *rheno*, for which it is not easy to find an English name. It was made of the finest furs; covered the neck, breast, and shoulders; and was equally comfortable and ornamental.

It is unnecessary to detain the reader with a description of the breeches and stockings of the Anglo-Normans. They were both of cloth, of different colours, and different degrees of fineness, according to the different fancies and circumstances of the wearers. William Rufus disdained to wear a pair of stockings which cost less than a mark, equivalent to about ten pounds of our money at present.

The shoes of the Normans, when they settled in England, seem to have had nothing remarkable in their make. But before the end of this period, a very ridiculous and inconvenient fashion of shoes was introduced. This fashion made its first appearance in the reign of William Rufus; and was introduced by one Robert, surnamed the *Horned*, from the fashion of his shoes. He was a great beau in the court of that prince, and used shoes with long sharp points, stuffed with tow, and twisted like a ram's horn. This ridiculous fashion, says the historian, was admired as a happy invention, and adopted by almost all the nobility. The clergy were offended at this fashion, and declaimed against these long-pointed shoes with great vehemence; but to no purpose, for the length of these points continued to increase through the whole of this period, and the greatest part of the next; when we shall find them arrived at a degree of extravagance which is hardly credible.

The two sexes did not differ very much from each other in their dress, in the present period. The inner garments of women were more large and flowing in the under part, than those of men, and reached to the ground. Their mantles had commonly hoods annexed to them, which sometimes hung down behind as an ornament, and at other times covered their heads. The girdles of princesses

and ladies of quality were richly ornamented with gold, pearls, and precious stones, and at their girdles they had a large purse or pouch suspended. Both their inner garments and their mantles of state were embroidered with various figures, and lined with furs. They wore collars of pearls or precious stones about their necks, and rings of great value on their fingers. The above description is chiefly taken from the portraits of Eleanor, queen of Henry II., Berengaria, queen of Richard I., and Elizabeth, queen of king John.

The Anglo-Normans are said to have been more delicate in the choice and dressing of their food than the Anglo-Saxons. It may appear fanciful to suggest, that the art of cookery was improved by the introduction of feudal tenures, and yet this suggestion is very probable. For after these tenures were introduced, the office of cook, in great families, became hereditary, and had an estate annexed to it; which naturally engaged fathers to instruct their sons with care, in the knowledge of an art to which they were destined by their birth. We even meet with estates held by the tenure of dressing one particular dish of meat.

The Anglo-Normans had only two stated meals a day, which were dinner and supper. By the famous laws of Oleron, those sailors who were allowed strong drink of any kind at the ship's expense, were to have only one meal a day from the kitchen; but the Norman sailors were to have two meals a day, because they had only water at the ship's allowance. Robert earl of Millent, the prime minister and great favourite of Henry I., laboured earnestly, both by his example and exhortations, to persuade the nobility of England to have only one formal stated meal a day in their families. Henry of Huntington complains very feelingly, that this parsimonious custom prevailed too much in his time; and that many great men had only one meal a day in their houses, which he imagined proceeded from their avarice rather than from their love of temperance, as they pretended. This stated meal, where there was only one, was an early and plentiful supper; but the most common custom was to have two meals, a dinner and a supper.

The time of dinner, in this period, even at court, and in the families of the greatest barons, was at nine in the forenoon, and the time of supper at five in the afternoon. These times were very convenient for despatching the most important business of the day without interruption; as the one was before it begun, and the other after it was ended. They were also thought to be friendly to health and long life, according to the following verses, which were then often repeated:—

Lever à cinq, dinner à neuf,  
Souper à cinq, coucher à neuf.  
Fait vivre d'ans nonante et neuf.

To rise at five, to dine at nine,  
To sup at five, to bed at nine,  
Makes a man live to ninety-nine.

At dinner and supper, but especially at the last, the tables of princes, prelates, and great barons, were plentifully furnished with many dishes of meat dressed in several different ways. William the Conqueror after he was peaceably settled on the throne of England, sent agents into different countries, to collect the most admired and rare dishes for his table; by which means, says John of Salisbury, this island, which is naturally productive of plenty and variety of provisions, was overflowed with every thing that could inflame a luxurious appetite. The same writer

tells us, that he was present at an entertainment which lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon to midnight; at which delicacies were served up, which had been brought from Constantinople, Babylon, Alexandria, Palestine, Tripoli, Syria, and Phenicia. These delicacies we may presume were very expensive. Thomas Becket, if we may believe his historian Fitz-Stephen, gave five pounds, equivalent to seventy-five pounds at present, for one dish of eels. The sumptuous entertainments which the kings of England, and of other countries, gave to their nobles and prelates, at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, in which they spent a great part of their revenues, contributed very much to diffuse a taste for profuse and expensive banqueting. It was natural for a proud and wealthy baron to imitate, in his own castle, the entertainments he had seen in the palace of his prince. Many of the clergy too, both seculars and regulars, being very rich, kept excellent tables. The monks of St. Swithin, at Winchester, made a formal complaint to Henry II. against their abbot, for taking away three of the thirteen dishes they used to have every day at dinner. The monks of Canterbury were still more luxurious; for they had at least seventeen dishes every day, besides a dessert; and these dishes were dressed with spiceries and sauces, which excited the appetite as well as pleased the taste.

Great men had some kinds of provisions at their tables, that are not now to be found in Britain. When Henry II. entertained his own court, the great officers of his army, with all the kings and great men of Ireland, in Dublin, at the feast of Christmas, A.D. 1171, the Irish princes and chieftains were quite astonished at the profusion and variety of provisions which they beheld, and were with difficulty prevailed upon by Henry to eat the flesh of cranes, a kind of food to which they had not been accustomed. In the remaining monuments of this period, we meet with the names of several dishes, as dellegroust, maupigynnum, karumpie, &c. the composition of which is now unknown.

The people of Britain, especially persons of rank and fortune, had several kinds of bread in this period. That which is called in Latin *panis piperatus*, was made of the finest flour mixed with spices, and is sometimes mentioned by our ancient historians. Simnel and wastel cakes were made also of the finest flour, and were seldom seen, except at the tables of kings, prelates, barons, or monks. When the king of Scotland resided in the court of England, he was, by charter, allowed twelve of the king's wastel cakes, and twelve of his simnel cakes, every day for his table. But the most common bread used by persons in comfortable circumstances, was made of the whole flour, coarse and fine, the price of which was very early settled by law in proportion to the price of wheat. The common people had bread made of the meal of rye, barley, or oats.

Persons of high rank and great fortunes had variety of liquors, as well as of meats. For, besides wines of various kinds, they had pigment, morat, mead, hypocras, claret, cider, perry, and ale. The claret of those times was wine clarified, and mixed with spices; and hypocras was wine mixed with honey. The curious reader may find directions for making both these liquors in Du Cange.

As the Anglo-Norman nobles were neither men of business nor men of letters, they had much leisure, and spent much time in their diversions; which were either martial, rural, theatrical, or domestic.

The martial sports of the middle age, commonly



called *tournaments*, were the favourite diversions of the princes, barons, and knights of those times. They had indeed the most powerful motives to be fond of these diversions. For it was at tournaments that princes, earls, and wealthy barons, appeared in the greatest pomp and splendour. Tournaments were the best schools for acquiring dexterity and skill in arms, and the most public theatres for displaying these accomplishments, and thereby gaining the favour of the fair and the admiration of the world.

Tedious investigations of the origin of these martial sports are neither suited to the nature of general history, nor the limits of this work. It is sufficient to take notice, that they began to be more famous and better regulated in France and Normandy, a little before the conquest, than they had been in former times. Geoffrey de Pruilli, who was killed A.D. 1066, contributed so much to this, that he is represented by several authors as the inventor of tournaments. That these military sports were introduced into Britain by the Normans, is highly probable. But they do not seem to have prevailed very much in England for a considerable time after the conquest, having been discouraged, on account of the great danger and ruinous expense with which they were attended. "After this truce," says William of Newborough, "between the kings of France and England, A.D. 1194, the military sports and exercises, which are commonly called tournaments, began to be celebrated in England by the permission of King Richard, who imposed a certain tax on all who engaged in these diversions. But this royal exaction did not in the least abate the ardour with which the youth of England crowded to these exercises. Such conflicts, in which the combatants engaged without any animosity, merely to display their dexterity and strength, had not been frequent in England, except in the reign of King Stephen, when the reigns of government were much relaxed. For in the times of former kings, and also of Henry II., who succeeded Stephen, tournaments were prohibited; and those who desired to acquire glory in such conflicts, were obliged to go into foreign countries. King Richard, therefore, observing that the French were more expert and dexterous in the use of their arms in battle, because they frequented tournaments, permitted his own knights to celebrate such martial sports, within his own territories, that they might no longer be insulted by the French."

The most splendid tournaments were celebrated by sovereign princes of a martial character, at their coronations, marriages, victories, or on other great occasions. When a prince had resolved to hold a tournament, he sent heralds to the neighbouring courts and countries to publish his design, and to invite all brave and loyal knights to honour the intended solemnity with their presence. This invitation was accepted with the greatest joy; and at the time and place appointed, prodigious numbers of persons of high rank, and of both sexes, commonly assembled. Judges were chosen from among the most noble and honourable knights, who were invested with authority to regulate all preliminaries and determine all disputes. Some days before the beginning of the tournament, all the knights who proposed to enter the lists; hung up their shields in the cloister of a neighbouring monastery, where they were viewed by the ladies and knights. If a lady touched one of the shields, it was considered as an accusation of its owner, who was immediately

brought before the judges of the tournament, tried with great solemnity, and if found guilty of having defamed a lady, or of having done any thing unbecoming the character of a true and courteous knight, he was degraded, and expelled the assembly with every mark of infamy. The lists were effectually secured from the intrusion of the spectators, and surrounded with lofty towers and scaffolds of wood in which the princes and princesses, ladies, lords, and knights, with the judges, marshals, heralds, and minstrels, were seated in their proper places, in their richest dresses. The combatants, nobly mounted, and completely armed, were conducted into the lists by their respective mistresses, in whose honour they were to fight, with bands of martial music, amidst the acclamations of the numerous spectators. It would be tedious to describe all the different kinds of combats that were performed at a royal tournament, which continued several days. It is sufficient to take notice, that representations were exhibited of all the different parts of actual war, from a single combat to a general action, with all the different kinds of arms, as spears, swords, battle-axes, and daggers. At the conclusion of every day's tournament, the judges declared the victors, and distributed the prizes, which were presented to the happy knights by the greatest and most beautiful ladies in the assembly. The victors were then conducted in triumph to the palace; their armour was taken off by the ladies of the court; they were dressed in the richest robes, seated at the table of their sovereign, and treated with every possible mark of distinction. Besides all this, their exploits were inserted in a register, and celebrated by the poets and minstrels who attended these solemnities. In a word, the victors became the greatest favourites of the fair, and the objects of universal admiration. It is easy to imagine with what ardour young and martial nobles aspired to these honours, so flattering to the strongest passions of the bravest hearts. The most magnificent tournament celebrated in this period, was that proclaimed by the king of England, Henry II., A.D. 1174, in the plains of Beauce, at which no fewer than ten thousand knights, besides ladies and other spectators, are said to have been present.

No person under the rank of an esquire was permitted to enter the lists at tournaments; which gave occasion to similar sports among burgesses and yeomen. Of this kind was the game called the *quintain*, which is thus described: A strong post was fixed in the ground, with a piece of wood, which turned on a spindle on the top of it. At one end of this piece of wood a bag of sand was suspended, and at the other end a board was nailed. Against this board they tilted with spears, which made the piece of wood turn quickly on the spindle, and the bag of sand strike the riders on the back with great force if they did not make their escape by the swiftness of their horses. Of this kind also was the sport on the Thames, which is thus described by Fitz-Stephen: "A shield is nailed to a pole fixed in the midst of the river. A boat is driven with violence by many oars and the stream of the river. On the prow of the boat stands a young man, who, in passing, tilts against the shield with a spear. If the spear breaks and he keeps his station, he gains the prize; but if the spear does not break, he is thrown into the river. To prevent his being drowned, a boat is moored on each side of the shield, filled with young men, who rescue him as soon as possible. The bridge, wharfs, and houses, are crowded with spectators ready to break out into

loud bursts of laughter." The youth in towns and villages diverted themselves on holidays with running, leaping, wrestling, throwing stones and darts, and shooting with bows and arrows, which were useful amusements, and fitted them for acting their parts in time of war. In great cities, particularly in London, wild boars and bulls were baited by dogs for the entertainment of the populace. Cock-fighting and horse-racing were not unknown in this period; but they seem to have been considered as childish rather than manly amusements. In frost the youth diverted themselves in various ways upon the ice, particularly by skating with the shank-bones of sheep tied under their shoes, and at the same time tilting against each other with pointless spears.

It is hardly possible for the keenest sportsman of the present age to form any idea of the excessive fondness of the Anglo-Norman kings and nobles for the rural diversions of hunting and hawking. In these they spent the greatest part of their time and of their revenues; and to their fondness for them they too often sacrificed their interest, their honour, and their humanity. "In our times (says John of Salisbury) hunting and hawking are esteemed the most honourable employments, and most excellent virtues, by our nobility: to spend their whole time in these diversions, they think is the supreme felicity of life.—They prepare for these sports with more anxiety, expense, and bustle, than they do for war; and pursue wild beasts with greater fury than they do the enemies of their country.—By their constant pursuit of this way of life, they lose the best part of their humanity, and become almost as great monsters and savages as the animals which they hunt.—Husbandmen with their harmless herds and flocks are driven from their well-cultivated fields, their meadows, and their pastures, that wild beasts may range in them at large.—If one of these great and merciless hunters pass by your habitation, bring out quickly all the refreshments you have in your house, or you can buy or borrow from your neighbours, that you may not be involved in ruin, or even accused of treason." It would be easy to produce many other proofs of the fondness, or rather rage, of the Anglo-Norman kings and nobles of this period for the sports of the field; but this seems to be as unnecessary as it is to describe these diversions, which are so well understood. So general was this rage for these rural sports, that both the clergy and the ladies were seized with it, and many of them spent much of their time in hunting and hawking. Walter bishop of Rochester, as we learn from a letter of Peter of Blois, was so fond of hunting, that when he was eighty years of age, it was the only employment of his life, to the total neglect of the duties of his office. The English ladies of this period applied so much to hawking, that they excelled the gentlemen in that art; which John of Salisbury, very unpolitely, produces as a proof that hawking was a trifling and frivolous amusement.

Though theatrical entertainments in Britain were so imperfect in this period, that they might, without much impropriety, have been omitted in this place; yet there is sufficient evidence that they were not unknown, or even uncommon. They were of two kinds, ecclesiastical and secular.

The ecclesiastical plays of this period were composed by the clergy, and acted by them and their scholars; and consisted of representations of events or actions recorded in the Scriptures, or in the lives of the saints. When Geoffrey, the sixteenth abbot

of St. Albans, was a young man, and presided in the school of Dunstable, about A.D. 1110, "he composed (says Matthew Paris) a certain play of St. Katherine, of that kind which we commonly call miracles, and borrowed from the sacrist of St. Alban's some of the sacred vestments of that abbey, to adorn the persons who acted his play." Peter of Blois congratulates his brother William, who was an abbot, on the fame he had acquired by his tragedy of *Flaura and Marcus*, and by his other theological works. "London (says Fitz-Stephen), for theatrical spectacles, hath religious plays, which are representations of the miracles which holy confessors had wrought, and of the sufferings by which martyrs had displayed their constancy."

The secular plays of this period seem to have been of a very different nature and tendency from the ecclesiastical. The clergy were prohibited from frequenting them, by the sixteenth canon of the fourth general council of Lateran, A.D. 1215. They seem, indeed, to have been very improper entertainments for the clergy. For, according to the descriptions given of them by contemporary writers, they appear to have consisted of comic tales or stories, intermixed with coarse jests, and accompanied in the acting with instrumental music, singing, dancing, gesticulations, mimicry, and other arts of raising laughter, without any regard to decency. They were acted by companies of strollers composed of minstrels, mimics, singers, dancers, wrestlers, and others, qualified for performing the several parts of the entertainment. Such companies constantly followed the courts of the kings of England, and from time to time visited the castles of earls and great barons, where they were well entertained and generously rewarded.

A minute description of all the domestic diversions of the kings, nobles, and people of Britain, in this period, is not necessary, and would swell this article beyond its due proportion. The following very brief account of the two most admired and fashionable domestic games, those of chess and dice, will, it is hoped, be thought sufficient.

The game of chess, and several games at dice, were much studied and practised by persons of rank and fortune in this period. Some knowledge of these games was so necessary to every gentleman, especially if he aspired to the honour of knighthood, that they were commonly made a part of his education. Peter of Blois, in one of his letters to a friend, who had a very profligate young man under his care, ascribes the profligacy of the youth to the education he had received from his father, who, being a great gamester, had taught his son to play at dice when he was but a child: "For I do not wonder," says he, "that he is a vicious young man who, in his childhood was taught to play at dice, which is the mother of perjury, theft, and sacrilege." "In our times," says another writer of this period, "expertness in the art of hunting, dexterity in the damnable art of dice-playing, a mincing effeminate way of speaking, and great skill in dancing and music, are the most admired accomplishments of our nobility. In these arts, our young nobles imitate the examples, and improve by the instructions, of their fathers." Matthew Paris blames the English barons who had revolted from King John, for spending their time in London, in eating, drinking, and playing at dice, when they should have been in the field. Nor was this fondness for dice confined to the nobility; for we meet with some clergymen, and even bishops who are said to have spent much of



their time in these games. It appears also that the gamesters of this period were acquainted with many different games at dice, of which a writer of those times give us the Latin names of no fewer than ten.

This too violent passion for games of chance was then, as it has always been, attended with various inconveniences, both to the gamesters themselves and to society. To the gamesters,—by dissipating their fortunes,—by consuming their most precious hours,—and by making them neglect their most important duties. To society,—by depriving it of the advantages it might have derived from a better application of the time and talents of many of its members. To prevent these inconveniences, by laying this dangerous passion under some restraints, several canons and laws were made. A translation of one of these laws will form no improper conclusion to this appendix. This remarkable law was one of those promulgated by the united authority of Richard I., king of England, and Philip-Augustus, king of France, with the advice and consent of their archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, for the government of their forces, in their expedition to the Holy Land, A.D. 1190. It is the second in that system of laws, and is to this purpose: “Besides, none in the whole army shall play at any kind of game for money, except knights and clerks; who shall not lose above twenty shillings (equal in efficacy to about fifteen pounds of our money at present) in one day and one night. But if any knight or clerk shall lose more than twenty shillings in one day, he shall pay one hundred shillings (equivalent to about seventy-five pounds of our money) for every such offence, into the hands of the above-named commissioners, who shall have the custody of that money. But the two kings shall be under no restrictions, but may play for as much money as they please. The servants who attend upon the two kings at their head-quarters may play to the extent of twenty shillings. But if any other soldiers, servants, or sailors, shall be found playing for money among themselves, they shall be punished in the following manner, unless they can purchase a pardon from the commissioners, by paying what they shall think proper to demand:—Soldiers and servants shall be stripped naked, and whipped through the army three days. Sailors shall be as often plunged from their ships into the sea, according to the custom of mariners.”

## CHAP. XV.

### HENRY III.

*Settlement of the Government—General Pacification—Death of the Protector—Some Commotions—Hubert de Burgh displaced—The bishop of Winchester Minister—King's partiality to Foreigners—Grievances—Ecclesiastical Grievances—Earl of Cornwall elected king of the Romans—Discontent of the Barons—Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester—Provisions of Oxford—Usurpation of the Barons—Prince Edward—Civil Wars of the Barons—Reference to the king of France—Renewal of the Civil War—Battle of Lewes—House of Commons—Battle of Evesham and death of Leicester—Settlement of the Government—Death—and character of the King—Miscellaneous transactions of this reign.*

Most sciences, in proportion as they increase and improve, invent methods by which they facilitate

their reasonings; and employing general theorems, are enabled to comprehend, in a few propositions, a great number of inferences and conclusions. History also, being a collection of facts which are multiplying without end, is obliged to adopt such arts of abridgement, to retain the more material events, and to drop all the minute circumstances, which are only interesting during the time, or to the persons engaged in the transactions. The truth is nowhere more evident than with regard to the reign upon which we are going to enter. What mortal could have the patience to write or read a long detail of frivolous events as those with which it is filled, or attend to a tedious narrative which would follow, through a series of fifty-six years, the caprices and weaknesses of so mean a prince as Henry? The chief reason why protestant writers have been so anxious to spread out the incidents of this reign is, in order to expose the rapacity, ambition, and artifices of the court of Rome; and to prove, that the great dignitaries of the catholic church, while they pretended to have nothing in view but the salvation of souls, had bent all their attention to the acquisition of riches, and were restrained by no sense of justice or of honour in the pursuit of that great object. But this conclusion would readily be allowed them, though it were not illustrated by such a detail of uninteresting incidents; and follows, indeed, by an evident necessity, from the very situation in which that church was placed with regard to the rest of Europe. For, besides that ecclesiastical power, as it can always cover its operations under a cloak of sanctity, and attacks men on the side where they dare not employ their reason, lies less under control than civil government; besides this general cause, the pope and his courtiers were foreigners to most of the churches which they governed; they could not possibly have any other object than to pillage the provinces for present gain; and as they lived at a distance, they would be little awed by shame or remorse, in employing every lucrative expedient which was suggested to them. England being one of the most remote provinces attached to the Romish hierarchy, as well as the most prone to superstition, felt severely, during this reign, while its patience was not yet fully exhausted, the influence of these causes; and we shall often have occasion to touch cursorily upon such incidents. But we shall not attempt to comprehend every transaction transmitted to us; and till the end of the reign, when the events become more memorable, we shall not always observe an exact chronological order in our narration.

The earl of Pembroke, who, at the time of John's death was marshal of England, was by his office at the head of the armies, and consequently, during a state of civil wars and convulsions, at the head of the government; and it happened fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation, that the power could not have been intrusted into more able and more faithful hands. This nobleman, who had maintained his loyalty unshaken to John during the lowest fortune of that monarch, determined to support the authority of the infant prince; nor was he dismayed at the number and violence of his enemies. Sensible that Henry, agreeably to the prejudices of the times, would not be deemed a sovereign till crowned and anointed by a churchman, he immediately carried the young prince to Gloucester, where the ceremony of coronation was performed, in the presence of Gualo the legate, and a few noblemen, by the bishops of Winchester and Bath. As the



Fourney sculp<sup>d</sup>

HENRY III.





concurrence of the papal authority was requisite to support the tottering throne, Henry was obliged to swear fealty to the pope, and renew that homage to which his father had already subjected the kingdom: and in order to enlarge the authority of Pembroke, and to give him a more regular and legal title to it, a general council of the barons was soon after summoned at Bristol, where that nobleman was chosen protector of the realm.

Pembroke, that he might reconcile all men to the government of his pupil, made him grant a new charter of liberties, which, though mostly copied from the former concessions extorted from John, contains some alterations, which may be deemed remarkable. The full privilege of elections in the clergy, granted by the late king, was not confirmed, nor the liberty of going out of the kingdom without the royal consent: whence we may conclude, that Pembroke and the barons, jealous of the ecclesiastical power, both were desirous of renewing the king's claim to issue a *congé d'elire* to the monks and chapters, and thought it requisite to put some check to the frequent appeals to Rome. But what may chiefly surprise us is, that the obligation to which John had subjected himself, of obtaining the consent of the great council before he levied any aids or scutages upon the nation, was omitted; and this article was even declared hard and severe, and was expressly left to future deliberation. But we must consider, that, though this limitation may perhaps appear to us the most momentous in the whole charter of John, it was not regarded in that light by the ancient barons, who were more jealous in guarding against particular acts of violence in the crown, than against such general impositions, which, unless they were evidently reasonable and necessary, could scarcely, without general consent, be levied upon men who had arms in their hands, and who could repel any act of oppression, by which they were all immediately affected. We accordingly find that Henry, in the course of his reign, while he gave frequent occasions for complaint, with regard to his violations of the Great Charter, never attempted, by his mere will, to levy any aids or scutages; though he was often reduced to great necessities, and was refused supply by his people. So much easier was it for him to transgress the law, when individuals alone were affected, than even to exert his acknowledged prerogatives, where the interest of the whole body was concerned.

This charter was again confirmed by the king in the ensuing year, with the addition of some articles to prevent the oppressions by sheriffs: and also with an additional charter of forests, a circumstance of great moment in those ages, when hunting was so much the occupation of the nobility, and when the king comprehended so considerable a part of the kingdom within his forests, which he governed by peculiar and arbitrary laws. All the forests, which had been inclosed since the reign of Henry II. were disforested, and new perambulations were appointed for that purpose: offences in the forests were declared to be no longer capital; but punishable by fine, imprisonment, and more gentle penalties: and all the proprietors of land recovered the power of cutting and using their own wood at their pleasure.

Thus, these famous charters were brought nearly to the shape in which they have ever since stood; and they were, during many generations, the peculiar favourites of the English nation, and esteemed the most sacred rampart to national liberty and in-

dependence. As they secured the rights of all orders of men, they were anxiously defended by all, and became the basis, in a manner, of the English monarchy, and a kind of original contract, which both limited the authority of the king, and ensured the conditional allegiance of his subjects. Though often violated, they were still claimed by the nobility and people; and as no precedents were supposed valid that infringed them, they rather acquired than lost authority, from the frequent attempts made against them in several ages, by regal and arbitrary power.

While Pembroke, by renewing and confirming the Great Charter, gave so much satisfaction and security to the nation in general, he also applied himself successfully to individuals: he wrote letters, in the king's name, to all the malecontent barons; in which he represented to them, that, whatever jealousy and animosity they might have entertained against the late king, a young prince, the lineal heir of their ancient monarchs, had now succeeded to the throne, without succeeding either to the resentments or principles of his predecessor: that the desperate expedient, which they had employed, calling in a foreign potentate, had, happily for them, as well as for the nation, failed of entire success; and it was still in their power, by a speedy return to their duty, to restore the independence of the kingdom, and to secure that liberty, for which they so zealously contended: that, as all past offences of the barons were now buried in oblivion, they ought, on their part, to forget their complaints against their late sovereign, who, if he had been any wise blameable in his conduct, had left to his son the salutary warning, to avoid the paths which had led to such fatal extremities; and that having now obtained a charter for their liberties, it was their interest to show, by their conduct, that this acquisition was not incompatible with their allegiance, and that the rights of king and people, so far from being hostile and opposite, might mutually support and sustain each other.

These considerations, enforced by the character of honour and constancy, which Pembroke had ever maintained, had a mighty influence on the barons; and most of them began secretly to negotiate with him, and many of them openly returned to their duty. The diffidence which Lewis discovered of their fidelity, forwarded this general propension towards the king; and when the French prince refused the government of the castle of Hertford to Robert Fitz-Walter, who had been so active against the late king, and who claimed that fortress as his property, they plainly saw that the English were excluded from every trust, and that foreigners had engrossed all the confidence and affection of their new sovereign. The excommunication, too, denounced by the legate against all the adherents of Lewis, failed not, in the turn which men's dispositions had taken, to produce a mighty effect upon them; and they were easily persuaded to consider a cause as impious, for which they had already entertained an insurmountable aversion. Though Lewis made a journey to France, and brought over succours from that kingdom, he found, on his return, that his party was still more weakened by the desertion of his English confederates, and that the death of John had, contrary to his expectations, given an incurable wound to his cause. The earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, together with William Mareshal, eldest son of the protector, had embraced Henry's party; and every English nobleman was plainly watching



for an opportunity of returning to his allegiance. Pembroke was so much strengthened by these accessions, that he ventured to invest Mount-sorel; though upon the approach of the count of Perche with the French army, he desisted from his enterprise, and raised the siege. The count, elated with this success, marched to Lincoln; and being admitted into the town, he began to attack the castle, which he soon reduced to extremity. The protector summoned all his forces from every quarter, in order to relieve a place of such importance; and he appeared so much superior to the French that they shut themselves up within the city, and resolved to act upon the defensive. But the garrison of the castle, having received a strong reinforcement, made a vigorous sally upon the besiegers; while the English army, by concert, assaulted them in the same instant from without, mounted the walls by scalade, and bearing down all resistance, entered the city sword in hand. Lincoln was delivered over to be pillaged; the French army was totally routed; the count of Perche, with only two persons more, was killed; but many of the chief commanders, and about 400 knights, were made prisoners by the English. So little blood was shed in this important action, which decided the fate of one of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe; and such wretched soldiers were those ancient barons, who yet were unacquainted with every thing but arms!

Prince Lewis was informed of this fatal event while employed in the siege of Dover, which was still valiantly defended against him by Hubert de Burgh. He immediately retreated to London, the centre and life of his party; and he there received intelligence of a new disaster, which put an end to all his hopes. A French fleet, bringing over a strong reinforcement, had appeared on the coast of Kent, where they were attacked by the English under the command of Philip d'Albiny, and were routed with considerable loss. D'Albiny employed a stratagem against them, which is said to have contributed to the victory: having gained the wind of the French, he came down upon them with violence; and throwing in their faces a great quantity of quick lime, which he purposely carried on board, he so blinded them, that they were disabled from defending themselves.

After this second misfortune of the French, the English barons hastened every where to make peace with the protector, and, by an early submission, to prevent those attainders to which they were exposed on account of their rebellion. Lewis, whose cause was now totally desperate, began to be anxious for the safety of his person, and was glad, on any honourable conditions, to make his escape from a country where he found every thing was now become hostile to him. He concluded a peace with Pembroke, promised to evacuate the kingdom, and only stipulated, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, and a restitution of their honours and fortunes, together with the free and equal enjoyment of those liberties which had been granted to the rest of the nation. Thus was happily ended a civil war, which seemed to be founded on the most incurable hatred and jealousy, and had threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences.

The precautions which the king of France used in the conduct of this whole affair are remarkable. He pretended that his son had accepted of the offer from the English barons without his advice, and contrary to his inclination: the armies sent to England were levied in Lewis's name: when that prince

came over to France for aid, his father publicly refused to grant him any assistance, and would not so much as admit him to his presence: even after Henry's party acquired the ascendancy, and Lewis was in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, it was Blanche of Castile his wife, not the king his father, who raised armies and equipped fleets for his succour. All these artifices were employed, not to satisfy the pope; for he had too much penetration to be so easily imposed on: nor yet to deceive the people; for they were too gross even for that purpose: they only served for a colouring to Philip's cause; and in public affairs, men were often better pleased that the truth, though known to every body, should be wrapped up under a decent cover, than if it were exposed in open daylight to the eyes of all the world.

After the expulsion of the French, the prudence and equity of the protector's subsequent conduct contributed to cure entirely those wounds which had been made by intestine discord. He received the rebellious barons into favour; observed strictly the terms of peace which he had granted them; restored them to their possessions; and endeavoured, by an equal behaviour, to bury all past animosities in perpetual oblivion. The clergy alone, who had adhered to Lewis, were sufferers in this revolution. As they had rebelled against their spiritual sovereign, by disregarding the interdiction and excommunication, it was not in Pembroke's power to make any stipulations in their favour; and Gualo the legate prepared to take vengeance on them for their disobedience. Many of them were deposed; many suspended; some banished; and all who escaped punishment made atonement for their offence by paying large sums to the legate, who amassed an immense treasure by this expedient.

The earl of Pembroke did not long survive the pacification, which had been chiefly owing to his wisdom and valour; and he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. The counsels of the latter were chiefly followed; and had he possessed equal authority in the kingdom with Pembroke, he seemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that virtuous nobleman. But the licentious and powerful barons, who had once broken the reins of subjection to their prince, and had obtained by violence an enlargement of their liberties and independence, could ill be restrained by laws under a minority; and the people, no less than the king, suffered from their outrages and disorders. They retained by force the royal castles, which they had seized during the past convulsions, or which had been committed to their custody by the protector: they usurped the king's demesnes: they oppressed their vassals; they infested their weaker neighbours: they invited all disorderly people to enter in their retinue, and to live upon their lands: and they gave them protection in all their robberies and extortions.

No one was more infamous for these violent and illegal practices than the earl of Albermarle; who, though he had early returned to his duty, and had been serviceable in expelling the French, augmented to the utmost the general disorder, and committed outrages in all the counties of the north. In order to reduce him to obedience, Hubert seized an opportunity of getting possession of Rockingham castle, which Albermarle had garrisoned with his licentious retinue: but this nobleman, instead of submitting, entered into a secret confederacy with Fawkes de

Breauté, Peter de Mauleon, and other barons, and both fortified the castle of Biham for his defence, and made himself master, by surprise, of that of Fotheringay. Pandulf, who was restored to his legateship, was active in suppressing this rebellion; and with the concurrence of eleven bishops, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Albermarle and his adherents: an army was levied: a scutage of ten shillings, a knight's fee, was imposed on all the military tenants: Albermarle's associates gradually deserted him, and he himself was obliged at last to sue for mercy. He received a pardon, and was restored to his whole estate.

This impolitic lenity, too frequent in those times, was probably the result of a secret combination among the barons, who never could endure to see the total ruin of one of their own order: but it encouraged Fawkes de Breauté, a man whom king John had raised from a low origin, to persevere in the course of violence to which he had owed his fortune, and to set at naught all law and justice. When thirty-five verdicts were at one time found against him, on account of his violent expulsion of so many freeholders from their possessions; he came to the court of justice with an armed force, seized the judge who had pronounced the verdicts, and imprisoned him in Bedford castle. He then levied open war against the king; but being subdued and taken prisoner, his life was granted him; but his estate was confiscated, and he was banished the kingdom.

Justice was executed with greater severity against disorders less premeditated, which broke out in London. A frivolous emulation in a match of wrestling, between the Londoners on the one hand, and the inhabitants of Westminster and those of the neighbouring villages on the other, occasioned this commotion. The former rose in a body, and pulled down some houses belonging to the abbot of Westminster: but this riot which, considering the tumultuous disposition familiar to that capital, would have been little regarded, seemed to become more serious by the symptoms which then appeared, of the former attachment of the citizens to the French interest. The populace, in the tumult, made use of the cry of war commonly employed by the French troops; *Mountjoy, mountjoy, God help us and our lord Lewis*. The judiciary made enquiry into the disorder; and finding one Constantine Fitz-Arnulf to have been the ringleader, an insolent man, who justified his crime in Hubert's presence, he proceeded against him by martial law, and ordered him immediately to be hanged, without trial or form of process. He also cut off the feet of some of Constantine's accomplices.

This act of power was complained of as an infringement of the Great Charter. Yet the judiciary, in a parliament summoned at Oxford (for the great councils about this time began to receive that appellation), made no scruple to grant in the king's name a renewal and confirmation of that charter. When the assembly made application to the crown for this favour, as a law in those times seemed to lose its validity if not frequently renewed, William de Briwere, one of the council of regency, was so bold as to say openly, that those liberties were extorted by force, and ought not to be observed: but he was reprimanded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was not countenanced by the king or his chief ministers. A new confirmation was demanded and granted two years after; and an aid amounting to a fifteenth of all moveables, was given by the par-

liament, in return for this indulgence. The king issued writs anew to the sheriffs, enjoining the observance of the charter; but he inserted a remarkable clause in the writs, that those who paid not the fifteenth should not for the future be entitled to the benefit of those liberties.

The low state into which the crown was fallen made it requisite for a good minister to be attentive to the preservation of the royal prerogatives, as well as to the security of public liberty. Hubert applied to the pope, who had always great authority in the kingdom, and was now considered as its superior lord; and desired him to issue a bull, declaring the king to be of full age, and entitled to exercise in person all the acts of royalty. In consequence of this declaration, the judiciary resigned into Henry's hands the two important fortresses of the Tower and Dover castle, which had been entrusted to his custody; and he required the other barons to imitate his example. They refused compliance: the earls of Chester and Albermarle, John, Constable of Chester, John de Lacy, Brian de l'Isle, and William de Cantel, with some others, even formed a conspiracy to surprise London, and met in arms at Waltham with that intention: but finding the king prepared for defence, they desisted from their enterprise. When summoned to court, in order to answer for their conduct, they scrupled not to appear, and to confess the design: but they told the king that they had no bad intentions against his person, but only against Hubert de Burgh, whom they were determined to remove from his office. They appeared too formidable to be chastised; and they were so little discouraged by the failure of their first enterprise, that they again met in arms at Leicester, in order to seize the king, who then resided at Northampton: but Henry, informed of their purpose, took care to be so well armed and attended, that the barons found it dangerous to make the attempt; and they sat down and kept Christmas in his neighbourhood. The archbishop and the prelates, finding every thing tend towards a civil war, interposed with their authority, and threatened the barons with the sentence of excommunication if they persisted in detaining the king's castles. This menace at last prevailed: most of the fortresses were surrendered; though the barons complained that Hubert's castles were soon after restored to him, while the king still kept theirs in his own custody. There are said to have been 1115 castles at that time in England.

It must be acknowledged, that the influence of the prelates and the clergy was often of great service to the public. Though the religion of that age can merit no better name than that of superstition, it served to unite together a body of men who had great sway over the people, and who kept the community from falling to pieces, by the factious and independent power of the nobles. And what was of great importance, it threw a mighty authority into the hands of men, who, by their profession, were averse to arms and violence; who tempered by their mediation the general disposition towards military enterprises; and who still maintained, even amidst the shock of arms, those secret links, without which it is impossible for human society to subsist.

Notwithstanding these intestine commotions in England, and the precarious authority of the crown, Henry was obliged to carry on war in France; and he employed to that purpose the fifteenth which had been granted him by parliament. Lewis VIII. who had succeeded to his father Philip, instead of com-



plying with Henry's claim, who demanded the restitution of Normandy, and the other provinces wrested from England, made an irruption into Poitou, took Rochelle, after a long siege, and seemed determined to expel the English from the few provinces which still remained to them. Henry sent over his uncle, the earl of Salisbury, together with his brother Prince Richard, to whom he had granted the earldom of Cornwall, which had escheated to the crown. Salisbury stopped the progress of Lewis's arms, and retained the Poitevin and Gascon vassals in their allegiance: but no military action of any moment was performed on either side. The earl of Cornwall, after two years' stay in Guienne, returned to England.

This prince was nowise turbulent or factious in his disposition: his ruling passion was to amass money, in which he succeeded so well as to become the richest subject in Christendom: yet his attention to gain threw him sometimes into acts of violence, and gave great disturbance to the government. There was a manor, which had formerly belonged to the earldom of Cornwall, but had been granted to Waleran de Ties, before Richard had been invested with that dignity, and while the earldom remained in the crown. Richard claimed this manor, and expelled the proprietor by force: Waleran complained: the king ordered his brother to do justice to the man, and restore him to his rights: the earl said that he would not submit to these orders, till the cause should be decided against him by the judgment of his peers: Henry replied, that it was first necessary to reinstate Waleran in possession, before the cause could be tried; and he reiterated his orders to the earl. We may judge of the state of the government, when this affair had nearly produced a civil war. The earl of Cornwall, finding Henry peremptory in his commands, associated himself with the young earl of Pembroke, who had married his sister, and who was displeased on account of the king's requiring him to deliver up some royal castles which were in his custody. These two malecontents took into the confederacy the earls of Chester, Warrene, Gloucester, Hereford, Warwick, and Ferrers, who were all disgusted on a like account. They assembled an army, which the king had not the power or courage to resist; and he was obliged to give his brother satisfaction, by grants of much greater importance than the manor, which had been the first ground of the quarrel.

The character of the king, as he grew to man's estate, became every day better known; and he was found in every respect unqualified for maintaining a proper sway among those turbulent barons, whom the feudal constitution subjected to his authority. Gentle, humane, and merciful even to a fault, he seems to have been steady in no other circumstance of his character; but to have received every impression from those who surrounded him, and whom he loved, for the time, with the most imprudent and most unreserved affection. Without activity or vigour, he was unfit to conduct war; without policy or art, he was ill fitted to maintain peace: his resentments, though hasty and violent, were not dreaded, while he was found to drop them with such facility; his friendships were little valued, because they were neither derived from choice, nor maintained with constancy. A proper pageant of state in a regular monarchy, where his ministers could have conducted all others in his name and by his authority: but too feeble in these disorderly times to sway a sceptre, whose weight depended entirely on

the firmness and dexterity of the hand which held it.

The ablest and most virtuous minister that Henry ever possessed, was Hubert de Burgh; a man who had been steady to the crown in the most difficult and dangerous times, and who yet showed no disposition, in the height of his power, to enslave or oppress the people. The only exceptionable part of his conduct is that which is mentioned by Matthew Paris; if the fact be really true, and proceeded from Hubert's advice, namely, the recalling publicly and the annulling of the charter of forests, a concession so reasonable in itself, and so passionately claimed both by the nobility and people: but it must be confessed that this measure is so unlikely, both from the circumstances of the times and character of the minister, that there is reason to doubt of its reality, especially as it is mentioned by no other historian. Hubert, while he enjoyed his authority, had an entire ascendancy over Henry, and was loaded with honours and favours beyond any other subject. Besides acquiring the property of many castles and manors, he married the eldest sister of the king of Scots, was created earl of Kent, and, by an unusual concession, was made chief justiciary of England for life: yet Henry, in a sudden caprice, threw off this faithful minister, and exposed him to the violent persecutions of his enemies. Among other frivolous crimes objected to him, he was accused of gaining the king's affections by enchantment, and of purloining from the royal treasury a gem, which had the virtue to render the wearer invulnerable, and of sending this valuable curiosity to the prince of Wales. The nobility, who hated Hubert on account of his zeal in resuming the rights and possessions of the crown, no sooner saw the opportunity favourable, than they inflamed the king's animosity against him, and pushed him to seek the total ruin of his minister. Hubert took sanctuary in a church: the king ordered him to be dragged from thence: he recalled those orders: he afterwards renewed them: he was obliged by the clergy to restore him to the sanctuary: he constrained him soon after to surrender himself prisoner, and he confined him in the castle of Devizes. Hubert made his escape, was expelled the kingdom, was again received into favour, recovered a great share of the king's confidence, but never showed any inclination to reinstate himself in power and authority.

The man who succeeded him in the government of the king and kingdom, was Peter, bishop of Winchester, a Poitevin by birth, who had been raised by the late king, and who was no less distinguished by his arbitrary principles, and violent conduct, than by his courage and abilities. This prelate had been left by King John justiciary and regent of the kingdom during an expedition which that prince made into France; and his illegal administration was one chief cause of that great combination among the barons, which finally extorted from the crown the charter of liberties, and laid the foundations of the English constitution. Henry, though incapable, from his character, of pursuing the same violent maxims which had governed his father, had imbibed the same arbitrary principles; and in prosecution of Peter's advice, he invited over a great number of Poitevins, and other foreigners, who, he believed, could be more safely trusted than the English, and who seemed useful to counterbalance the great and independent power of the nobility. Every office and command was bestowed on these strangers; they exhausted the revenues of the crown,

already too much impoverished; they invaded the rights of the people; and their insolence still more provoking than their power, drew on them the hatred and envy of all orders of men in the kingdom.

The barons formed a combination against this odious ministry, and withdrew from parliament, on pretence of the danger to which they were exposed from the machinations of the Poitevins. When again summoned to attend, they gave for answer, that the king should dismiss his foreigners, otherwise they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and put the crown on another head more worthy to wear it: such was the style they used to their sovereign! They at last came to parliament, but so well attended, that they seemed in a condition to prescribe laws to the king and ministry. Peter des Roches, however, had in the interval found means of sowing dissension among them, and of bringing over to his party the earl of Cornwall, as well as the earls of Lincoln and Chester. The confederates were disconcerted in their measures: Richard, earl marischal, who had succeeded to that dignity on the death of his brother William, was chased into Wales; he thence withdrew into Ireland, where he was treacherously murdered by the contrivance of the bishop of Winchester. The estates of the more obnoxious barons were confiscated, without legal sentence or trial by their peers, and were bestowed with a profuse liberality on the Poitevins. Peter even carried his insolence so far as to declare publicly, that the barons of England must not pretend to put themselves on the same foot with those of France, or assume the same liberties and privileges: the monarch in the former country had a more absolute power than in the latter. It had been more justifiable for him to have said, that men, so unwilling to submit to the authority of laws, could with the worse grace claim any shelter or protection from them.

When the king at any time was checked in his illegal practices, and when the authority of the Great Charter was objected to him, he was wont to reply: "Why should I observe this charter, which is neglected by all my grandees, both prelates and nobility?" It was very reasonably said to him: "You ought, sir, to set them the example."

So violent a ministry as that of the bishop of Winchester could not be of long duration; but its fall proceeded at last from the influence of the church, not from the efforts of the nobles. Edmond, the primate, came to court, attended by many of the other prelates, and represented to the king the pernicious measures embraced by Peter des Roches, the discontents of his people, the ruin of his affairs; and, after requiring the dismissal of the minister and his associates, threatened him with excommunication in case of his refusal. Henry, who knew that an excommunication, so agreeable to the sense of the people, could not fail of producing the most dangerous effects, was obliged to submit: foreigners were banished: the natives were restored to their place in council: the primate, who was a man of prudence, and who took care to execute the laws, and observe the charter of liberties, bore the chief sway in the government.

But the English in vain flattered themselves that they should be long free from the dominion of foreigners. The king, having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, was surrounded by a great number of strangers from that country whom he caressed with the fondest affection, and enriched by an imprudent generosity. The bishop

of Valence, a prelate of the house of Savoy, and maternal uncle to the queen, was his chief minister, and employed every art to amass wealth for himself and his relations. Peter of Savoy, a brother of the same family, was invested in the honour of Richmond, and received the rich wardship of earl Warrene: Boniface of Savoy was promoted to the see of Canterbury: many young ladies were invited over from Provence, and married to the chief noblemen in England, who were the king's wards: and as the source of Henry's bounty began to fail, his Savoyard ministry applied to Rome, and obtained a bull, permitting him to resume all past grants; absolving him from the oath which he had taken to maintain them; even enjoining him to make such a resumption, and representing those grants as invalid, on account of the prejudice which ensued from them to the Roman pontiff, in whom the superiority of the kingdom was vested. The opposition made to the intended resumption prevented it from taking place; but the nation saw the indignities to which the king was willing to submit, in order to gratify the avidity of his foreign favourites. About the same time, he published in England the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the Emperor Frederick, his brother-in-law; and said in excuse, that, being the pope's vassal, he was obliged by this allegiance to obey all the commands of his holiness. In this weak reign, when any neighbouring potentate insulted the king's dominions, instead of taking revenge for the injury, he complained to the pope as his superior lord, and begged him to give protection to his vassal.

The resentment of the English barons rose high, at the preference given to foreigners; but no remonstrance or complaint could ever prevail on the king to abandon them, or even to moderate his attachment towards them. After the Provençals and Savoyards might have been supposed pretty well satiated with the dignities and riches which they had acquired, a new set of hungry foreigners were invited over, and shared among them those favours, which the king ought in policy to have conferred on the English nobility, by whom his government could have been supported and defended. His mother, Isabella, who had been unjustly taken by the late king from the Count de la Marche, to whom she was betrothed, was no sooner mistress of herself by the death of her husband, than she married that nobleman; and she had borne him four sons, Guy, William, Geoffry, and Aymer, whom she sent over to England, in order to pay a visit to their brother. The good natured and affectionate disposition of Henry was moved at the sight of such near relations; and he considered neither his own circumstances, nor the inclinations of his people, in the honours and riches which he conferred upon them. Complaints rose as high against the credit of the Gascon, as ever they had done against that of the Poitevin and of the Savoyard favourites; and to a nation prejudiced against them, all their measures appeared exceptional and criminal. Violations of the Great Charter were frequently mentioned; and it is indeed more than probable that foreigners, ignorant of the laws, and relying on the boundless affections of a weak prince, would, in an age when a regular administration was not any where known, pay more attention to the present interest than to the liberties of the people. It is reported, that the Poitevins and other strangers, when the laws were at any time appealed to, in opposition to their oppressions, scrupled not to reply, "What did the



English laws signify to them? They minded them not." And as words are often more offensive than actions, this open contempt of the English tended much to aggravate the general discontent, and made every act of violence committed by the foreigners appear not only an injury, but an affront to them.

I reckon not among the violations of the great charter, some arbitrary exertions of prerogative to which Henry's necessities pushed him, and which, without producing any discontent, were uniformly continued by all his successors till the last century. As the parliament often refused him supplies, and that in a manner somewhat rude and indecent, he obliged his opulent subjects, particularly the citizens of London, to grant him loans of money; and it is natural to imagine, that the same want of economy which reduced him to the necessity of borrowing, would prevent him from being very punctual in the repayment. He demanded benevolences, or pretended voluntary contributions, from his nobility and prelates. He was the first king of England since the conquest that could fairly be said to lie under the restraint of law; and he was also the first that practised the dispensing power, and employed the clause of *non obstante* in his grants and patents. When objections were made to this novelty, he replied that the pope exercised that authority; and why might not he imitate the example? But the abuse which the pope made of his dispensing power, in violating the canons of general councils, in invading the privileges and customs of all particular churches, and in usurping on the rights of patrons, was more likely to excite the jealousy of the people than to reconcile them to a similar practice in their civil government. Roger de Thurkesby, one of the king's justices, was so displeased with the precedent, that he exclaimed, "Alas! what times are we fallen into? Behold, the civil court is corrupted in imitation of the ecclesiastical, and the river is poisoned from that fountain."

The king's partiality and profuse bounty to his foreign relations, and to their friends and favourites, would have appeared more tolerable to the English, had any thing been done meanwhile for the honour of the nation; or had Henry's enterprises in foreign countries been attended with any success or glory to himself or to the public: at least, such military talents in the king would have served to keep his barons in awe, and have given weight and authority to his government. But though he declared war against Lewis IX. in 1242, and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his father-in-law, the count de la Marche, who promised to join him with all his forces; he was unsuccessful in his attempts against that great monarch, was worsted at Taillebourg, was deserted by his allies, lost what remained to him of Poictou, and was obliged to return, with loss of honour, into England. The Gascon nobility were attached to the English government, because the distance of their sovereign allowed them to remain in a state of almost total independence: and they claimed, some time after, Henry's protection against an invasion which the king of Castile made upon that territory. Henry returned into Guienne, and was more successful in this expedition, but he thereby involved himself and his country in an enormous debt, which both increased their discontents and exposed him to greater danger from their enterprises.

Want of economy, and an ill-judged liberality, were Henry's great defects; and his debts, even before this expedition, had become so troublesome,

that he sold all his plate and jewels, in order to discharge them. When this expedient was first proposed to him, he asked where he should find purchasers? It was replied, the citizens of London. "On my word," said he, "if the treasury of Augustus were brought to sale, the citizens are able to be the purchasers: these clowns, who assume to themselves the name of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to necessities." And he was thenceforth observed to be more forward and greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.

But the grievances which the English during this reign had reason to complain of in the civil government, seemed to have been still less burdensome than those which they suffered from usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome. On the death of Langton in 1228, the monks of Christ-church elected Walter de Hemesham, one of their own body, for his successor. But as Henry refused to confirm the election, the pope, at his desire, annulled it, and immediately appointed Richard, chancellor of Lincoln, for archbishop, without waiting for a new election. On the death of Richard in 1231, the monks elected Ralph de Neville bishop of Chichester; and though Henry was much pleased with the election, the pope, who thought that prelate too much attached to the crown, assumed the power of annulling his election. He rejected two clergymen more, whom the monks had successively chosen; and he at last told them that if they would elect Edmond treasurer of the church of Salisbury, he would confirm their choice; and his nomination was complied with. The pope had the prudence to appoint both times very worthy primates; but men could not forbear observing his intention of thus drawing gradually to himself the right of bestowing that important dignity.

The avarice, however, more than the ambition, of the see of Rome, seems to have been in this age the ground of general complaint. The papal ministers, finding a vast stock of power amassed by their predecessors, were desirous of turning it to immediate profit, which they enjoyed at home rather than of enlarging their authority in distant countries, where they never intended to reside. Every thing was become venal in the Romish tribunals; simony was openly practised; no favours, and even no justice could be obtained without a bribe; the highest bidder was sure to have the preference, without regard either to the merits of the person or of the cause; and besides the usual perversions of right in the decision of controversies, the pope openly assumed an absolute and uncontrolled authority of setting aside, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, all particular rules, and all privileges of patrons, churches, and convents. On pretence of remedying these abuses, pope Honorius, in 1226, complaining of the poverty of his see as the source of all grievances, demanded from every cathedral two of the best prebends, and from every convent two monks' portions, to be set apart as a perpetual and settled revenue of the papal crown. But all men being sensible that the revenue would continue for ever, the abuses immediately return, his demand was unanimously rejected. About three years after, the pope demanded and obtained the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues, which he levied in a very oppressive manner, requiring payment before the clergy had drawn their rents or tithes, and sending about usurers, who advanced them the money at exorbitant interest. In the year 1240, Otho the legate, having in vain attempted the clergy in a body, obtained separately

by intrigues and menaces, large sums from the prelates and convents, and on his departure is said to have carried more money out of the kingdom than he left in it. This experiment was renewed four years after with success by Martin the nuncio, who brought from Rome powers of suspending and excommunicating all clergymen that refused to comply with his demands. The king, who relied on the pope for the support of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance those exactions.

Meanwhile, all the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians; great numbers of that nation were sent over at one time to be provided for; non-residence and pluralities were carried to an enormous height: Mansel, the king's chaplain, is computed to have held at once seven hundred ecclesiastical livings; and the abuses became so evident as to be palpable to the blindness of superstition itself. The people, entering into associations, rose against the Italian clergy, pillaged their barns, wasted their lands, insulted the persons of such of them as they found in the kingdom; and when the justices made inquiry into the authors of this disorder, the guilt was found to involve so many, and those of such high rank, that it passed unpunished. At last, when Innocent IV. in 1245, called a general council at Lyons, in order to excommunicate the Emperor Frederic, the king and nobility sent over agents to complain before the council of the rapacity of the Romish church. They represented, among many other grievances, that the benefices of the Italian clergy in England had been estimated, and were found to amount to 60,000 marks a year, a sum which exceeded the annual revenue of the crown itself. They obtained only an evasive answer from the pope; but as mention had been made before the council of the feudal subjection of England to the see of Rome, the English agents, at whose head was Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, exclaimed against the pretension, and insisted that king John had no right, without the consent of his barons, to subject the kingdom to so ignominious a servitude. The popes, indeed, afraid of carrying matters too far against England, seem thenceforth to have little insisted on that pretension.

This check, received at the council of Lyons, was not able to stop the court of Rome in its rapacity. Innocent exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices, the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues without exception; the third of such as exceeded a hundred marks a year, and the half of such as were possessed by non-residents. He claimed the goods of all intestate clergymen; he pretended a title to inherit all money gotten by usury; he levied benevolences upon the people; and when the king, contrary to his usual practice, prohibited these exactions, he threatened to pronounce against him the same censures which he had emitted against the Emperor Frederic.

But the most oppressive expedient employed by the pope was, the embarking of Henry in a project for the conquest of Naples, or Sicily on this side the Fare, as it was called; an enterprise which threw much dishonour on the king, and involved him during some years in great trouble and expense. The Romish church, taking advantage of favourable incidents, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the same state of feudal vassalage which she pretended to extend over England, and which, by reason of the distance, as well as high spirit of this latter kingdom, she was not able to maintain. After the death of the Emperor Frederic II. the succession of

Sicily devolved to Conradine, grandson of that monarch; and Mainfroy, his natural son, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the prince, had formed a scheme of establishing his own authority. Pope Innocent, who had carried on violent war against the Emperor Frederic, and had endeavoured to dispossess him of his Italian dominions, still continued hostilities against his grandson; but being disappointed in all his schemes by the activity and artifices of Mainfroy, he found that his own force alone was not sufficient to bring to a happy issue so great an enterprise. He pretended to dispose of the Sicilian crown, both as superior lord of that particular kingdom, and as vicar of Christ, to whom all kingdoms of the earth were subjected; and he made a tender of it to Richard earl of Cornwall, whose immense riches, he flattered himself, would be able to support the military operations against Mainfroy. As Richard had the prudence to refuse the present, he applied to the king, whose levity and thoughtless disposition gave Innocent more hopes of success; and he offered him the crown of Sicily for his second son Edmond. Henry, allured by so magnificent a present, without reflecting on the consequences, without consulting either with his brother or the parliament, accepted of the insidious proposal, and gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever sums he thought necessary for completing the conquest of Sicily. Innocent, who was engaged by his own interests to wage war with Mainfroy, was glad to carry on his enterprises at the expense of his ally. Alexander IV., who succeeded him in the papal throne, continued the same policy; and Henry was surprised to find himself on a sudden involved in an immense debt, which he had never been consulted in contracting. The sum already amounted to 135,541 marks, beside interest; and he had the prospect, if he answered this demand, of being soon loaded with more exorbitant expenses; if he refused it, of both incurring the pope's displeasure, and losing the crown of Sicily, which he hoped soon to have the glory of fixing on the head of his son.

He applied to the parliament for supplies; and that he might be sure not to meet with opposition, he sent no writs to the more refractory barons. But even those who were summoned, sensible of the ridiculous cheat imposed by the pope, determined not to lavish their money on such chimerical projects; and making a pretext of the absence of their brethren, they refused to take the king's demands into consideration. In this extremity the clergy were his only resource; and as both their temporal and spiritual sovereign concurred in loading them, they were ill able to defend themselves against this united authority.

The pope published a crusade for the conquest of Sicily; and required every one who had taken the cross against the infidels, or had avowed to advance money for that service, to support the war against Mainfroy, a more terrible enemy, as he pretended, to the Christian faith than any Saracen. He levied a tenth on all ecclesiastical benefices in England for three years; and gave orders to excommunicate all bishops who made not punctual payment. He granted to the king the goods of intestate clergymen; the revenues of vacant benefices; the revenues of all non-residents. But these taxations, being levied by some rule, were deemed less grievous than another imposition, which arose from the suggestion of the bishop of Hereford, and which might have opened the door to endless and intolerable abuses.



This prelate, who resided at the court of Rome by a deputation from the English church, drew bills of different values, but amounting on the whole to 150,540 marks, on all the bishops and abbots of the kingdom; and granted these bills to Italian merchants, who it was pretended had advanced money for the service of the war against Mainfroy. As there was no likelihood of the English prelates submitting, without compulsion, to such an extraordinary demand, Rustand, the legate, was charged with the commission of employing authority to that purpose; and he summoned an assembly of the bishops and abbots, whom he acquainted with the pleasure of the pope and of the king. Great were the surprise and indignation of the assembly: the bishop of Worcester exclaimed, that he would lose his life rather than comply: the bishop of London said, that the pope and king were more powerful than he; but if his mitre were taken off his head, he would clap on a helmet in its place. The legate was no less violent on the other hand; and he told the assembly in plain terms, that all ecclesiastical benefices were the property of the pope, and he might dispose of them, either in whole or in part, as he saw proper. In the end, the bishops and abbots, being threatened with excommunication, which made all their revenues fall into the king's hands, were obliged to submit to the exaction: and the only mitigation which the legate allowed them was, that the tithes already granted should be accepted as a partial payment of the bills. But the money was still insufficient for the pope's purpose: the conquest of Sicily was as remote as ever: the demands which came from Rome were endless: Pope Alexander became so urgent a creditor, that he sent over a legate to England; threatening the kingdom with an interdict, and the king with excommunication, if the arrears which he pretended to be due to him were not instantly remitted: and at last Henry, sensible of the cheat, began to think of breaking off the agreement, and of resigning into the pope's hands that crown which it was not intended by Alexander that he or his family should ever enjoy.

The earl of Cornwall had now reason to value himself on his foresight, in refusing the fraudulent bargain with Rome, and in preferring the solid honours of an opulent and powerful prince of the blood of England, to the empty and precarious glory of a foreign dignity. But he had not always firmness sufficient to adhere to this resolution: his vanity and ambition prevailed at last over his prudence and his avarice; and he was engaged in an enterprise no less extensive and vexatious than that of his brother, and not attended with much greater probability of success. The immense opulence of Richard having made the German princes cast their eye on him as a candidate for the empire, he was tempted to expend vast sums of money on his election: and he succeeded so far as to be chosen King of the Romans, which seemed to render his succession infallible to the imperial throne. He went over to Germany, and carried out of the kingdom no less a sum than seven hundred thousand marks, if we may credit the account given by some ancient authors, which is probably much exaggerated. His money, while it lasted, procured him friends and partisans: but it was soon drained from him by the avidity of the German princes; and having no personal or family connexions in that country, and no solid foundation of power, he found at last that he had lavished away the frugality of a whole life, in order to procure a splendid title; and that his absence from England,

joined to the weakness of his brother's government, gave reins to the factious and turbulent dispositions of the English barons, and involved his own country and family in great calamities.

The successful revolt of his nobility from king John, and their imposing on him and his successors, limitations of their royal power, had made them feel their own weight and importance, had set a dangerous precedent of resistance, and being followed by a long minority, had impoverished as well as weakened that crown, which they were at last induced, from the fear of worse consequences, to replace on the head of young Henry. In the king's situation, either great abilities and vigour were requisite to overawe the barons, or great caution and reserve to give them no pretence for complaints; and it must be confessed, that this prince was possessed of neither of these talents. He had not prudence to choose right measures; he wanted even that constancy which sometimes gives weight to wrong ones; he was entirely devoted to his favourites, who were always foreigners; he lavished on them, without discretion, his diminished revenue; and finding that his barons indulged their disposition towards tyranny, and observed not to their own vassals the same rules which they had imposed on the crown, he was apt, in his administration, to neglect all the salutary articles of the Great Charter; which he remarked to be so little regarded by his nobility. This conduct had extremely lessened his authority in the kingdom; had multiplied complaints against him; and had frequently exposed him to affronts, and even to dangerous attempts upon his prerogative. In the year 1244, when he desired a supply from parliament, the barons, complaining of the frequent breaches of the Great Charter, and of the many fruitless applications which they had formerly made for the redress of this and other grievances, demanded in return that he should give them the nomination of the great justiciary and of the chancellor, to whose hands chiefly the administration of justice was committed: and, if we may credit the historian, they had formed the plan of other limitations, as well as of associations to maintain them, which would have reduced the king to be an absolute cypher, and have held the crown in perpetual pupillage and dependance. The king, to satisfy them, would agree to nothing but a renewal of the charter, and a general permission to excommunicate all the violators of it: and he received no supply, except a scutage of twenty shillings on each knight's fee for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the king of Scotland; a burthen which was expressly annexed to their feudal tenures.

Four years after, in a full parliament, when Henry demanded a new supply, he was openly reproached with a breach of his word and the frequent violations of the charter. He was asked, whether he did not blush to desire any aid from his people, whom he professedly hated and despised, to whom on all occasions he preferred aliens and foreigners, and who groaned under the oppressions which he either permitted or exercised over them. He was told that, besides disparaging his nobility by forcing them to contract unequal and mean marriages with strangers, no rank of men was so low as to escape vexations from him or his ministers; that even the victuals consumed in his household, the clothes which himself and his servants wore, still more, the wine which they used, were all taken by violence from the lawful owners, and no compensation was ever made them for the injury; that foreign merchants, to the great prejudice and infamy of the kingdom, shunned the English har-

bours, as if they were possessed by pirates, and the commerce with all nations was thus cut off by these acts of violence; that loss was added to loss, and injury to injury, while the merchants, who had been despoiled of their goods, were also obliged to carry them at their own charge to whatever place the king was pleased to appoint them; that even the poor fishermen on the coast could not escape his oppressions and those of his courtiers; and finding that they had not full liberty to dispose of their commodities in the English market, were frequently constrained to carry them to foreign ports, and to hazard all the perils of the ocean, rather than those which awaited them from his oppressive emissaries; and that his very religion was a ground of complaint to his subjects, while they observed that the waxen tapers and splendid silks, employed in so many useless processions, were the spoils which he had forcibly ravished from the true owners. Throughout this remonstrance, in which the complaints derived from an abuse of the ancient rights of purveyance may be supposed to be somewhat exaggerated, there appears a strange mixture of regal tyranny in the practices which gave rise to it, and of aristocratical liberty, or rather licentiousness, in the expressions employed by the parliament. But a mixture of this kind is observable in all the ancient feudal governments; and both of them proved equally hurtful to the people.

As the king, in answer to their remonstrance, gave the parliament only good words and fair promises, attended with the most humble submissions, which they had often found deceitful, he obtained at that time no supply; and therefore in the year 1253, when he found himself again under the necessity of applying to parliament, he had provided a new pretence, which he deemed infallible, and taking the view of a crusade, he demanded their assistance in that pious enterprise. The parliament, however, for some time hesitated to comply; and the ecclesiastical order sent a deputation, consisting of four prelates, the primate, and the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle, in order to remonstrate with him on his frequent violations of their privileges, the oppressions with which he had loaded them and all his subjects, and the uncanonical and forced elections which were made to vacant dignities. "It is true," replied the king, "I have been somewhat faulty in this particular: I obtruded you, my lord of Canterbury, upon your see: I was obliged to employ both entreaties and menaces, my lord of Winchester, to have you elected: my proceedings, I confess, were very irregular, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when I raised you from the lowest stations to your present dignities: I am determined henceforth to correct these abuses; and it will also become you, in order to make a thorough reformation, to resign your present benefices, and try to enter again in a more regular and canonical manner." The bishops surprised at these unexpected sarcasms, replied, that the question was not at present how to correct past errors, but to avoid them for the future. The king promised redress both of ecclesiastical and civil grievances; and the parliament in return agreed to grant him a supply, a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefices, and a scutage of three marks on each knight's fee: but as they had experienced his frequent breach of promise, they required that he should ratify the Great Charter in a manner still more authentic and more solemn than any which he had hitherto employed. All the prelates and abbots were assembled: they held burning tapers in their hands: the Great

Charter was read before them: they denounced the sentence of excommunication against every one who should thenceforth violate the fundamental law: they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and corrupt in hell!" The king bore a part in this ceremony; and subjoined, "So help me God, I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed." Yet was the tremendous ceremony no sooner finished than his favourites, abusing his weakness, made him return to the same arbitrary and irregular administration; and the reasonable expectations of his people were thus perpetually eluded and disappointed.

All these imprudent and illegal measures afforded a pretence to Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, to attempt an innovation in the government, and to wrest the sceptre from the feeble and irresolute hand which held it. This nobleman was a younger son of that Simon de Mountfort, who had conducted with such valour and renown the crusade against the Albigenses, and who, though he tarnished his famous exploits by cruelty and ambition, had left a name very precious to all the bigots of that age, particularly to the ecclesiastics. A large inheritance in England fell by succession to this family; but as the elder brother enjoyed still more opulent possessions in France, and could not perform fealty to two masters, he transferred his right to Simon, his younger brother, who came over to England, did homage for his lands, and was raised to the dignity of earl of Leicester. In the year 1238, he espoused Eleanor dowager of William Earl of Pembroke, and sister to the king; but the marriage of this princess with a subject and a foreigner, though contracted with Henry's consent, was loudly complained of by the earl of Cornwall and all the barons of England; and Leicester was supported against their violence by the king's favour and authority alone. But he had no sooner established himself in his possessions and dignities, than he acquired, by insinuation and address, a strong interest with the nation, and gained equally the affections of all orders of men. He lost, however, the friendship of Henry from the usual levity and fickleness of that prince; he was banished the court; he was recalled; he was entrusted with the command of Guienne, where he did good service and acquired honour; he was again disgraced by the king, and his banishment from court seemed now final and irrevocable. Henry called him traitor to his face; Leicester gave him the lie, and told him that if he were not his sovereign, he would soon make him repent of that insult. Yet was this quarrel accommodated, either from the good nature or timidity of the king; and Leicester was again admitted into some degree of favour and authority. But as this nobleman was become too great to preserve an entire complaisance to Henry's humours, and to act in subserviency to his other minions; he found more advantage in cultivating his interest with the public, and in inflaming the general discontents which prevailed against the administration. He filled every place with complaints against the infringement of the great charter, the acts of violence committed on the people, the combination between the pope and the king in their tyranny and extortions, Henry's neglect of his native subjects and barons; and though himself a foreigner, he was more loud than any in representing the indignity of submitting to the dominion of foreigners. By his hypocritical pretensions to devo-



tion he gained the favour of the zealots and clergy: by his seeming concern for public good he acquired the affections of the public: and besides the private friendships which he had cultivated with the baron, his animosity against the favourites created an union of interests between him and that powerful order.

A recent quarrel which broke out between Leicester and William de Valence, Henry's half brother, and chief favourite, brought matters to extremity, and determined the former to give full scope to his bold and unbounded ambition, which the laws and the king's authority had hitherto with difficulty restrained. He secretly called a meeting of the most considerable barons, particularly Humphrey de Bohun, high constable; Roger de Bigod, earl marshal, and the earls of Warwick and Gloucester; men who by their family and possessions stood in the first rank of the English nobility. He represented to this company the necessity of reforming the state, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands than those which had hitherto appeared, from repeated experience, so unfit for the charge with which they were entrusted. He exaggerated the oppressions exercised against the lower orders of the state, the violations of the barons' privileges, the continued depredations made on the clergy; and, in order to aggravate the enormity of his conduct, he appealed to the great charter, which Henry had so often ratified, and which was calculated to prevent for ever the return of those intolerable grievances. He magnified the generosity of their ancestors, who, at a great expense of blood, had extorted that famous concession from the crown, but lamented their own degeneracy, who allowed so important an advantage, once obtained, to be wrested from them by a weak prince and by insolent strangers. And he insisted that the king's word, after so many submissions and fruitless promises on his part, could no longer be relied on; and that nothing but his absolute inability to violate national privileges could henceforth ensure the regular observance of them.

These topics, which were founded in truth, and suited so well the sentiments of the company, had the desired effect; and the barons embraced a resolution of redressing the public grievances, by taking into their own hands the administration of government. Henry having summoned a parliament, in expectation of receiving supplies for his Sicilian project, the barons appeared in the hall, clad in complete armour, and with their swords by their side. The king on his entry, struck with the unusual appearance, asked them what was their purpose, and whether they pretended to make him their prisoner? Roger de Bigod replied in the name of the rest, that he was not their prisoner, but their sovereign; that they even intended to grant him large supplies, in order to fix his son on the throne of Sicily; that they only expected some return for this expense and service; and that, as he had frequently made submissions to the parliament, had acknowledged his past errors, and still allowed himself to be carried into the same path, which gave them such just reason of complaint, he must now yield to more strict regulations, and confer authority on those who were able and willing to redress the national grievances. Henry, partly allured by the hopes of supply, partly intimidated by the union and martial appearance of the barons, agreed to their demand; and promised to summon another parliament at Oxford, in order to digest the new plan of government, and to elect the persons who were to be entrusted with the chief authority.

This parliament, which the royalists, and even the nation, from experience of the confusions that attended its measures, afterwards denominated the *mad parliament*, met on the day appointed; and as all the barons brought along with them their military vassals, and appeared with an armed force, the king, who had taken no precautions against them, was in reality a prisoner in their hands, and was obliged to submit to all the terms which they were pleased to impose upon him. Twelve barons were selected from among the king's ministers, twelve more were chosen by parliament: to these twenty-four, unlimited authority was granted to reform the state; and the king himself took an oath that he would maintain whatever ordinances they should think proper to enact for that purpose. Leicester was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was thus in reality transferred; and all their measures were taken by his secret influence and direction. The first step bore a specious appearance, and seemed well calculated for the end which they professed to be the object of all these innovations: they ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county; that they should make inquiry into the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reason to complain, and should attend the ensuing parliament, in order to give information to that assembly of the state of their particular counties: a nearer approach to our present constitution than had been made by the barons in the reign of king John, when the knights were only appointed to meet in their several counties, and there to draw up a detail of their grievances. Meanwhile the twenty-four barons proceeded to enact some regulations, as a redress of such grievances as were supposed to be sufficiently notorious: they ordered that three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year, in the months of February, June, and October; that a new sheriff should be annually elected by the votes of the freeholders in each county; that the sheriffs should have no power of fining the barons who did not attend their courts, or the circuits of the justices; that no heirs should be committed to the wardship of foreigners, and no castles intrusted to their custody; and that no new warrens or forests should be created, nor the revenues of any counties or hundreds be let to farm. Such were the regulations which the twenty-four barons established at Oxford, for the redress of public grievances.

But the earl of Leicester and his associates, having advanced so far to satisfy the nation, instead of continuing in this popular course, or granting the king that supply which they had promised him, immediately provided for the extension and continuance of their own authority. They roused anew the popular clamour which had long prevailed against foreigners; and they fell with the utmost violence on the king's half-brothers, who were supposed to be the authors of all national grievances, and whom Henry had no longer any power to protect. The four brothers, sensible of their danger, took to flight, with an intention of making their escape out of the kingdom; they were eagerly pursued by the barons; Aymer, one of the brothers, who had been elected to the see of Winchester, took shelter in his episcopal palace, and carried the others along with him; they were surrounded in that place, and threatened to be dragged out by force, and to be punished for their crimes and misdemeanours; and the king, pleading the sacredness of an ecclesiastical sanctuary, was glad to extricate them from this danger by banishing them the kingdom. In this act of violence, as

well as in the former usurpations of the barons, the queen and her uncles were thought to have secretly concurred; being jealous of the credit acquired by the brothers, which, they found, had eclipsed and annihilated their own.

But the subsequent proceedings of the twenty-four barons were sufficient to open the eyes of the nation, and to prove their intention of reducing, for ever, both the king and the people under the arbitrary power of a very narrow aristocracy, which must at last have terminated either in anarchy, or in a violent usurpation and tyranny. They pretended that they had not yet digested all the regulations necessary for the reformation of the state and for the redress of grievances; and they must still retain their power, till that great purpose was thoroughly effected: in other words, that they must be perpetual governors, and must continue to reform, till they were pleased to abdicate their authority. They formed an association among themselves, and swore that they would stand by each other with their lives and fortunes. They displaced all the chief officers of the crown, the justiciary, the chancellor, the treasurer; and advanced either themselves or their own creatures in their place: even the officers of the king's household were disposed of at their pleasure: the government of all the castles was put into hands in whom they found reason to confide: and the whole power of the state being thus transferred to them, they ventured to impose an oath, by which all the subjects were obliged to swear, under the penalty of being declared public enemies, that they would obey and execute all the regulations, both known and unknown, of the twenty-four barons: and all this, for the greater glory of God, the honour of the church, the service of the king, and the advantage of the kingdom. No one dared to withstand this tyrannical authority: Prince Edward himself, the king's eldest son, a youth of eighteen, who began to give indications of that great and manly spirit which appeared throughout the whole course of his life, was, after making some opposition, constrained to take that oath, which really deposed his father and his family from sovereign authority. Earl Warrenne was the last person in the kingdom that could be brought to give the confederated barons this mark of submission.

But the twenty-four barons, not content with the usurpation of the royal power, introduced an innovation in the constitution of parliament which was of the utmost importance. They ordained, that this assembly should choose a committee of twelve persons, who should, in the intervals of the sessions, possess the authority of the whole parliament, and should attend, on a summons, the person of the king, in all his motions. But so powerful were these barons, that this regulation was also submitted to; the whole government was overthrown, or fixed on new foundations; and the monarchy was totally subverted, without its being possible for the king to strike a single stroke in defence of the constitution against the newly-elected oligarchy.

The report that the king of the Romans intended to pay a visit to England, gave alarm to the ruling barons, who dreaded lest the extensive influence and established authority of that prince would be employed to restore the prerogatives of his family, and overturn their plan of government. They sent over the bishop of Worcester, who met him at St. Omars; asked him, in the name of the barons, the reason of his journey, and how long he intended to stay in England; and insisted that, before he en-

tered the kingdom, he should swear to observe the regulations established at Oxford. On Richard's refusal to take this oath, they prepared to resist him as a public enemy; they fitted out a fleet, assembled an army, and exciting the inveterate prejudices of the people against foreigners, from whom they had suffered so many oppressions, spread the report that Richard, attended by a number of strangers, meant to restore by force the authority of his exiled brothers, and to violate all the securities provided for public liberty. The king of the Romans was at last obliged to submit to the terms required of him.

But the barons, in proportion to their continuance in power, began gradually to lose that popularity which had assisted them in obtaining it; and men repined, that regulations, which were occasionally established for the reformation of the state, were likely to become perpetual, and to subvert entirely the ancient constitution. They were apprehensive lest the power of the nobles, always oppressive, should now exert itself without control, by removing the counterpoise of the crown; and their fears were increased by some new edicts of the barons, which were plainly calculated to procure to themselves an impunity in all their violences. They appointed that the circuits of the itinerant justices, the sole check on their arbitrary conduct, should be held only once in seven years; and men easily saw that a remedy, which returned after such long intervals, against an oppressive power, which was perpetual, would prove totally insignificant and useless. The cry became loud in the nation, that the barons should finish their intended regulations. The knights of the shires, who seem now to have been pretty regularly assembled, and sometimes in a separate house, made remonstrances against the slowness of their proceedings. They represented that, though the king had performed all the conditions required of him, the barons had hitherto done nothing for the public good, and had only been careful to promote their own private advantage, and to make inroads on royal authority; and they even appealed to Prince Edward, and claimed his interposition for the interests of the nation and the reformation of the government. The prince replied, that though it was from constraint, and contrary to his private sentiments, he had sworn to maintain the provisions of Oxford, he was determined to observe his oath: but he sent a message to the barons, requiring them to bring their undertaking to a speedy conclusion, and fulfil their engagements to the public: otherwise, he menaced them, that at the expense of his life he would oblige them to do their duty, and would shed the last drop of his blood in promoting the interests, and satisfying the just wishes of the nation.

The barons, urged by so pressing a necessity, published at last a new code of ordinances for the reformation of the state: but the expectations of the people were extremely disappointed, when they found that these consisted only of some trivial alterations in the municipal law; and still more, when the barons pretended that the task was not yet finished, and that they must further prolong their authority, in order to bring the work of reformation to the desired period. The current of popularity was now much turned to the side of the crown: and the barons had little to rely on for their support besides the private influence and power of their families, which, though exorbitant, was likely to prove inferior to the combination of king and people. Even this basis of power was daily weakened



by their intestine jealousies and animosities; their ancient and inveterate quarrels broke out when they came to share the spoils of the crown; and the rivalry between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the chief leaders among them, began to disjoint the whole confederacy. The latter, more moderate in his pretensions, was desirous of stopping or retarding the career of the barons' usurpations; but the former, enraged at the opposition which he met with in his own party, pretended to throw up all concern in English affairs; and he retired into France.

The kingdom of France, the only state with which England had any considerable intercourse, was at this time governed by Lewis IX., a prince of the most singular character that is to be met with in all records of history. This monarch united, to the mean and abject superstition of a monk, all the courage and magnanimity of the greatest hero; and, what may be deemed more extraordinary, the justice and integrity of a disinterested patriot, the mildness and humanity of an accomplished philosopher. So far from taking advantage of the divisions among the English, or attempting to expel those dangerous rivals from the provinces which they still possessed in France, he had entertained many scruples with regard to the sentence of attainder pronounced against the king's father, had even expressed some intention of restoring the other provinces, and was only prevented from taking that imprudent resolution by the united remonstrances of his own barons, who represented the extreme danger of such a measure, and, what had a greater influence on Lewis, the justice of punishing, by a legal sentence, the barbarity and felony of John. Whenever this prince interposed in English affairs, it was always with an intention of composing the differences between the king and his nobility; he recommended to both parties every peaceable and reconciling measure; and he used all his authority with the earl of Leicester, his native subject, to bend him to a compliance with Henry. He made a treaty with England, at a time when the distractions of that kingdom were at the greatest height, and when the king's authority was totally annihilated; and the terms which he granted might, even in a more prosperous state of affairs, be deemed reasonable and advantageous to the English. He yielded up some territories which had been conquered from Poitou and Guienne; he ensured the peaceable possession of the latter province to Henry; he agreed to pay that prince a large sum of money; and he only required that the king should, in return, make a final cession of Normandy, and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. This cession was ratified by Henry, by his two sons and two daughters, and by the king of the Romans and his three sons; Leicester alone, either moved by a vain arrogance, or desirous to ingratiate himself with the English populace, protested against the deed, and insisted on the right, however distant, which might accrue to his consort. Lewis saw, in this obstinacy, the unbounded ambition of the man; and as the barons insisted that the money due by treaty should be at their disposal, not at Henry's, he also saw, and probably with regret, the low condition to which this monarch, who had more erred from weakness than from any bad intentions, was reduced by the turbulence of his own subjects.

But the situation of Henry soon after wore a more favourable aspect. The twenty-four barons had now

enjoyed the sovereign power near three years; and had visibly employed it, not for the reformation of the state, which was their first pretence, but for the aggrandizement of themselves and of their families. The breach of trust was apparent to all the world: every order of men felt it, and murmured against it: The dissensions among the barons themselves, which increased the evil, made also the remedy more obvious and easy: and the secret desertion, in particular, of the earl of Gloucester to the crown, seemed to promise Henry certain success in any attempt to resume his authority. Yet durst he not take that step, so reconcileable both to justice and policy, without making a previous application to Rome, and desiring an absolution from his oaths and engagements.

The pope was at this time much dissatisfied with the conduct of the barons; who, in order to gain the favour of the people and clergy of England, had expelled all the Italian ecclesiastics, had confiscated their benefices, and seemed determined to maintain the liberties and privileges of the English church, in which the rights of patronage belonging to their own families, were included. The extreme animosity of the English clergy against the Italians was also a source of his disgust to this order; and an attempt which had been made by them for further liberty, and greater independence on the civil power, was therefore less acceptable to the court of Rome. About the same time that the barons at Oxford had annihilated the prerogatives of the monarchy, the clergy met in a synod at Merton, and passed several ordinances, which were no less calculated to promote their own grandeur at the expense of the crown. They decreed, that it was unlawful to try ecclesiastics by secular judges; that the clergy were not to regard any prohibitions from civil courts; that lay-patrons had no right to confer spiritual benefices; that the magistrate was obliged, without further inquiry, to imprison all excommunicated persons; and that ancient usage, without any particular grant or charter, was a sufficient authority for any clerical possessions or privileges. About a century before, these claims would have been supported by the court of Rome beyond the most fundamental articles of faith: they were the chief points maintained by the great martyr, Becket; and his resolution in defending them had exalted him to the high station which he held in the catalogue of Romish saints. But principles were changed with the times: the pope was become somewhat jealous of the great independence of the English clergy, which made them stand less in need of his protection, and even emboldened them to resist his authority, and to complain of the preference given to the Italian courtiers, whose interests, it is natural to imagine, were the chief object of his concern. He was ready, therefore, on the king's application, to annul these new constitutions of the church of England. And, at the same time, he absolved the king and all his subjects from the oath which they had taken to observe the provisions of Oxford.

Prince Edward, whose liberal mind, though in such early youth, had taught him the great prejudice which his father had incurred by his levity, inconstancy, and frequent breach of promise, refused for a long time to take advantage of this absolution; and declared that the provisions of Oxford, how unreasonable soever in themselves, and how much soever abused by the barons, ought still to be adhered to by those who had sworn to observe them. He himself had been constrained by violence to take

that oath; yet he was determined to keep it. By this scrupulous fidelity, the prince acquired the confidence of all parties, and was afterwards enabled to recover fully the royal authority, and to perform some great actions, both during his own reign and that of his father.

The situation of England during this period, as well as that of most European kingdoms, was somewhat peculiar. There was no regular military force maintained in the nation: the sword, however, was not, properly speaking, in the hands of the people: the barons were alone entrusted with the defence of the community; and after any effort which they made, either against their own prince or against foreigners, as the military retainers departed home, the armies were disbanded, and could not speedily be re-assembled at pleasure. It was easy, therefore, for a few barons, by a combination, to get the start of the other party, to collect suddenly their troops, and to appear unexpectedly in the field with an army, which their antagonists, though equal, or even superior in power and interest, would not dare to encounter. Hence the sudden revolutions, which often took place in those governments: hence the frequent victories obtained without a blow by one faction over the other: and hence it happened, that the seeming prevalence of a party was seldom a prognostic of its long continuance in power and authority.

The king, as soon as he received the pope's absolution from his oath, accompanied with menaces of excommunication against all opponents, trusting to the countenance of the church, to the support promised him by many considerable barons, and to the returning favour of the people, immediately took off the mask. After justifying his conduct by a proclamation, in which he set forth his private ambition, and the breach of trust, conspicuous in Leicester and his associates, he declared that he had resumed the government, and was determined thenceforth to exert the royal authority for the protection of his subjects. He removed Hugh le Despenser and Nicholas de Ely, the justiciary and chancellor appointed by the barons; and put Philip Basset and Walter de Merton in their place. He substituted new sheriffs in all the counties, men of character and honour: he placed new governors in most of the castles; he changed all the officers of his household: he summoned a parliament, in which the resumption of his authority was ratified, with only five dissenting voices: and the barons, after making one fruitless effort to take the king by surprise at Winchester, were obliged to acquiesce in those new regulations.

The king, in order to cut off every objection to his conduct, offered to refer all the differences between him and the earl of Leicester, to Margaret queen of France. The celebrated integrity of Lewis gave a mighty influence to any decision which issued from his court; and Henry probably hoped that the gallantry, on which all barons, as true knights, valued themselves, would make them ashamed not to submit to the award of that princess. Lewis merited the confidence reposed in him. By an admirable conduct, probably as political as just, he continually interposed his good offices to allay the civil discords of the English: he forwarded all healing measures, which might give security to both parties: and he still endeavoured, though in vain, to soothe by persuasion the fierce ambition of the earl of Leicester, and to convince him how much it was his duty to submit peaceably to the authority of his sovereign.

That bold and artful conspirator was nowise discouraged by the bad success of his past enterprises. The death of Richard, earl of Gloucester, who was his chief rival in power, and who, before his decease, had joined the royal party, seemed to open a new field to his violence, and to expose the throne to fresh insults and injuries. It was in vain that the king professed his intentions of observing strictly the Great Charter, even of maintaining all the regulations made by the reforming barons at Oxford or afterwards, except those which entirely annihilated the royal authority: these powerful chieftains, now obnoxious to the court, could not peaceably resign the hopes of entire independence and uncontrolled power, with which they had flattered themselves, and which they had so long enjoyed. Many of them engaged in Leicester's views; and among the rest, Gilbert the young earl of Gloucester, who brought him a mighty accession of power, from the extensive authority possessed by that opulent family. Even Henry, son of the king of the Romans, commonly called Henry d'Almaine, though a prince of the blood, joined the party of the barons against the king, the head of his own family. Leicester himself, who still resided in France, secretly formed the links of this great conspiracy, and planned the whole scheme of operations.

The princes of Wales, notwithstanding the great power of the monarchs, both of the Saxon and Norman line, still preserved authority in their own country. Though they had often been constrained to pay tribute to the crown of England, they were with difficulty retained in subordination, or even in peace; and almost through every reign since the conquest, they had infested the English frontiers with such petty incursions and sudden inroads, as seldom merit to have place in a general history. The English, still content with repelling their invasions, and chasing them back into their mountains, had never pursued the advantages obtained over them, nor been able, even under their greatest and most active princes, to fix a total, or so much as a feudal, subjection on the country. This advantage was reserved to the present king, the weakest and most indolent. In the year 1237, Lewellyn prince of Wales, declining in years and broken with infirmities, but still more harassed with the rebellion and undutiful behaviour of his youngest son Griffin, had recourse to the protection of Henry; and consenting to subject his principality which had so long maintained, or soon recovered, its independence, to vassalage under the crown of England, had purchased security and tranquillity on these dishonourable terms. His eldest son and heir, David, renewed the homage to England, and having taken his brother prisoner, delivered him into Henry's hands, who committed him to custody in the Tower. That prince, endeavouring to make his escape, lost his life in the attempt; and the prince of Wales, freed from the apprehensions of so dangerous a rival, paid thenceforth less regard to the English monarch, and even renewed those incursions, by which the Welsh, during so many ages, had been accustomed to infest the English borders. Lewellyn, however, the son of Griffin, who succeeded to his uncle, had been obliged to renew the homage, which was now claimed by England as an established right; but he was well pleased to inflame those civil discords, on which he rested his present security, and founded his hopes of future independence. He entered into a confederacy with the earl of Leicester, and collecting all the force of his principality, invaded England with



an army of 30,000 men. He ravaged the lands of Roger de Mortimer, and of all the barons who adhered to the crown; he marched into Cheshire, and committed like depredations on Prince Edward's territories; every place where his disorderly troops appeared was laid waste with fire and sword; and though Mortimer, a gallant and expert soldier, made stout resistance, it was found necessary that the prince himself should head the army against this invader. Edward repulsed Prince Lewellyn, and obliged him to take shelter in the mountains of North Wales; but he was prevented from making farther progress against the enemy, by the disorders which soon after broke out in England.

The Welsh invasion was the appointed signal for the malecontent barons to rise in arms; and Leicester, coming over secretly from France, collected all the forces of his party, and commenced an open rebellion. He seized the person of the bishop of Hereford; a prelate obnoxious to all the inferior clergy, on account of his devoted attachment to the court of Rome. Simon, bishop of Norwich, and John Mansel, because they had published the pope's bull, absolving the king and kingdom from their oaths to observe the provisions of Oxford, were made prisoners, and exposed to the rage of the party. The king's demesnes were ravaged with unbounded fury; and as it was Leicester's interest to allure to his side by the hopes of plunder, all the disorderly ruffians in England, he gave them a general license to pillage the barons of the opposite party, and even all neutral persons. But one of the principal resources of his faction was the populace of the cities, particularly of London; and as he had, by his hypocritical pretensions to sanctity, and his zeal against Rome, engaged the monks and lower ecclesiastics in his party, his dominion over the inferior ranks of men became uncontrollable. Thomas Fitz-Richard, mayor of London, a furious and licentious man, gave the countenance of authority to these disorders in the capital; and having declared war against the substantial citizens, he loosened all the bands of government, by which that turbulent city was commonly but ill restrained. On the approach of Easter, the zeal of superstition, the appetite for plunder, or what is often as prevalent with the populace as either of these motives, the pleasure of committing havoc and destruction, prompted them to attack the unhappy Jews, who were first pillaged without resistance, then massacred to the number of five hundred persons. The Lombard bankers were next exposed to the rage of the people; and though, by taking sanctuary in the churches, they escaped with their lives, all their money and goods became a prey to the licentious multitude. Even the houses of the rich citizens, though English, were attacked by night; and way was made by sword and fire by to the pillage of their goods, and often to the destruction of their persons. The queen, who, though defended by the Tower, was terrified by the neighbourhood of such dangerous commotions, resolved to go by water to the castle of Windsor; but as she approached the bridge, the populace assembled against her: the cry ran, *down the with!*; and besides abusing her with the most opprobrious language, and pelting her with rotten eggs and dirt, they had prepared large stones to sink her barge, when she should attempt to shoot the bridge; and she was so frightened, that she returned to the Tower.

The violence and fury of Leicester's faction had risen to such a height in all parts of England, that the king, unable to resist their power, was obliged

to set on foot a treaty of peace: and to make an accommodation with the barons on the most disadvantageous terms. He agreed to confirm anew the provisions of Oxford, even those which entirely annihilated the royal authority; and the barons were again re-instated in the sovereignty of the kingdom. They restored Hugh le Despenser to the office of chief justiciary; they appointed their own creatures sheriffs in every county of England; they took possession of all the royal castles and fortresses; they even named all the officers of the king's household; and they summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, in order to settle more fully their plan of government. They here produced a new list of twenty-four barons, to whom they proposed that the administration should be entirely committed; and they insisted that the authority of this junta should continue, not only during the reign of the king, but also during that of Prince Edward.

This prince, the life and soul of the royal party, had unhappily, before the king's accommodation with the barons, been taken prisoner by Leicester in a parley at Windsor; and that misfortune, more than any other incident, had determined Henry to submit to the ignominious conditions imposed upon him. But Edward having recovered his liberty by the treaty, employed his activity in defending the prerogatives of his family; and he gained a great party even among those who had first adhered to the cause of the barons. His cousin Henry d'Almaine, Roger Bigod earl marshal, earl Warrenne, Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford, John Lord Basset, Ralph Basset, Hammond l'Estrange, Roger Mortimer, Henry de Piercy, Robert de Brus, Roger de Leybourne, with almost all the lords, marchers, as they were called, on the borders of Wales and Scotland, the most warlike parts of the kingdom, declared in favour of the royal cause; and hostilities, which were scarcely well composed, were again renewed in every part of England. But the near balance of the parties, joined to the universal clamour of the people, obliged the king and barons to open anew the negotiations for peace; and it was agreed by both sides to submit their differences to the arbitration of the king of France.

This virtuous prince, the only man who, in like circumstances, could safely have been intrusted with such an authority by a neighbouring nation, had never ceased to interpose his good offices between the English factions; and had even, during the short interval of peace, invited over to Paris both the king and the earl of Leicester, in order to accommodate the differences between them; but found, that the fears and animosities on both sides, as well as the ambition of Leicester, were so violent, as to render all his endeavours ineffectual. But when this solemn appeal, ratified by the oaths and subscriptions of the leaders in both factions, was made to his judgment, he was not discouraged from pursuing his honourable purpose: he summoned the states of France at Amiens; and there in the presence of that assembly, as well as in that of the king of England and Peter de Montfort, Leicester's son, he brought this great cause to a trial and examination. It appeared to him, that the provisions of Oxford, even had they not been extorted by force, had they not been so exorbitant in their nature, and subversive of the ancient constitution, were expressly established as a temporary expedient, and could not, without breach of trust, be rendered perpetual by the barons. He therefore annulled these provisions; restored to the king the possession of his castles, and the power

of nomination to the great offices; allowed him to retain what foreigners he pleased in his kingdom, and even to confer on them places of trust and dignity; and, in a word, re-established the royal power in the same condition on which it stood before the meeting of the parliament at Oxford. But while he thus suppressed dangerous innovations, and preserved unimpaired the prerogatives of the English crown, he was not negligent of the rights of the people; and besides ordering that a general amnesty should be granted for all past offences, he declared, that his award was not any wise meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former concessions or charters of the crown.

This equitable sentence was no sooner known in England, than Leicester and his confederates determined to reject it, and to have recourse to arms, in order to procure to themselves more safe and advantageous conditions. Without regard to his oaths and subscriptions, that enterprising conspirator directed his two sons, Richard and Peter de Montfort, in conjunction with Robert de Ferrars earl of Derby, to attack the city of Worcester; while Henry and Simon de Montfort, two others of his sons, assisted by the prince of Wales, were ordered to lay waste the estate of Roger de Mortimer. He himself resided at London; and employing as his instrument Fitz-Richard the seditious mayor, who had violently and illegally prolonged his authority, he wrought up that city to the highest ferment and agitation. The populace formed themselves into bands and companies; those leaders; practised all military exercises; committed violence on the royalists; and, to give them greater countenance in their disorders, an association was entered into between the city and eighteen great barons, never to make peace with the king but by common consent and approbation. At the head of those who swore to maintain this association, were the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and Derby, with le Despenser the chief judiciary; men who had all previously sworn to submit to the award of the French monarch. Their only pretence for this breach of faith was, that the latter part of Lewis's sentence was, as they affirmed, a contradiction to the former; he ratified the charter of liberties, yet annulled the provisions of Oxford; which were only calculated, as they maintained, to preserve that charter; and without which, in their estimation, they had no security for its observance.

The king and prince, finding a civil war inevitable, prepared themselves for defence; and summoning the military vassals from all quarters, and being reinforced by Baliol, lord of Galloway, Brus, lord of Annandale, Henry Piercy, John Comyn, and other barons of the north, they composed an army, formidable, as well from its numbers as its military prowess and experience. The first enterprise of the royalists was the attack of Northampton, which was defended by Simon de Montfort, with many of the principal barons of that party: and a breach being made in the walls by Philip Basset, the place was carried by assault, and both the governor and the garrison were made prisoners. The royalists marched thence to Leicester and Nottingham; both which places having opened their gates to them, Prince Edward proceeded with a detachment into the county of Derby, in order to ravage with fire and sword the lands of the earl of that name, and take revenge on him for his disloyalty. Like maxims of war prevailed with both parties throughout England; and the kingdom was thus exposed in a moment to

greater devastation, from the animosities of the rival barons, than it would have suffered from many years of foreign or even domestic hostilities, conducted by more humane and more generous principles.

The earl of Leicester, master of London, and of the counties in the south-east of England, formed the siege of Rochester, which alone declared for the king in those parts, and which, besides Earl Warrenne, the governor, was garrisoned by many noble and powerful barons of the royal party. The king and prince hastened from Nottingham, where they were then quartered, to the relief of the place; and on their approach, Leicester raised the siege, and retreated to London, which, being the centre of his power, he was afraid might, in his absence, fall into the king's hands, either by force, or by a correspondence with the principal citizens, who were all secretly inclined to the royal cause. Reinforced by a great body of Londoners, and having summoned his partisans from all quarters, he thought himself strong enough to hazard a general battle with the royalists, and to determine the fate of the nation in one great engagement; which, if it proved successful, must be decisive against the king, who had no retreat for his broken troops in those parts; while Leicester himself, in case of any sinister accident, could easily take shelter in the city. To give the better colouring to his cause, he previously sent a message with conditions of peace to Henry, submissive in the language, but exorbitant in the demands; and when the messenger returned with the lie and defiance from the king, the prince, and the king of the Romans, he sent a new message, renouncing, in the name of himself and of the associated barons, all fealty and allegiance to Henry. He then marched out of the city with his army, divided into four bodies: the first commanded by his two sons Henry and Guy de Montfort, together with Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, who had deserted to the barons; the second led by the earl of Gloucester, with William de Montchesney and John Fitz-John; the third, composed of Londoners, under the command of Nicholas de Segrave; the fourth headed by himself in person. The bishop of Chichester gave a general absolution to the army, accompanied with assurances that, if any of them fell in the ensuing action, they would infallibly be received into heaven, as the reward of their suffering in so meritorious a cause.

Leicester, who possessed great talents for war, conducted his march with such skill and secrecy, that he had well nigh surprised the royalists in their quarters at Lewes, in Sussex: but the vigilance and activity of Prince Edward soon repaired this negligence; and he led out the king's army to the field in three bodies. He himself conducted the van, attended by earl Warrenne and William de Valence: the main body was commanded by the king of the Romans and his son Henry: the king himself was placed in the rear at the head of his principal nobility. Prince Edward rushed upon the Londoners, who had demanded the post of honour in leading the rebel army, but who, from their ignorance of discipline and want of experience, were ill fitted to resist the gentry and military men, of whom the prince's body was composed. They were broken in an instant; were chased off the field; and Edward, transported by his martial ardour, and eager to revenge the insolence of the Londoners against his mother, put them to the sword for the length of four miles, without giving them any quarter, and without reflecting on the fate which in the mean time attended



the rest of the army. According to Lingard, three thousand of them were slain. The earl of Leicester, seeing the royalists thrown into confusion by their eagerness in the pursuit, led on his remaining troops against the bodies commanded by the two royal brothers: he defeated with great slaughter the forces headed by the king of the Romans; and that prince was obliged to yield himself prisoner to the earl of Gloucester. He penetrated to the body where the king was placed, threw it into disorder, pursued his advantage, chased it into the town of Lewes, and obliged Henry to surrender himself prisoner, and then conducted him to the Priory.

Prince Edward, returning to the field of battle from his precipitate pursuit of the Londoners, was astonished to find it covered with the dead bodies of his friends, and still more to hear, that his father and uncle were defeated and taken prisoners, and that Arundel, Comyn, Brus, Hamond l'Estrange, Roger Leybourne, and many considerable barons of his party, were in the hands of the victorious enemy. Earl Warrenne, Hugh Bigod, and William de Valence, struck with despair at this event, immediately took to flight, hurried to Pevensey, and made their escape beyond sea: but the prince, intrepid amidst the greatest disasters, exhorted his troops to revenge the death of their friends, to relieve the royal captives, and to snatch an easy conquest from an enemy disordered by their own victory. He found his followers intimidated by their situation; while Leicester, afraid of a sudden and violent blow from the prince, amused him by a feigned negotiation, till he was able to recall his troops from the pursuit, and bring them into order. There now appeared no farther resource to the royal party; surrounded by the armies and garrisons of the enemy, destitute of forage and provisions, and deprived of their sovereign, as well as of their principal leaders, who could alone inspire them to an obstinate resistance. The prince, therefore, was obliged to submit to Leicester's terms, which were short and severe, agreeably to the suddenness and necessity of the situation: he stipulated, that he and Henry d'Almaine should surrender themselves prisoners as pledges in lieu of the two kings; that all other prisoners on both sides should be released; and that, in order to settle fully the terms of agreement, application should be made to the king of France, that he should name six Frenchmen, three prelates, and three noblemen: these six to choose two others of their own country: and these two to choose one Englishman, who, in conjunction with themselves, were to be invested by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the settlement of the kingdom. The prince and young Henry accordingly delivered themselves into Leicester's hands, who sent them under a guard to Dover castle. Such are the terms of agreement, commonly called the *Misa of Lewes*, from an obsolete French term of that meaning: for it appears, that all the gentry and nobility of England, who valued themselves on their Norman extraction, and who disdained the language of their native country, made familiar use of the French tongue, till this period, and for some time after.

Leicester had no sooner obtained this great advantage, and gotten the whole royal family in his power, than he openly violated every article of the treaty, and acted as sole master, and even tyrant of the kingdom. He still detained the king in effect a prisoner and made use of that prince's authority for purposes the most prejudicial to his interests, and

the most oppressive of his people. He every where disarmed the royalists, and kept all his own partisans in a military posture: he observed the same partial conduct in the deliverance of the captives, and even threw many of the royalists into prison, besides those who were taken in the battle of Lewes: he carried the king from place to place, and obliged all the royal castles, on pretence of Henry's commands, to receive a governor and garrison of his own appointment: all the officers of the crown and of the household were named by him; and the whole authority, as well as arms of the state, was lodged in his hands: he instituted in the counties a new kind of magistracy, endowed with new and arbitrary powers, that of conservators of the peace: his avarice appeared barefaced, and might induce us to question the greatness of his ambition, at least the largeness of his mind, if we had not reason to think, that he intended to employ his acquisitions as the instruments for attaining farther power and grandeur. He seized the estates of no less than eighteen barons, as his share of the spoil gained in the battle of Lewes: he engrossed to himself the ransom of all the prisoners; and told his barons, with a wanton insolence, that it was sufficient for them that he had saved them by that victory from the forfeitures and attainders which hung over them: he even treated the earl of Gloucester in the same injurious manner, and applied to his own use the ransom of the king of the Romans, who in the field of battle had yielded himself prisoner to that nobleman. Henry, his eldest son, made a monopoly of all the wool in the kingdom, the only valuable commodity for foreign markets which it at that time produced. The inhabitants of the cinque-ports, during the present dissolution of government, betook themselves to the most licentious piracy, preyed on the ships of all nations, threw the mariners into the sea, and by these practices soon banished all merchants from the English coasts and harbours. Every foreign commodity rose to an exorbitant price; and woollen cloth, which the English had not then the art of dyeing, was worn by them white, and without receiving the last hand of the manufacturer. In answer to the complaints which arose on this occasion, Leicester replied, that the kingdom could well enough subsist within itself, and needed no intercourse with foreigners. And it was found, that he even combined with the pirates of the cinque ports, and received as his share the third of their prizes.

No farther mention was made of the reference to the king of France, so essential an article in the agreement of Lewes; and Leicester summoned a parliament, composed altogether of his own partisans, in order to rivet, by their authority, that power which he had acquired by so much violence, and which he used with so much tyranny and injustice. An ordinance was there passed, to which the king's consent had been previously extorted, that every act of royal power should be exercised by a council of nine persons, who were to be chosen and removed by the majority of three, Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester. By this intricate plan of government, the sceptre was really put into Leicester's hands; as he had the entire direction of the bishop of Chichester, and thereby commanded all the resolutions of the council of three, who could appoint or discard at pleasure every member of the supreme council.

But it was impossible that things could long remain in this strange situation. It behoved Leicester either to descend with some peril into the rank

of a subject, or to mount up with no less into that of a sovereign; and his ambition, unrestrained either by fear or principle, gave too much reason to suspect him of the latter intention. Meanwhile, he was exposed to anxiety from every quarter; and felt that the smallest incident was capable of overturning that immense and ill-cemented fabric which he had reared. The queen, whom her husband had left abroad, had collected in foreign parts an army of desperate adventurers, and had assembled a great number of ships, with a view of invading the kingdom, and of bringing relief to her unfortunate family. Lewis, detesting Leicester's usurpations and perjuries, and disgusted at the English barons, who had refused to submit to his award, secretly favoured all her enterprizes, and was generally believed to be making preparations for the same purpose. An English army, by the pretended authority of the captive king, was assembled on the sea-coast to oppose this projected invasion; but Leicester owed his safety more to cross winds, which long detained and at last dispersed and ruined the queen's fleet, than to any resistance which, in their present situation, could have been expected from the English.

Leicester found himself better able to resist the spiritual thunders which were levelled against him. The pope, still adhering to the king's cause against the barons, dispatched Cardinal Guido as his legate into England, with orders to excommunicate, by name, the three earls, Leicester, Gloucester, and Norfolk, and all others in general, who concurred in the oppression and captivity of their sovereign. Leicester menaced the legate with death, if he set foot within the kingdom; but Guido, meeting in France the bishops of Winchester, London, and Worcester, who had been sent thither on a negotiation, commanded them, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, to carry his bull into England, and to publish it against the barons. When the prelates arrived off the coast, they were boarded by the piratical mariners of the cinque-ports, to whom probably they gave a hint of the cargo which they brought along with them: the bull was torn and thrown into the sea; which furnished the artful prelates with a plausible excuse for not obeying the orders of the legate. Leicester appealed from Guido to the pope in person; but, before the ambassadors appointed to defend his cause could reach Rome, the pope was dead; and they found the legate himself, from whom they had appealed, seated on the papal throne, by the name of Urban IV. That daring leader was no wise dismayed with this incident; and as he found that a great part of his popularity in England was founded on his opposition to the court of Rome, which was now become odious, he persisted with the more obstinacy in the prosecution of his measures.

That he might both increase and turn to advantage his popularity, Leicester summoned a new parliament in London, where he knew his power was uncontrollable; and he fixed this assembly on a more democratical basis than any which had ever been summoned since the foundation of the monarchy. Besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire, and, what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs, an order of men, which, in former ages, had always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils. This period is commonly esteemed the epoch of the House of Commons in England; and it is certainly the first time that historians speak of any represen-

tatives sent to parliament by the boroughs. In all the general accounts given in preceding times of those assemblies, the prelates and barons only are mentioned as the constituent members; and even in the most particular narratives delivered of parliamentary transactions, as in the trial of Thomas à Becket, where the events of each day, and almost of each hour, are carefully recorded by contemporary authors, there is not, throughout the whole, the least appearance of a House of Commons. But though that house derived its existence from so precarious, and even so invidious an origin, as Leicester's usurpation, it soon proved, when summoned by the legal princes, one of the most useful, and, in process of time, one of the most powerful members of the national constitution; and gradually rescued the kingdom from aristocratical as well as from regal tyranny. But Leicester's policy, if we must ascribe to him so great a blessing, only forwarded by some years an institution, for which the general state of things had already prepared the nation; and it is otherwise inconceivable, that a plant set by so inauspicious a hand, could have attained to so vigorous a growth, and have flourished in the midst of such tempests and convulsions. The feudal system, with which the liberty, much more the power, of the Commons was totally incompatible, began gradually to decline; and both the king and the commonalty, who felt its inconveniences, contributed to favour this new power, which was more submissive than the barons to the regular authority of the crown, and at the same time afforded protection to the inferior orders of the state.

Such is Hume's account of this most extraordinary crisis of the constitution: his known predilections to monarchy may account for his hasty notice of so important an event. We should expect to find in Turner's History such a collection of evidence, as would at once set the question, of whether this was a new addition to the democratic power, or only an extension of previous privileges, entirely at rest; but to our disappointment he, who on other matters, apparently of far less interest, is so elaborate, dismisses this matter by merely saying—"Leicester, to appease the rising clamours and avert the necessary opposition to his power, summoned a parliament composed of two knights from every county, and two burgesses from every borough." Lingard, Mackintosh, and others, are far more satisfactory on this head; and their views of it will be cited and compared in that part of the appendix dedicated to the account of the constitutional changes of the period.

Leicester, having thus assembled a parliament of his own model, and trusting to the attachment of the populace of London, seized the opportunity of crushing his rivals among the powerful barons. Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, was accused in the king's name, seized, and committed to custody, without being brought to any legal trial. John Gifford, menaced with the same fate, fled from London, and took shelter in the borders of Wales. Even the earl of Gloucester, whose power and influence had so much contributed to the success of the barons, but who of late was extremely disgusted with Leicester's arbitrary conduct, found himself in danger from the prevailing authority of his ancient confederate; and he retired from parliament. This known dissension gave courage to all Leicester's enemies and to the king's friends, who were now sure of protection from so potent a leader. Though Roger Mortimer, Hamond L'Estrange, and other powerful marchers of Wales, had been obliged to leave the kingdom, their



authority still remained over the territories subjected to their jurisdiction; and there were many others who were disposed to give disturbance to the new government. The animosities, inseparable from the feudal aristocracy, broke out with fresh violence, and threatened the kingdom with new convulsions and disorders.

The earl of Leicester, surrounded with these difficulties, embraced a measure, from which he hoped to reap some present advantages, but which proved in the end the source of all his future calamities. The active and intrepid Prince Edward had languished in prison ever since the fatal battle of Lewes; and as he was extremely popular in the kingdom, there arose a general desire of seeing him again restored to liberty. Leicester finding that he could with difficulty oppose the concurring wishes of the nation, stipulated with the prince, that, in return, he should order his adherents to deliver up to the barons all their castles, particularly those on the borders of Wales; and should swear neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce into it any foreign forces. The king took an oath to the same effect, and he also passed a charter, in which he confirmed the agreement or *Mise* of Lewes; and even permitted his subjects to rise in arms against him, if he should ever attempt to infringe it. So little care did Leicester take, though he constantly made use of the authority of this captive prince, to preserve to him any appearance of royalty or kingly prerogatives!

In consequence of this treaty, prince Edward was brought into Westminster-hall, and was declared free by the barons: but instead of really recovering his liberty, as he had vainly expected, he found that the whole transaction was a fraud on the part of Leicester; that he himself still continued a prisoner at large, and was guarded by the emissaries of that nobleman; and that, while the faction reaped all the benefit from the performance of his part of the treaty, care was taken that he should enjoy no advantage by it. As Gloucester, on his rupture with the barons, had retired for safety to his estates on the borders of Wales, Leicester followed him with an army to Hereford, continued still to menace and negotiate; and that he might add authority to his cause, he carried both the king and prince along with him. The earl of Gloucester here concerted with young Edward the manner of that prince's escape. He found means to convey to him a horse of extraordinary swiftness; and appointed Roger Mortimer, who had returned into the kingdom, to be ready at hand with a small party to receive the prince, and to guard him to a place of safety. Edward pretended to take the air with some of Leicester's retinue, who were his guards; and making matches between their horses, after he thought he had tired and blown them sufficiently, he suddenly mounted Gloucester's horse, and called to his attendants, that he had long enough enjoyed the pleasure of their company, and now bid them adieu. They followed him for some time, without being able to overtake him; and the appearance of Mortimer with his company put an end to their pursuit.

The royalists, secretly prepared for this event, immediately flew to arms; and the joy of this gallant prince's deliverance, the oppressions under which the nation laboured, the expectation of a new scene of affairs, and the countenance of the earl of Gloucester, procured Edward an army which Leicester was utterly unable to withstand. This nobleman found himself in a remote quarter of the kingdom; sur-

rounded by his enemies; barred from all communication with his friends by the Severn, whose bridges Edward had broken down; and obliged to fight the cause of his party under these multiplied disadvantages. In this extremity he wrote to his son Simon de Montfort, to hasten from London with an army for his relief; and Simon had advanced to Kenilworth with that view, where, fancying that all Edward's force and attention were directed against his father, he lay secure and unguarded. But the prince making a sudden and forced march, surprised him in his camp, dispersed his army, and took the earl of Oxford and many other noblemen prisoners, almost without resistance. "Leicester, ignorant of his son's fate, had," according to Lingard, (whose narration of the details, as usual, is more animated than Hume's), "on the same day crossed the Severn by a ford, and halted at Kempsey, about three miles from Worcester. Happy to find himself at last on the left bank of the river, and ignorant of the fate of his son and the motions of the enemy, he proceeded to Evesham, with the intention of continuing his march the next morning for Kenilworth. The prince had returned with his prisoners to Worcester, but left the city in the evening; and, to mask his real design, took the road which leads to Bridgenorth. He passed the river near Clains, and wheeling to the right, arrived before sunrise in the neighbourhood of Evesham. (a town in Worcestershire, situated 14 miles S.E. of Worcester). He took his station on the summit of a hill in the direction of Kenilworth: two other divisions under the earl of Gloucester and Roger de Mortimer, occupied the remaining roads. As the royalists bore the banners of their captives, they were taken by the enemy for the army of Simon de Montfort. But the mistake was soon discovered. Leicester from an eminence surveyed their numbers and disposition; and was heard to exclaim, 'The Lord have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are prince Edward's.' According to his custom, he spent some time in prayer, and received the sacrament. His first object was to force his way through the division on the hill. Foiled in this attempt, and in danger of being surrounded, he ordered his men to form in a circle, and oppose on all sides the pressure of the enemy. For a while the courage of despair proved a match for the superiority of numbers. The old king, who had been compelled to appear in the ranks, was slightly wounded: and as he fell from his horse, would probably have been killed, had he not cried out to his antagonist, 'Hold, fellow, I am Harry of Winchester.' The prince knew the voice of his father, sprung to his rescue, and conducted him to a place of safety. During his absence, Leicester's horse was killed under him; and, as he fought on foot, he asked 'if they gave quarter?' A voice replied, 'There is no quarter for traitors.' Henry de Montfort, his eldest son, who would not leave his side, fell at his feet. His body was soon covered by that of the father. The royalists obtained a complete but sanguinary victory. Of Leicester's partizans, all the barons and knights were slain, with the exception of about ten, who were afterwards found breathing, and were cured of their wounds. The foot soldiers of the royal army, so we are told to save the honour of the leaders, offered to the body of the earl every indignity. His mangled remains were afterwards collected by the king's orders, and buried in the church of the Abbey." According to Mackintosh, "his body was, after being mangled and mutilated in a manner to which the decency of a civilized age forbids a

more distinct allusion, laid before the lady of Roger lord Mortimer, as a sight grateful to her humanity and delicacy. His hands and feet were cut from the body, and sent to several places. His memory was long revered by the people as one who died a martyr to the liberties of the realm."

We now return to Hume, cautioning our readers to temper their faith in that eloquent historian by a recollection of his predilection in favour of despotism and scepticism.

The violence, ingratitude, tyranny, rapacity, and treachery of the earl of Leicester, give a very bad idea of his moral character, and make us regard his death as the most fortunate event which in this conjuncture could have happened to the English nation: Yet must we allow the man to have possessed great abilities, and the appearance of great virtues, who, though a stranger, could, at a time when strangers were the most odious and the most universally decried, have acquired so extensive an interest in the kingdom, and have so nearly paved his way to the throne itself. His military capacity, and his political craft, were equally eminent: He possessed the talents both of governing men and conducting business: and though his ambition was boundless, it seems neither to have exceeded his courage nor his genius; and he had the happiness of making the low populace, as well as the haughty barons, co-operate towards the success of his selfish and dangerous purposes. A prince of greater abilities and vigour than Henry might have directed the talents of this nobleman either to the exaltation of his throne, or to the good of his people. But the advantages given to Leicester, by the weak and variable administration of the king, brought on the ruin of royal authority, and produced great confusions in the kingdom, which, however, in the end preserved and extremely improved national liberty, and the constitution. His popularity, even after his death, continued so great, that though he was excommunicated by Rome, the people believed him to be a saint; and many miracles were said to be wrought upon his tomb.

The victory of Evesham, with the death of Leicester, proved decisive in favour of the royalists, and made an equal though an opposite impression on friends and enemies in every part of England. The king of the Romans recovered his liberty. The other prisoners of the royal party were not only freed but courted by their keepers. Fitz-Richard, the seditious mayor of London, who had marked out forty of the most wealthy citizens for slaughter, immediately stopped his hand on receiving intelligence of this great event: and almost all the castles, garrisoned by the barons, hastened to make their submissions, and to open their gates to the king. The isle of Axholme alone, and that of Ely, trusting to the strength of their situation, ventured to make resistance; but were at last reduced, as well as the castle of Dover, by the valour and activity of prince Edward. Adam de Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himself during some time in the forests of Hampshire, committed depredations in the neighbourhood, and obliged the prince to lead a body of troops into that county against him. Edward attacked the camp of the rebels; and being transported by the ardour of battle, leaped over the trench with a few followers, and encountered Gourdon in single combat. The victory was long disputed between these valiant combatants; but ended at last in the prince's favour, who wounded his antagonist, threw him from his horse, and took him prisoner.

He not only gave him his life, but introduced him that very night to the queen at Guildford, procured him his pardon, restored him to his estate, received him into favour, and was ever after faithfully served by him.

A total victory of the sovereign over so extensive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution of government, and strengthens, as well as enlarges for some time the prerogatives of the crown: yet no sacrifices of national liberty were made on this occasion: the Great Charter remained still inviolate; and the king, sensible that his own barons, by whose assistance alone he had prevailed, were no less jealous of their independence than the other party, seems thenceforth to have more carefully abstained from all those exertions of power which had afforded so plausible a pretence to the rebels. The clemency of this victory is also remarkable: no blood was shed on the scaffold: no attainders, except of the Mountfort family, were carried into execution: and though a parliament assembled at Winchester attainted all those who had borne arms against the king, easy compositions were made with them for their lands; and the highest sum levied on the most obnoxious offenders exceeded not five years' rent of their estate. Even the earl of Derby, who again rebelled, after having been pardoned and restored to his fortune, was obliged to pay only seven years' rent, and was a second time restored. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of victory, and gradually restored order to the several members of the state, disjoined by so long a continuance of civil wars and commotions.

The city of London, which had carried farthest the rage and animosity against the king, and which seemed determined to stand upon its defence after almost all the kingdom had submitted, was, after some interval, restored to most of its liberties and privileges; and Fitz-Richard the mayor, who had been guilty of so much illegal violence, was only punished by fine and imprisonment. The countess of Leicester, the king's sister, who had been extremely forward in all attacks on the royal family, was dismissed the kingdom, with her two sons, Simon and Guy, who proved very ungrateful for this lenity. Five years afterwards, they assassinated, at Viterbo in Italy, their cousin Henry d'Almaine, who at that very time was endeavouring to make their peace with the king; and by taking sanctuary in the church of the Franciscans, they escaped the punishment due to so great an enormity.

The merits of the earl of Gloucester, after he returned to his allegiance, had been so great in restoring the prince to his liberty, and assisting him in his victories against the rebellious barons, that it was almost impossible to content him in his demands; and his youth and temerity, as well as his great power, tempted him, on some new disgust, to raise again the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. The mutinous populace of London at his instigation took to arms; and the prince was obliged to levy an army of 30,000 men, in order to suppress them. Even this second rebellion did not provoke the king to any act of cruelty; and the earl of Gloucester himself escaped with total impunity. He was only obliged to enter into a bond of 20,000 marks that he should never again be guilty of rebellion: a strange method of enforcing the laws, and a proof of the dangerous independence of the barons in those ages! These potent nobles were, from the danger of the precedent averse to the execution of the laws of



forfeiture and felony against any of their fellows; though they could not, with a good grace, refuse to concur in obliging them to fulfil any voluntary contract and engagement into which they had entered.

The prince finding the state of the kingdom tolerably composed, was seduced, by his avidity for glory, and by the prejudices of the age, as well as by the earnest solicitations of the king of France, to undertake an expedition against the infidels in the Holy Land; and he endeavoured previously to settle the state in such a manner as to dread no bad effects from his absence. As the formidable power and turbulent disposition of the earl of Gloucester gave him apprehensions, he insisted on carrying him along with him, in consequence of a vow which that nobleman had made to undertake the same voyage: in the meantime, he obliged him to resign some of his castles, and to enter into a new bond not to disturb the peace of the kingdom. He sailed from England with an army; and arrived in Lewis's camp before Tunis in Africa, where he found that monarch already dead, from the intemperance of the climate and the fatigues of his enterprise. The great, if not only weakness of this prince in his government, was the imprudent passion for crusades; but it was his zeal chiefly that procured him from the clergy the title of St. Lewis, by which he is known in the French history; and if that appellation had not been so extremely prostituted as to become rather a term of reproach, he seems, by his uniform probity and goodness, as well as his piety, to have fully merited the title. He was succeeded by his son Philip, denominated the Hardy; a prince of some merit, though much inferior to that of his father.

Prince Edward, not discouraged by this event, continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he signalized himself by acts of valour; revived the glory of the English name in those parts; and struck such terror into the Saracens, that they employed an assassin to murder him, who wounded him in the arm, but perished in the attempt. Meanwhile, his absence from England was attended with many of those pernicious consequences which had been dreaded from it. The laws were not executed: the barons oppressed the common people with impunity: they gave shelter on their estates to bands of robbers, whom they employed in committing ravages on the estates of their enemies: the populace of London returned to their usual licentiousness: and the old king, unequal to the burthen of public affairs, called aloud for his gallant son to return, and to assist him in swaying that sceptre which was ready to drop from his feeble and irresolute hands. At last, overcome by the cares of government and the infirmities of age, he visibly declined, and he expired at St. Edmundsbury, in the 64th year of his age, and 57th of his reign, on the sixteenth of November, A.D. 1272. His brother, the king of the Romans (for he never attained the title of emperor), died about seven months before him.

The most obvious circumstance of Henry's character, is his incapacity for government, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his own ministers and favourites, and as little at his own disposal, as when detained a captive in the hands of his enemies. From this source, rather than from dissimulation or treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises; and he was too easily induced, for the sake of present convenience, to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the trust and confi-

dence of his people. Hence too were derived his profusion to favourites, his attachment to strangers, the variableness of his conduct, his hasty resentments, and his sudden forgiveness and return of affection. Instead of reducing the dangerous power of his nobles, by obliging them to observe the laws towards their inferiors, and setting them the salutary example in his own government; he was seduced to imitate their conduct, and to make his arbitrary will, or rather that of his ministers, the rule of his actions. Instead of accommodating himself, by a strict frugality, to the embarrassed situation in which his revenue had been left, by the military expeditions of his uncle, the dissipations of his father, and the usurpations of the barons; he was tempted to levy money by irregular exactions, which, without enriching himself, impoverished, at least disgusted, his people. Of all men nature seemed least to have fitted him for being a tyrant; yet are there instances of oppression in his reign which, though derived from the precedents left him by his predecessors, had been carefully guarded against by the Great Charter, and are inconsistent with all rules of good government. And on the whole we may say, that greater abilities with his good dispositions, would have prevented him from falling into his faults; or, with worse dispositions, would have enabled him to maintain and defend them.

This prince was noted for his piety and devotion, and his regular attendance on public worship; and a saying of his on that head is much celebrated by ancient writers. He was engaged in a dispute with Lewis IX. of France, concerning the preference between sermons and masses: he maintained the superiority of the latter, and affirmed that he would rather have one hour's conversation with a friend, than hear twenty the most elaborate discourses pronounced in his praise.

The foregoing character is given by Hume, the following is Lingard's:—"Gentle and credulous, warm in his attachments, and forgiving in his enmities, without vices, but also without energy, he was a good man, and a weak monarch. In a more peaceful age, when the empire of the laws had been strengthened by habits of obedience, he might have filled the throne with decency, perhaps with honour; but his lot cast him into one of the most turbulent of our history, without the talents to command respect, or the authority to enforce submission. Yet his incapacity was productive rather of inconvenience to himself than of misery to his subjects. Under his weak but pacific sway the nation grew more rapidly in wealth and prosperity than it had done under any of his military progenitors. Out of the fifty-six years, through which he extended his reign, but a very small portion was marked with the calamities of war: the tenants of the crown were seldom dragged by him into foreign countries, or impoverished by scutages for the support of mercenary armies: the proprietors, deprived of two sources of wealth, the plunder of an enemy, and the ransom of captives, turned their attention to the improvement of their estates: salutary enactments invigorated the spirit of commerce; and there scarcely existed a port from the coast of Norway to the shores of Italy, that was not annually visited by English merchants. This statement may perhaps surprise those who have listened only to the remonstrances of factious barons, or the complaints of discontented factious: but the fact is, that of all the kings since the conquest, Henry received the least money from the tenant of the crown. According to the most accu-







EDWARD I.

rate calculation, the average amount of his expenses did not exceed twenty-four thousand marks per annum; and we are assured that in the course of a reign of more than half a century, the only extraordinary aids levied by him on the nation were two fifteenths, one thirtieth, and one fortieth for himself, and one twentieth for the relief of the Holy Land. His great resource was the tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues, which he received for some years; an impost which, though insufficient to rescue him from the pressure of poverty, was calculated from its partial operation to exasperate the minds of those who were compelled to pay it. The clergy struggled in vain to shake off the burden; their writers have laboured more successfully to interest in their favour the feelings of posterity by the description, probably the exaggerated description, of their wrongs."

Henry left two sons, Edward his successor, and Edmund earl of Lancaster; and two daughters, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrice duchess of Brittany. He had five other children, who died in their infancy.

The trial by ordeal was abolished in this reign by order of council: a faint mark of improvement in the age.

Henry granted a charter to the town of Newcastle, in which he gave the inhabitants a licence to dig coal. This is the first mention of coal in England.

We learn from Madox, that this king gave at one time 100 shillings to master Henry, his poet: also the same year he orders this poet ten pounds.

It appears from Selden, that in the 47th year of this reign, a hundred and fifty temporal, and fifty spiritual barons were summoned to perform the service due by their tenures. In the 35th of the subsequent reign, eighty-six temporal barons, twenty bishops, and forty-eight abbots, were summoned to a parliament convened at Carlisle.

## CHAP. XVI.

### EDWARD I.

*Civil administration of the King—Conquest of Wales—Affairs of Scotland—Competitors for the crown of Scotland—Reference to Edward—Homage of Scotland—Award of Edward in favour of Baliol—War with France—War with Scotland—Scotland subdued—War with France—Dissensions with the Clergy—Arbitrary measures—Peace with France—Revolt of Scotland—That kingdom again subdued—again revolts—is again subdued—Robert Bruce—Third revolt of Scotland—Death and character of the King.*

THE English were as yet so little inured to obedience under a regular government, that the death of almost every king, since the conquest, had been attended with disorders; and the council, reflecting on the recent civil wars, and on the animosities which naturally remain after these great convulsions, had reason to apprehend dangerous consequences from the absence of the son and successor of Henry. They therefore hastened to proclaim Prince Edward, to swear allegiance to him, and to summon the states of the kingdom, in order to provide for the public peace in this important conjuncture. Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, the earl of Cornwall, son of Richard, king of the Romans, and the earl of Gloucester, were appointed guardians of the realm,

and proceeded peaceably to the exercise of their authority, without either meeting with opposition from any of the people, or being disturbed with emulation and faction among themselves. The high character acquired by Edward during the late commotions, his military genius, his success in subduing the rebels, his moderation in settling the kingdom, had procured him great esteem, mixed with affection, among all orders of men; and no one could reasonably entertain hopes of making any advantage of his absence, or of raising disturbance in the nation. The earl of Gloucester himself, whose great power and turbulent spirit had excited most jealousy, was forward to give proofs of his allegiance; and the other malecontents, being destitute of a leader, were obliged to remain in submission to the government.

Prince Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of the death of his father; and he discovered a deep concern on the occasion. At the same time he learned the death of an infant son, John, whom his princess, Eleanor of Castile, had born him at Acre in Palestine; and as he appeared much less affected with that misfortune, the king of Sicily expressed a surprise at this difference of sentiment: but was told by Edward, that the death of a son was a loss which he might hope to repair; the death of a father was a loss irreparable.

Edward proceeded homeward; but as he soon learned the quiet settlement of the kingdom, he was in no hurry to take possession of the throne, but spent near a year in France, before he made his appearance in England. In his passage by Chalons in Burgundy, he was challenged by the prince of the country to a tournament which he was preparing; and as Edward excelled in those martial and dangerous exercises, the true image of war, he declined not the opportunity of acquiring honour in that great assembly of the neighbouring nobles. But the image of war was here unfortunately turned into the thing itself. Edward and his retinue were so successful in the jousts, that the French knights, provoked at their superiority, made a serious attack upon them, which was repulsed, and much blood was idly shed in the quarrel. This encounter received the name of the petty battle of Chalons.

Edward went from Chalons to Paris, and did homage to Philip for the dominions which he held in France. He thence returned to Guienne, and settled that province, which was in some confusion. He made his journey to London through France: in his passage he accommodated at Montreuil a difference with Margaret countess of Flanders, heiress of that territory; he was received with joyful acclamations by his people, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster with his consort by Robert archbishop of Canterbury, on August 19th, 1274.

He is thus described by Lingard, at this period: "Edward had now reached his thirty-sixth year: in person he was tall, but well proportioned: the length of his arm gave additional force to his stroke; and when he was once placed in his saddle, no struggle of his horse, no violence of the enemy, could dislodge him from his seat. In temper he was warm and irascible, impatient of injury, and reckless of danger; but his anger might be disarmed by submission, and his temerity seemed to be justified by success."

The king immediately applied himself to the re-establishment of his kingdom, and to the correcting of those disorders which the civil commotions and the loose administration of his father had introduced



into every part of government. The plan of his policy was equally generous and prudent. He considered the great barons both as the immediate rivals of the crown, and oppressors of the people: and he purposed, by an exact distribution of justice, and a rigid execution of the laws, to give at once protection to the inferior orders of the state, and to diminish the arbitrary power of the great, on which their dangerous authority was chiefly founded. Making it a rule in his own conduct to observe, except on extraordinary occasions, the privileges secured to them by the Great Charter, he acquired a right to insist upon their observance of the same charter towards their vassals and inferiors; and he made the crown be regarded by all the gentry and commonalty of the kingdom, as the fountain of justice, and the general asylum against oppression. Besides enacting several useful statutes, in a parliament which he summoned at Westminster, he took care to inspect the conduct of all his magistrates and judges, to displace such as were either negligent or corrupt, to provide them with sufficient force for the execution of justice, to extirpate all bands and confederacies of robbers, and to repress those more silent robberies which were committed either by the power of the nobles, or under the countenance of public authority. By this rigid administration, the face of the kingdom was soon changed; and order and justice took place of violence and oppression: but amidst the excellent institutions and public-spirited plans of Edward, there still appears somewhat both of the severity of his personal character, and of the prejudices of the times.

As the various kinds of malefactors, the murderers, robbers, incendiaries, ravishers, and plunderers, had become so numerous and powerful, that the ordinary ministers of justice, especially in the western counties, were afraid to execute the laws against them, the king found it necessary to provide an extraordinary remedy for the evil; and he erected a new tribunal which, however useful, would have been deemed, in times of more regular liberty, a great stretch of illegal and arbitrary power. It consisted of commissioners, who were empowered to inquire into disorders and crimes of all kinds, and to inflict the proper punishments upon them. The officers, charged with this unusual commission, made their circuits throughout the counties of England most infested with this evil, and carried terror into all those parts of the kingdom. In their zeal to punish crimes, they did not sufficiently distinguish between the innocent and guilty; the smallest suspicion became a ground of accusation and trial; the slightest evidence was received against criminals; prisons were crowded with malefactors, real or pretended; severe fines were levied for small offences; and the king, though his exhausted exchequer was supplied by this expedient, found it necessary to stop the course of so great rigour, and after terrifying and dissipating, by this tribunal, the gangs of disorderly people in England, he prudently annulled the commission, and never afterwards renewed it.

Among the various disorders to which the kingdom was subject, no one was more universally complained of than the adulteration of the coin; and as this crime required more art than the English of that age, who chiefly employed force and violence in their iniquities, were possessed of, the imputation fell upon the Jews. Edward also seems to have indulged a strong prepossession against that nation; and this ill-judged zeal for Christianity being naturally augmented by an expedition to the Holy

Land, he let loose the whole rigour of his justice against that unhappy people. Two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once for this crime in London alone, besides those who suffered in other parts of the kingdom. The houses and lands (for the Jews had of late ventured to make purchases of that kind), as well as the goods of great multitudes, were sold and confiscated: and the king, lest it should be suspected that the riches of the sufferers were the chief part of their guilt, ordered a moiety of the money raised by these confiscations to be set apart and bestowed upon such as were willing to be converted to Christianity. But resentment was more prevalent with them than any temptation from their poverty; and very few of them could be induced by interest to embrace the religion of their persecutors. The miseries of this people did not here terminate. Though the arbitrary talliages and exactions levied upon them had yielded a constant and considerable revenue to the crown, Edward, prompted by his zeal and his rapacity, resolved some time after to purge the kingdom entirely of that hated race, and to seize to himself at once their whole property as the reward of his labour. He left them only money sufficient to bear their charges into foreign countries, where new persecutions and extortions awaited them; but the inhabitants of the cinque ports, imitating the bigotry and avidity of their sovereign, despoiled most of them of this small pittance, and even threw many of them into the sea: a crime for which the king, who was determined to be the sole plunderer in his dominions, inflicted a capital punishment upon them. No less than fifteen thousand Jews were at this time robbed of their effects, and banished the kingdom: very few of that nation have since lived in England: and as it is impossible for a nation to subsist without lenders of money, and none will lend without compensation, the practice of usury, as it was then called, was thenceforth exercised by the English themselves upon their fellow-citizens, or by Lombards and other foreigners. It is very much to be questioned whether the dealings of these new usurers were equally open and unexceptionable with those of the old. By a law of Richard it was enacted, that three copies should be made of every bond given to a Jew; one to be put into the hands of a public magistrate, another into those of a man of credit, and a third to remain with the Jew himself. But as the canon law, seconded by the municipal, permitted no Christian to take interest, all transactions of this kind must, after the banishment of the Jews, have become more secret and clandestine; and the lender of consequence be both paid for the use of his money, and for the infamy and danger which he incurred by lending it.

The great poverty of the crown, though no excuse, was probably the cause of this egregious tyranny exercised against the Jews; but Edward also practised other more honourable means of remedying that evil. He employed a strict frugality in the management and distribution of his revenue: he engaged the parliament to vote him a fifteenth of all moveables; the pope to grant him the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for three years; and the merchants to consent to a perpetual imposition of half a mark on every sack of wool exported, and a mark on three hundred skins. He also issued commissions to inquire into all encroachments on the royal demesne; into the value of escheats, forfeitures, and wardships; and into the means of repairing or improving every branch of the revenue. The commissioners in the execution of their office began to

carry matters too far against the nobility, and to question titles to estates which had been transmitted from father to son for several generations. Earl Warrenne, who had done such eminent service in the late reign, being required to show his titles, drew his sword; and subjoined that William the Bastard had not conquered the kingdom for himself alone: his ancestor was a joint adventurer in the enterprise; and he himself was determined to maintain what had from that period remained unquestioned in his family. The king, sensible of the danger, desisted from making farther inquiries of this nature.

But the active spirit of Edward could not long remain without employment. He soon after undertook an enterprise more prudent for himself, and more advantageous to his people. Lewellyn, prince of Wales, had been deeply engaged with the Mountfort faction; had entered into all their conspiracies against the crown; and had frequently fought on their side; and till the battle of Evesham, so fatal to that party, had employed every expedient to depress the royal cause, and to promote the success of the barons. In the general accommodation made by the vanquished, Lewellyn had also obtained his pardon; but as he was the most powerful, and therefore the most obnoxious vassal of the crown, he had reason to entertain anxiety about his situation, and to dread the future effects of resentment and jealousy in the English monarch. For this reason, he determined to provide for his security by maintaining a secret correspondence with his former associates; and he even made his addresses to a daughter of the earl of Leicester, who was sent to him from beyond sea, but being intercepted in her passage near the isles of Scilly, was detained in the court of England. This incident increasing the mutual jealousy between Edward and Lewellyn, the latter, when required to come to England, and do homage to the new king, scrupled to put himself in the hands of an enemy, desired a safe conduct from Edward, insisted upon having the king's son and other noblemen delivered to him as hostages, and demanded that his consort should previously be set at liberty. The king having now brought the state to a full settlement, was not displeased with this occasion of exercising his authority, and subduing entirely the principality of Wales. He refused all Lewellyn's demands, except that of a safe conduct; sent him repeated summons to perform the duty of a vassal; levied an army to reduce him to obedience; obtained a new aid of a fifteenth from parliament; and marched out with certain assurance of success against the enemy. Besides the great disproportion of force between the kingdom and the principality, the circumstances of the two states were entirely reversed; and the same intestine dissensions which had formerly weakened England, now prevailed in Wales, and had even taken place in the reigning family. David and Roderic, brothers to Lewellyn, dispossessed of their inheritance by that prince, had been obliged to have recourse to the protection of Edward, and they seconded with all their interest, which was extensive, his attempts to enslave their native country. The Welsh prince had no resource, but in the inaccessible situation of his mountains, which had hitherto through many ages defended his forefathers against all attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors; and he retired among the hills of Snowdon, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. But Edward, equally vigorous and cautious, entering by the north with a formidable army, pierced into the heart of

the country; and having carefully explored every road before him, and secured every pass behind him, approached the Welsh army in its last retreat. He here avoided the putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independence, and inflamed with animosity against its hereditary enemies; and he trusted to the slow but sure effects of famine for reducing that people to subjection. The rude and simple manners of the natives, as well as the mountainous situation of their country, had made them entirely neglect tillage, and trust to pasturage alone for their subsistence: a method of life which had hitherto secured them against the irregular attempts of the English, but exposed them to certain ruin, when the conquest of the country was steadily pursued, and prudently planned by Edward. Destitute of magazines, cooped up in a narrow corner, they, as well as their cattle, suffered all the rigours of famine: and Lewellyn, without being able to strike a stroke for his independence, was at last obliged to submit at discretion, and receive the terms imposed upon him by the victor. He bound himself to pay to Edward 50,000 pounds, as a reparation of damages; to do homage to the crown of England; to permit all the other barons of Wales, except four near Snowdon, to swear fealty to the same crown; to relinquish the country between Cheshire and the river Conway; to settle on his brother Roderic a thousand marks a year, and on David five hundred; and to deliver ten hostages as security for his future submission.

Edward, on the performance of the other articles, remitted to the prince of Wales the payment of the 50,000 pounds, which were stipulated by treaty, and which it is probable the poverty of the country made it absolutely impossible for him to levy. But notwithstanding this indulgence, complaints of iniquities soon arose on the side of the vanquished: the English, insolent on their easy and bloodless victory, oppressed the inhabitants of the districts which were yielded to them: the lords marchers committed with impunity all kinds of violence on their Welsh neighbours: new and more severe terms were imposed on Lewellyn himself; and Edward, when the prince attended him at Worcester, exacted a promise that he would retain no person in his principality who should be obnoxious to the English monarchy. There were other personal insults which raised the indignation of the Welsh, and made them determine rather to encounter a force which they had already experienced to be so much superior, than to bear oppression from the haughty victors. Prince David, seized with the national spirit, made peace with his brother, and promised to concur in the defence of public liberty. The Welsh flew to arms; and Edward, not displeased with the occasion of making his conquest final and absolute, assembled all his military tenants, and advanced into Wales with an army which the inhabitants could not reasonably hope to resist. The situation of the country gave the Welsh at first some advantage over Luke de Tany, one of Edward's captains, who had passed the Menau with a detachment: but Lewellyn, being surprised by Mortimer, was defeated and slain in an action, and 2000 of his followers were put to the sword. David, who succeeded him in the principality, could never collect an army sufficient to face the English; and being chased from hill to hill, and hunted from one retreat to another, was obliged to conceal himself under various disguises, and was at last betrayed in his lurking-place to the enemy. Edward sent him in chains to Shrewsbury; and



bringing him to a formal trial before all the peers of England, ordered this sovereign prince to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for defending by arms the liberties of his native country, together with his own hereditary authority. All the Welsh nobility submitted to the conqueror; the laws of England, with the sheriffs and other ministers of justice, were established in that principality; and though it was long before national antipathies were extinguished, and a thorough union attained between the people; yet this important conquest, which it had required eight hundred years fully to effect, was at last, through the abilities of Edward, completed by the English.

The king, sensible that nothing kept alive the ideas of military valour and of ancient glory so much as the traditional poetry of the people, which, assisted by the power of music and the jollity of festivals, made deep impression on the minds of the youth, gathered together all the Welsh bards, and, from a barbarous, though not absurd policy, ordered them to be put to death.

There prevails a vulgar story, which, as it well suits the capacity of the monkish writers, is carefully recorded by them: that Edward, assembling the Welsh, promised to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, a Welshman by birth, and one who could speak no other language. On their acclamations of joy, and promise of obedience, he invested in the principality his second son Edward, then an infant, who had been born at Carnarvon. The death of his eldest son Alfonso soon after made young Edward heir of the monarchy; the principality of Wales was fully annexed to the crown; and henceforth gives a title to the eldest son of the kings of England.

The settlement of Wales appeared so complete to Edward, that in less than two years after he went abroad, in order to make peace between Alphonso, king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father Philip the Hardy on the throne of France. The difference between these two princes had arisen about the kingdom of Sicily, which the pope, after his hopes from England failed him, had bestowed on Charles, brother to St. Lewis, and which was claimed upon other titles by Peter, king of Arragon, father to Alphonso. Edward had powers from both princes to settle the terms of peace, and he succeeded in his endeavours; but as the controversy nowise regards England, we shall not enter into a detail of it. He stayed abroad above three years; and on his return found many disorders to have prevailed, both from open violence, and from the corruption of justice.

Thomas Chamberlain, a gentleman of some note, had assembled several of his associates at Boston, in Lincolnshire, under pretence of holding a tournament, an exercise practised by the gentry only; but in reality with a view of plundering the rich fair of Boston, and robbing the merchants. To facilitate his purpose, he privately set fire to the town: and while the inhabitants were employed in quenching the flames, the conspirators broke into the booths, and carried off the goods. Chamberlain himself was detected and hanged; but maintained so steadily the point of honour to his accomplices, that he could not be prevailed on, by offers or promises, to discover any of them. Many other instances of robbery and violence broke out in all parts of England; though the singular circumstances attending this conspiracy have made it alone be particularly recorded by historians.

But the corruption of the judges, by which the fountains of justice were poisoned, seemed of still more dangerous consequence. Edward, in order to remedy this prevailing abuse, summoned a parliament, and brought the judges to a trial; where all of them, except two who were clergymen, were convicted of this flagrant iniquity, and were fined and deposed. The amount of the fines levied upon them is alone a sufficient proof of their guilt: being above one hundred thousand marks, an immense sum in those days, and sufficient to defray the charges of an expensive war between two great kingdoms. The king afterwards made all the new judges swear that they would take no bribes; but his expedient, of deposing and fining the old ones, was the more effectual remedy.

We now come to give an account of the state of affairs in Scotland, which gave rise to the most interesting transactions of this reign, and of some of the subsequent; though the intercourse of that kingdom with England, either in peace or war, had hitherto produced so few events of moment, that, to avoid tediousness, we have omitted many of them, and have been very concise in relating the rest. If the Scots had before this period any real history worthy of the name, except what they glean from scattered passages in the English historians, those events, however minute, yet being the only foreign transactions of the nation, might deserve a place in it.

Though the government of Scotland had been continually exposed to those factions and convulsions which are incident to all barbarous, and to many civilized nations; and though the successions of their kings, the only part of their history which deserves any credit, had often been disordered by irregularities and usurpations, the true heir of the royal family had still in the end prevailed, and Alexander III. who had espoused the sister of Edward, probably inherited, after a period of about eight hundred years, and through a succession of males, the sceptre of all the Scottish princes who had governed the nation since its first establishment in the island. This prince died in 1286 by a fall from his horse at Kinghorn, without leaving any male issue, and without any descendant, except Margaret, born of Eric, king of Norway, and of Margaret, daughter of the Scottish monarch. This princess, commonly called the maid of Norway, though a female, and an infant, and a foreigner, yet being the lawful heir of the kingdom, had, through her grandfather's care, been recognised successor by the states of Scotland; and on Alexander's death, the dispositions which had been previously made against that event, appeared so just and prudent, that no disorders, as might naturally be apprehended, ensued in the kingdom. Margaret was acknowledged queen of Scotland; five guardians, the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the earls of Fife and Buchan, and James, steward of Scotland, entered peaceably upon the administration; and the infant princess, under the protection of Edward her great uncle, and Eric her father, who exerted themselves on this occasion, seemed firmly seated on the throne of Scotland. The English monarch was naturally led to build mighty projects on this incident; and having lately by force of arms brought Wales under subjection, he attempted, by the marriage of Margaret with his eldest son Edward, to unite the whole island into one monarchy, and thereby to give it security both against domestic convulsions and foreign invasions. The amity which had of late prevailed between the two nations, and

which, even in former times, had never been interrupted by any violent wars or injuries, facilitated extremely the execution of the project, so favourable to the happiness and grandeur of both kingdoms; and the states of Scotland readily gave their assent to the English proposals, and even agreed that their young sovereign should be educated in the court of Edward. Anxious, however, for the liberty and independency of their country, they took care to stipulate very equitable conditions, ere they entrusted themselves into the hands of so great and so ambitious a monarch. It was agreed that they should enjoy all their ancient laws, liberties, and customs; that in case young Edward and Margaret should die without issue, the crown of Scotland should revert to the next heir, and should be inherited by him free and independent; that the military tenants of the crown should never be obliged to go out of Scotland, in order to do homage to the sovereign of the united kingdoms, nor the chapters of cathedral, collegiate, or conventual churches, in order to make elections; that the parliaments summoned for Scottish affairs should always be held within the bounds of that kingdom; and that Edward should bind himself under the penalty of 100,000 marks, payable to the pope for the use of the holy wars, to observe all these articles. It is not easy to conceive that two nations could have treated more on a footing of equality than Scotland and England maintained during the whole course of this transaction: and though Edward gave his assent to this article concerning the future independency of the Scottish crown, with a *saving of his former rights*; this reserve gave no alarm to the nobility of Scotland, both because these rights, having hitherto been little heard of, had occasioned no disturbance, and because the Scots had so near a prospect of seeing them entirely absorbed in the rights of their sovereignty.

But this project, so happily formed, and so amicably conducted, failed of success, by the sudden death of the Norwegian princess, who expired on her passage to Scotland, and left a very dismal prospect to the kingdom. Though disorders were for the present obviated by the authority of the regency formerly established, the succession itself of the crown had now become an object of dispute; and the regents could not expect that a controversy, which is not usually decided by reason and argument alone, would be peaceably settled by them, or even by the states of the kingdom, amidst so many powerful pretenders. The posterity of William, king of Scotland, the prince taken prisoner by Henry II., being all extinct by the death of Margaret of Norway; the right to the crown devolved on the issue of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to William, whose male line being also extinct, left the succession open to the posterity of his daughters. The earl of Huntingdon had three daughters; Margaret, married to Alan, lord of Galloway, Isabella, wife of Robert Bruce or Bruce, lord of Annandale, and Adama, who espoused Henry lord Hastings. Margaret, the eldest of the sisters, left one daughter, Devergilda, married to John Baliol, by whom she had a son of the same name, one of the present competitors for the crown: Isabella, the second, bore a son, Robert Bruce, who was now alive, and who also insisted on his claim: Adama, the third, left a son, John Hastings, who pretended that the kingdom of Scotland, like many other inheritances, was divisible among the three daughters of the earl of Huntingdon, and that he in right of his mother,

had a title to a third of it. Baliol and Bruce united against Hastings, in maintaining that the kingdom was indivisible; but each of them, supported by plausible reasons, asserted the preference of his own title. Baliol was sprung from the elder branch: Bruce was one degree nearer the common stock: if the principle of representation was regarded, the former had the better claim: if propinquity was considered, the latter was entitled to the preference: the sentiments of men were divided: all the nobility had taken part on one side or the other: the people followed implicitly their leaders; the two claimants themselves had great power and numerous retainers in Scotland; and it is no wonder that, among a rude people, more accustomed to arms than inured to laws, a controversy of this nature, which could not be decided by any former precedent among them, and which is capable of exciting commotions in the most legal and best established governments, should threaten the state with the most fatal convulsions.

Each century has its peculiar mode in conducting business; and men, guided more by custom than by reason, follow without inquiry, the manners which are prevalent in their own time. The practice of that age, in controversies between states and princes, seems to have been to choose a foreign prince, as an equal arbiter, by whom the question was decided, and whose sentence prevented those dismal confusions and disorders, inseparable at all times from war, but which were multiplied a hundred fold, and dispersed into every corner, by the nature of the feudal governments. It was thus that the English king and barons, in the preceding reign, had endeavoured to compose their dissensions by a reference to the king of France; and the celebrated integrity of that monarch had prevented all the bad effects which might naturally have been dreaded from so perilous an expedient. It was thus that the kings of France and Arragon, and afterwards other princes had submitted their controversies to Edward's judgment, and the remoteness of their states, the great power of the princes, and the little interest which he had on either side, had induced him to acquit himself with honour in his decisions. The parliament of Scotland, therefore, threatened with a furious civil war, and allured by the great reputation of the English monarch, as well as by the present amicable correspondence between the kingdoms, agreed in making a reference to Edward; and Fraser, bishop of St. Andrews, with other deputies, was sent to notify to him their resolution, and to claim his good offices in the present dangers to which they were exposed. His inclination, they flattered themselves, led him to prevent their dissensions, and to interpose with a power which none of the competitors would dare to withstand: when this expedient was proposed by one party, the other deemed it dangerous to object to it: indifferent persons thought that the imminent perils of a civil war would thereby be prevented: and no one reflected on the ambitious character of Edward, and the almost certain ruin which must attend a small state, divided by faction, when it thus implicitly submits itself to the will of so powerful and encroaching a neighbour.

The temptation was too strong for the virtue of the English monarch to resist. He purposed to lay hold of the present favourable opportunity, and if not to create, at least to revive his claim of a feudal superiority over Scotland; a claim which had hitherto lain in the deepest obscurity, and which, if ever it had been an object of attention, or had been so much as suspected, would have effectually prevented



the Scottish barons from choosing him for an umpire. He well knew, that, if this pretension were once submitted to, as it seemed difficult, in the present situation of Scotland, to oppose it, the absolute sovereignty of that kingdom (which had been the case with Wales), would soon follow; and that one great vassal cooped up in an island with his liege lord, without resource from foreign powers, without aid from any fellow vassals, could not long maintain his dominions against the efforts of a mighty kingdom, assisted by all the cavils which the feudal law afforded his superior against him. In pursuit of this great object, very advantageous to England, perhaps in the end no less beneficial to Scotland, but extremely unjust and iniquitous in itself, Edward busied himself in searching for proofs of his pretended superiority; and instead of looking into his own archives, which, if his claim had been real, must have afforded him numerous records of the homages done by the Scottish princes, and could alone yield him any authentic testimony, he made all the monasteries be ransacked for old chronicles and histories written by Englishmen, and he collected all the passages which seemed anywise to favour his pretensions. Yet even in this method of proceeding, which must have discovered to himself the injustice of his claim, he was far from being fortunate. He began his proofs from the time of Edward the elder, and continued them through all the subsequent Saxon and Norman times; but produced nothing to his purpose. The whole amount of his authorities during the Saxon period, when stripped of the bombast and inaccurate style of the monkish historians, is, that the Scots had sometimes been defeated by the English, had received peace on disadvantageous terms, had made submissions to the English monarch, and had even perhaps fallen into some dependence on a power which was so much superior, and which they had not at that time sufficient force to resist. His authorities from the Norman period were, if possible, still less conclusive: the historians indeed make frequent mention of homage done by the northern potentate; but no one of them says it was done for his kingdom; and several of them declare, in express terms, that it was relative only to the fiefs which he enjoyed south of the Tweed; in the same manner as the king of England himself swore fealty to the French monarch, for the fiefs which he inherited in France. And to such scandalous shifts was Edward reduced, that he quotes a passage from Hoveden, where it is asserted, that a Scottish king had done homage to England; but he purposely omits the latter part of the sentence, which expresses that this prince did homage for the lands which he held in England.

When William, king of Scotland, was taken prisoner in the battle of Alnwick, he was obliged, for the recovery of his liberty, to swear fealty to the victor for his crown itself. The deed was performed according to all the rites of the feudal law, the record was preserved in the English archives, and is mentioned by all the historians: but as it is the only one of the kind, and as historians speak of this superiority as a great acquisition gained by the fortunate arms of Henry II., there can remain no doubt, that the kingdom of Scotland was, in all former periods, entirely free and independent. Its subjection continued a very few years: King Richard desirous, before his departure for the Holy Land, to conciliate the friendship of William, renounced that homage, which, he says in express terms, had been extorted by his father; and he only retained the usual ho-

mage which had been done by the Scottish prince for the lands which they held in England.

But though this transaction rendered the independence of Scotland still more unquestionable, than if no fealty had ever been sworn to the English crown; the Scottish kings, apprized of the point aimed at by their powerful neighbours, seem for a long time to have retained some jealousy on that head, and, in doing homage, to have anxiously obviated all such pretensions. When William, in 1200, did homage to John at Lincoln, he was careful to insert a salvo for his royal dignity: When Alexander III. sent assistance to his father-in-law Henry III. during the wars of the barons, he previously procured an acknowledgment, that this aid was granted only from friendship, not from any right claimed by the English monarch: and when the same prince was invited to assist at the coronation of this very Edward, he declined attendance, till he received a like acknowledgment.

But as all these reasons (and stronger could not be produced) were but a feeble rampart against the power of the sword, Edward, carrying with him a great army, which was to enforce his proofs, advanced to the frontiers, and invited the Scottish parliament, and all the competitors, to attend him in the castle of Norham, a place situated on the southern banks of the Tweed, in order to determine that cause which had been referred to his arbitration. But though this deference seemed due to so great a monarch, and was no more than what his father and the English barons had, in similar circumstances, paid to Lewis IX. the king, careful not to give umbrage, and determined never to produce his claim, till it should be too late to think of opposition, sent the Scottish barons an acknowledgment, that, though at that time they had passed the frontiers, this step should never be drawn into precedent, or afford the English kings a pretence for exacting a like submission in any future transaction. When the whole Scottish nation had thus unwarily put themselves in his power, Edward opened the conferences at Norham: he informed the parliament, by the mouth of Roger le Brabancon, his chief justiciary, that he was come thither to determine the right among the competitors to their crown; that he was determined to do strict justice to all parties; and that he was entitled to this authority, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of superior and liege lord of the kingdom. He then produced his proofs of this superiority, which he pretended to be unquestionable, and he required of them an acknowledgment of it; a demand which was superfluous if the fact were already known and avowed, and which plainly betrays Edward's consciousness of his lame and defective title. The Scottish parliament was astonished at so new a pretension, and answered only by their silence. But the king, in order to maintain the appearance of free and regular proceedings, desired them to remove into their own country, to deliberate upon his claim, to examine his proofs, to propose all their objections, and to inform him of their resolution: and he appointed a plain at Upsettleton, on the northern banks of the Tweed, for that purpose.

When the Scottish barons assembled in this place, though moved with indignation at the injustice of this unexpected claim, and at the fraud with which it had been conducted, they found themselves betrayed into a situation, in which it was impossible for them to make any defence for the ancient liberty and independence of their country. The king on

England, a martial and politic prince, at the head of a powerful army, lay at a very small distance, and was only separated from them by a river fordable in many places. Though by a sudden flight some of them might themselves be able to make their escape; what hopes could they entertain of securing the kingdom against his future enterprises? Without a head, without union among themselves, attached all of them to different competitors, whose title they had rashly submitted to the decision of this foreign usurper, and who were thereby reduced to an absolute dependence upon him; they could only expect, by resistance, to entail on themselves and their posterity a more grievous and more destructive servitude. Yet, even in this desperate state of their affairs, the Scottish barons, as we learn from Walsingham, one of the best historians of that period, had the courage to reply, that, till they had a king, they could take no resolution on so momentous a point: the journal of king Edward says, that they made no answer at all: that is, perhaps, no particular answer or objection to Edward's claim; and by this solution it is possible to reconcile the journal with the historian. The king, therefore, interpreting their silence as consent, addressed himself to the several competitors, and previously to his pronouncing sentence, required their acknowledgment of his superiority.

It is evident from the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland, that there could only be two questions about the succession, that between Baliol and Bruce on the one hand, and lord Hastings on the other, concerning the partition of the crown; and that between Baliol and Bruce themselves concerning the preference of their respective titles, supposing the kingdom indivisible: yet there appeared on this occasion no less than nine claimants besides; John Comyn or Cummin, lord of Badenoch, Florence, earl of Holland, Patric Dunbar, earl of March, William de Vescey, Robert de Pynkeni, Nicholas de Soules, Patric Galythly, Roger de Mandeville, Robert de Ross; not to mention the king of Norway, who claimed as heir to his daughter Margaret. Some of these competitors were descended from more remote branches of the royal family; others were even sprung from illegitimate children; and as none of them had the least pretence of right, it is natural to conjecture, that Edward had secretly encouraged them to appear in the list of claimants, that he might sow the more division among the Scottish nobility, make the cause appear the more intricate, and be able to choose, among a great number, the most obsequious candidate.

But he found them all equally obsequious on this occasion. Robert Bruce was the first that acknowledged Edward's right of superiority over Scotland; and he had so far foreseen the king's pretensions, that even in his petition, where he set forth his claim to the crown, he had previously applied to him as liege lord of the kingdom; a step which was not taken by any of the other competitors. They all, however, with seeming willingness, made a like acknowledgment when required; though Baliol, lest he should give offence to the Scottish nation, had taken care to be absent during the first days; and he was the last that recognized the king's title. Edward next deliberated concerning the method of proceeding in the discussion of this great controversy. He gave orders, that Baliol, and such of the competitors as adhered to him, should choose forty commissioners; Bruce and his adherents forty more: to these the king added twenty-four Englishmen: he ordered these hundred and four commissioners

to examine the cause deliberately among themselves, and make their report to him: and he promised in the ensuing year to give his determination. Meanwhile he pretended that it was requisite to have all the fortresses of Scotland delivered into his hands, in order to enable him, without opposition, to put the true heir in possession of the crown; and this exorbitant demand was complied with, both by the states and by the claimants. The governors also of all the castles immediately resigned their command; except Umfrville, earl of Angus, who refused, without a formal and particular acquittal from the parliament and the several claimants, to surrender his fortresses to so domineering an arbiter, who had given to Scotland so many just reasons of suspicion. Before this assembly broke up, which had fixed such a mark of dishonour on the nation, all the prelates and barons there present swore fealty to Edward; and that prince appointed commissioners to receive a like oath from all the other barons and persons of distinction in Scotland.

The king having finally made, as he imagined, this important acquisition, left the commissioners to sit at Berwick, and examine the titles of the several competitors who claimed the precarious crown, which Edward was willing for some time to allow the lawful heir to enjoy. He went southwards, both in order to assist at the funeral of his mother Queen Eleanor, who died about this time, and to compose some differences which had arisen among the principal nobility. Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, the greatest baron of the kingdom, had espoused the king's daughter; and being elated by that alliance, and still more by his own power, which, he thought, set him above the laws, he permitted his bailiffs and vassals to commit violence on the lands of Humphry Bohun, earl of Hereford, who retaliated the injury by like violence. But this was not a reign in which such illegal proceedings could pass with impunity. Edward procured a sentence against the two earls, committed them both to prison, and would not restore them to their liberty till he exacted a fine of 1000 marks from Hereford, and one of 10,000 from his son-in-law.

During this interval, the titles of John Baliol and of Robert Bruce, whose claims appeared to be the best founded among the competitors for the crown of Scotland, were the subject of general disquisition, as well as of debate among the commissioners. Edward, in order to give greater authority to his intended decision, proposed this general question both to the commissioners and to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe: whether a person descended from the eldest sister, but farther removed by one degree, were preferable, in the succession of kingdoms, fiefs, and other indivisible inheritances, to one descended from the younger sister, but one degree nearer to the common stock? This was the true state of the case; and the principle of representation had now gained so much ground every where, that a uniform answer was returned to the king in the affirmative. He therefore pronounced sentence in favour of Baliol; and when Bruce, upon this disappointment, joined afterwards Lord Hastings, and claimed a third of the kingdom, which he now pretended to be divisible, Edward, though his interest seemed more to require the partition of Scotland, again pronounced sentence in favour of Baliol. That competitor, upon renewing his oath of fealty to England, was put in possession of the kingdom; all his fortresses were restored to him; and the conduct of Edward, both in the deliberate solemnity of the proceedings, and



in the justice of the award, was so far unexceptionable.

Had the king entertained no other view than that of establishing his superiority over Scotland, though the iniquity of that claim was apparent, and was aggravated by the most egregious breach of trust, he might have fixed his pretensions, and have left that important acquisition to his posterity: but he immediately proceeded in such a manner, as made it evident, that, not content with this usurpation, he aimed also at the absolute sovereignty and dominion of the kingdom. Instead of gradually inuring the Scots to the yoke, and exerting his rights of superiority with moderation, he encouraged all appeals to England; required King John himself, by six different summons on trivial occasions, to come to London; refused him the privilege of defending his cause by a procurator; and obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private person. These humiliating demands were hitherto quite unknown to a king of Scotland: they are, however, the necessary consequence of vassalage by the feudal law; and as there was no preceding instance of such treatment submitted to by a prince of that country, Edward must, from that circumstance alone, had there remained any doubt, have been himself convinced that his claim was altogether an usurpation. But his intention plainly was to enrage Baliol by these indignities, to engage him in rebellion, and to assume the dominion of the state, as the punishment of his treason and felony. Accordingly Baliol, though a prince of a soft and gentle spirit, returned into Scotland highly provoked at this usage, and determined at all hazards to vindicate his liberty; and the war which soon after broke out between France and England gave him a favourable opportunity of executing his purpose.

The violence, robberies, and disorders, to which that age was so subject, were not confined to the licentious barons and their retainers at land: the sea was equally infested with piracy: the feeble execution of the laws had given licence to all orders of men; and a general appetite for rapine and revenge, supported by a false point of honour, had also infected the merchants and mariners; and it pushed them, on any provocation, to seek redress by immediate retaliation upon the aggressors. A Norman and an English vessel met off the coast near Bayonne; and both of them having occasion for water, they sent their boats to land, and the several crews came at the same time to the same spring: there ensued a quarrel for the preference: a Norman drawing his dagger, attempted to stab an Englishman; who grappling with him, threw his adversary on the ground; and the Norman, as was pretended, falling on his own dagger, was slain. This scuffle between two seamen about water, soon kindled a bloody war between the two nations, and involved a great part of Europe in the quarrel. The mariners of the Norman ship carried their complaints to the French king: Philip, without inquiring into the fact, without demanding redress, bade them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter. The Normans, who had been more regular than usual in applying to the crown, needed but this hint to proceed to immediate violence. They seized an English ship in the channel; and hanging, along with some dogs, several of the crew on the yard-arm, in presence of their companions, dismissed the vessel; and bade the mariners inform their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. This in-

jury, accompanied with so general and deliberate an insult, was resented by the mariners of the cinqueports, who, without carrying any complaint to the king, or waiting for redress, retaliated, by committing like barbarities on all French vessels without distinction. The French, provoked by their losses, preyed on the ships of all Edward's subjects, whether English or Gascon. The sea became a scene of piracy between the nations: the sovereigns, without either seconding or repressing the violence of their subjects, seemed to remain indifferent spectators: the English made private associations with the Irish and Dutch seamen; the French with the Flemish and Genoese: and the animosities of the people on both sides became every day more violent and barbarous. A fleet of two hundred Norman vessels set sail to the south for wine and other commodities; and in their passage seized all the English ships which they met with; hanged the seamen, and seized the goods. The inhabitants of the English sea-ports, informed of this incident, fitted out a fleet of sixty sail, stronger and better manned than the others, and awaited the enemy on their return. After an obstinate battle, they put them to rout, and sunk, destroyed, or took the greater part of them. No quarter was given; and it is pretended that the loss of the French amounted to fifteen thousand men: which is accounted for by this circumstance, that the Norman fleet was employed in transporting a considerable body of soldiers from the south.

The affair was now become too important to be any longer overlooked by the sovereigns. On Philip's sending an envoy to demand reparation and restitution, the king dispatched the bishop of London to the French court, in order to accommodate the quarrel. He first said that the English courts of justice were open to all men; and if any Frenchman were injured, he might seek reparation by course of law. He next offered to adjust the matter by private arbiters, or by a personal interview with the king of France, or by a reference either to the pope or the college of cardinals, or any particular cardinals agreed on by both parties. The French, probably the more disgusted as they were hitherto losers in the quarrel, refused all these expedients: The vessels and the goods of merchants were confiscated on both sides: depredations were continued by the Gascons on the western coast of France, as well as by the English in the channel: Philip cited the king, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for these offences: and Edward, apprehensive of danger to that province, sent John St. John, an experienced soldier, to Bourdeaux, and gave him directions to put Guienne in a posture of defence.

That he might, however, prevent a final rupture between the nations, the king dispatched his brother, Edmond, earl of Lancaster, to Paris; and as this prince had espoused the queen of Navarre, mother to Jane, queen of France, he seemed, on account of that alliance, the most proper person for finding expedients to accommodate the difference. Jane pretended to interpose with her good offices: Mary, the queen-dowager, feigned the same amicable disposition: And these two princesses told Edmond, that the circumstance the most difficult to adjust was the point of honour with Philip, who thought himself affronted by the injuries committed against him by his sub-vassals in Guienne: but if Edward would once consent to give him seizin and possession of that province, he would think his honour fully repaired, would engage to restore Guienne immedi-

ately, and would accept of a very easy satisfaction for all the other injuries. The king was consulted on the occasion; and as he then found himself in immediate danger of war with the Scots, which he regarded as the more important concern, this politic prince, blinded by his favourite passion for subduing that nation, allowed himself to be deceived by so gross an artifice. He sent his brother orders to sign and execute the treaty with the two queens: Philip solemnly promised to execute his part of it; and the king's citation to appear in the court of France was accordingly recalled: but the French monarch was no sooner put in possession of Guienne, than the citation was renewed; Edward was condemned for non-appearance; and Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown.

Edward, fallen into a like snare with that which he himself had spread for the Scots, was enraged; and the more so, as he was justly ashamed of his own conduct, in being so egregiously over-reached by the court of France. Sensible of the extreme difficulties which he should encounter in the recovery of Gascony, where he had not retained a single place in his hands, he endeavoured to compensate that loss, by forming alliances with several princes, who he projected should attack France on all quarters, and make a diversion of her forces. Adolphus de Nassau, king of the Romans, entered into a treaty with him for that purpose; as did also Amadeus, count of Savoy, the archbishop of Cologne, the counts of Gueldre and Luxembourg, the duke of Brabant and count of Barre, who had married his two daughters, Margaret and Eleanor: but these alliances were extremely burdensome to his narrow revenues, and proved in the issue entirely ineffectual. More impression was made on Guienne by an English army, which he completed by emptying the jails of many thousand thieves and robbers, who had been confined there for their crimes. So low had the profession of arms fallen, and so much had it degenerated from the estimation in which it stood during the vigour of the feudal system!

The king himself was detained in England, first by contrary winds, then by his apprehensions of a Scottish invasion, and by a rebellion of the Welsh, whom he repressed and brought again under subjection. The army, which he sent to Guienne, was commanded by his nephew, John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and under him by St. John, Tibetot, de Vere, and other officers of reputation: who made themselves masters of the town of Bayonne, as well as of Bourg, Blaye, Reole, St. Severe, and other places, which straitened Bourdeaux, and cut off its communication both by sea and land. The favour which the Gascon nobility bore to the English government facilitated these conquests, and seemed to promise still greater successes; but this advantage was soon lost by the misconduct of some of the officers. Philip's brother, Charles de Valois, who commanded the French armies, having laid siege to Podensac, a small fortress near Reole, obliged Giffard the governor to capitulate; and the articles, though favourable to the English, left all the Gascons prisoners at discretion, of whom about fifty were hanged by Charles as rebels: a policy by which he both intimidated that people, and produced an irreparable breach between them and the English. That prince immediately attacked Reole, where the earl of Richmond himself commanded; and as the place seemed not tenable, the English general drew his troops to the water-side, with an intention of

embarking with the greater part of the army. The enraged Gascons fell upon his rear, and at the same time opened their gates to the French, who, beside making themselves masters of the place, took many prisoners of distinction. St. Severe was more vigorously defended by Hugh de Vere, son of the earl of Oxford; but was at last obliged to capitulate. The French king not content with these successes in Gascony, threatened England with an invasion; and, by a sudden attempt, his troops took and burnt Dover, but were obliged soon after to retire. And in order to make a greater diversion of the English force, and engage Edward in dangerous and important wars, he formed a secret alliance with John Baliol, king of Scotland; the commencement of that strict union which during so many centuries was maintained by mutual interests and necessities between the French and Scottish nations. John confirmed this alliance, by stipulating a marriage between his eldest son and the daughter of Charles de Valois.

The expenses attending these multiplied wars of Edward, and his preparations for war, joined to alterations which had insensibly taken place in the general state of affairs, obliged him to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, introduced the lower orders of the state into the public councils, and laid the foundations of great and important changes in the government; for fuller particulars of which see the next Appendix.

Edward, conscious of the reasons of disgust which he had given to the king of Scots, informed of the dispositions of that people, and expecting the most violent effects of their resentment, which he knew he had so well merited, employed the supplies granted him by his people, in making preparations against the hostilities of his northern neighbour. When in this situation, he received intelligence of the treaty secretly concluded between John and Philip; and though uneasy at this concurrence of a French and Scottish war, he resolved not to encourage his enemies by a pusillanimous behaviour, or by yielding to their united efforts. He summoned John to perform the duty of a vassal, and to send him a supply of forces against an invasion from France, with which he was then threatened: he next required that the fortresses of Berwick, Jedborough, and Roxborough, should be put into his hands as a security during the war: he cited John to appear in an English parliament to be held at Newcastle; and when none of these successive demands were complied with, he marched northward with numerous forces, 30,000 foot and 4000 horse, to chastise his rebellious vassal. The Scottish nation, who had little reliance on the vigour and abilities of their prince, assigned him a council of twelve noblemen, in whose hands the sovereignty was really lodged, and who put the country in the best posture of which the present distractions would admit. A great army, composed of 40,000 infantry, though supported only by 500 cavalry, advanced to the frontiers; and after a fruitless attempt upon Carlisle, marched eastwards to defend those provinces which Edward was preparing to attack. But some of the most considerable of the Scottish nobles, Robert Bruce the father and son, the earls of March and Angus, prognosticating the ruin of their country, from the concurrence of intestine divisions and a foreign invasion, endeavoured here to ingratiate themselves with Edward, by an early submission; and the king, encouraged by this favourable incident, led his army into the enemies' country, and crossed the Tweed without



opposition at Coldstream. He then received a message from John, by which that prince, having now procured for himself and his nation Pope Celestine's dispensation from former oaths, renounced the homage which had been done to England, and set Edward at defiance. This bravado was but ill supported by the military operations of the Scots. Berwick was already taken by assault: Sir William Douglas, the governor, was made prisoner: above 7000 of the garrison were put to the sword; and Edward, elated by this great advantage, dispatched Earl Warrenne with 12,000 men, to lay siege to Dunbar, which was defended by the flower of the Scottish nobility.

The Scots, sensible of the importance of this place, which, if taken, laid their whole country open to the enemy, advanced with their main army, under the command of the earls of Buchan, Lenox, and Marre, in order to relieve it. Warrenne, not dismayed at the great superiority of their number, marched out to give them battle. He attacked them with great vigour; and as undisciplined troops, when numerous, are but the more exposed to a panic upon any alarm, he soon threw them into confusion, and chased them off the field with great slaughter. The loss of the Scots is said to have amounted to 20,000 men: the castle of Dunbar, with all its garrison, surrendered next day to Edward, who, after the battle, had brought up the main body of the English, and who now proceeded with an assured confidence of success. The castle of Roxburgh was yielded by James, steward of Scotland; and that nobleman, from whom is descended the royal family of Stuart, was again obliged to swear fealty to Edward. After a feeble resistance, the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates to the enemy. All the southern parts were instantly subdued by the English; and, to enable them the better to reduce the northern, whose inaccessible situation seemed to give them some more security, Edward sent for a strong reinforcement of Welsh and Irish, who, being accustomed to a desultory kind of war, were the best fitted to pursue the fugitive Scots into the recesses of their lakes and mountains. But the spirit of the nation was already broken by their misfortunes; and the feeble and timid Baliol, discontented with his own subjects, and overawed by the English, abandoned all those resources which his people might yet have possessed in this extremity. He hastened to make his submissions to Edward; he expressed the deepest penitence for his disloyalty to his liege lord; and he made a solemn and irrevocable resignation of his crown into the hands of that monarch. Edward marched northwards to Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy: no Scotchman approached him but to pay him submission and do him homage: even the turbulent Highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, and averse to the restraint of laws, endeavoured to prevent the devastation of their country, by giving him early proofs of obedience: and Edward, having brought the whole kingdom to a seeming state of tranquillity, returned to the south with his army. There was a stone, to which the popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration: all their kings were seated on it, when they received the rite of inauguration: an ancient tradition assured them, that, wherever this stone was placed, their nation should always govern: and it was carefully preserved at Scone, as the true paladium of their monarchy, and their ultimate resource amidst all their misfortunes. Edward got

possession of it; and carried it with him to England. He gave orders to destroy the records, and all those monuments of antiquity, which might preserve the memory of the independence of the kingdom, and refute the English claims of superiority. The Scots pretend, that he also destroyed all the annals preserved in their convents: but it is not probable, that a nation, so rude and unpolished, should be possessed of any history which deserves much to be regretted. The great seal of Baliol was broken; and that prince himself was carried prisoner to London, and committed to custody in the Tower. Two years after, he was restored to liberty, and submitted to a voluntary banishment in France; where, without making any farther attempts for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private station. Earl Warrenne was left governor of Scotland: Englishmen were entrusted with the chief offices; and Edward, flattering himself that he had attained the end of all his wishes, and that the numerous acts of fraud and violence, which he had practised against Scotland, had terminated in the final reduction of that kingdom, returned with his victorious army into England.

An attempt, which he made about the same time, for the recovery of Guienne, was not equally successful. He sent thither an army of 7000 men, under the command of his brother the earl of Lancaster. That prince gained at first some advantages over the French at Bourdeaux; but he was soon after seized with a distemper, of which he died at Bayonne. The command devolved on the earl of Lincoln, who was not able to perform any thing considerable during the rest of the campaign.

But the active and ambitious spirit of Edward, while his conquests brought such considerable accessions to the English monarchy, could not be satisfied, so long as Guienne, the ancient patrimony of his family, was wrested from him by the dishonest artifices of the French monarch. Finding that the distance of that province rendered all his efforts against it feeble and uncertain, he purposed to attack France in a quarter where she appeared more vulnerable; and with this view he married his daughter Elizabeth to John, earl of Holland, and at the same time contracted an alliance with Guy, earl of Flanders, stipulated to pay him the sum of 75,000 pounds, and projected an invasion, with their united forces, upon Philip, their common enemy. He hoped that, when he himself, at the head of the English, Flemish, and Dutch armies, reinforced by his German allies, to whom he had promised or remitted considerable sums, should enter the frontiers of France, and threaten the capital itself, Philip would at last be obliged to relinquish his acquisitions, and purchase peace by the restitution of Guienne. But, in order to set this great machine in movement, considerable supplies were requisite from the parliament; and Edward, without much difficulty, obtained from the barons and knights a new grant of a twelfth of all their moveables, and from the boroughs, that of an eighth. The great and almost unlimited power of the king over the latter, enabled him to throw the heavier part of the burthen on them; and the prejudices which he seems always to have entertained against the church, on account of the former zeal of the clergy for the Montfort faction, made him resolve to load them with still more considerable impositions, and he required of them a fifth of their moveables. But he here met with an opposition, which for some time disconcerted all his measures, and engaged him in enterprises that were

somewhat dangerous to him; and would have proved fatal to any of his predecessors.

Boniface VIII. who had succeeded Celestine in the papal throne, was a man of the most lofty and enterprising spirit; and, though not endowed with that severity of manners which commonly accompanies ambition in men of his order, he was determined to carry the authority of the tiara, and his dominion over the temporal power, to as great a height as it had ever attained in any former period. Sensible that his immediate predecessors, by oppressing the church in every province of Christendom, had extremely alienated the affections of the clergy, and had afforded the civil magistrate a pretence for laying like impositions on ecclesiastical revenues, he attempted to resume the former station of the sovereign pontiff, and to establish himself as the common protector of the spiritual order against all invaders. For this purpose, he issued very early in his pontificate a general bull, prohibiting all princes from levying, without his consent, any taxes upon the clergy, and all clergymen from submitting to such impositions; and he threatened both of them with the penalties of excommunication in case of disobedience. This important edict is said to have been procured by the solicitation of Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, who intended to employ it as a rampart against the violent extortions which the church had felt from Edward, and the still greater, which that prince's multiplied necessities gave them reason to apprehend. When a demand, therefore, was made on the clergy of a fifth of their moveables, a tax which was probably much more grievous than a fifth of their revenue, as their lands were mostly stocked with their cattle, and cultivated by their villains; the clergy took shelter under the bull of Pope Boniface, and pleaded conscience in refusing compliance. The king came not immediately to extremities on this repulse; but, after locking up all their granaries and barns, and prohibiting all rent to be paid them, he appointed a new synod, to confer with him upon his demand. The primate, not dismayed by these proofs of Edward's resolution, here plainly told him, that the clergy owed obedience to two sovereigns, their spiritual and their temporal; but their duty bound them to a much stricter attachment to the former than to the latter: they could not comply with his commands (for such, in some measure, the requests of the crown were then deemed), in contradiction to the express prohibition of the sovereign pontiff.

The clergy had seen, in many instances, that Edward paid little regard to those numerous privileges, on which they set so high a value. He had formerly seized, in an arbitrary manner, all the money and plate belonging to the churches and convents, and had applied them to the public service; and they could not but expect more violent treatment on this sharp refusal, grounded on such dangerous principles. Instead of applying to the pope for a relaxation of his bull, he resolved immediately to employ the power in his hands; and he told the ecclesiastics, that, since they refused to support the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it; and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws. This vigorous measure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were issued to the judges to receive no cause brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants: to do every man justice against them; to do them justice against nobody. The ecclesiastics soon found

themselves in the most miserable situation imaginable. They could not remain in their own houses or convents for want of subsistence: if they went abroad in quest of maintenance, they were dismounted, robbed of their horses and clothes, abused by every ruffian, and no redress could be obtained by them for the most violent injury. The primate himself was attacked on the highway, was stripped of his equipage and furniture, and was at last reduced to board himself, with a single servant, in the house of a country clergyman. The king, meanwhile, remained an indifferent spectator of all these violences; and, without employing his officers in committing any immediate injury on the priests, which might have appeared invidious and oppressive, he took ample vengeance on them for their obstinate refusal of his demands. Though the archbishop issued a general sentence of excommunication against all who attacked the persons or property of ecclesiastics, it was not regarded: while Edward enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the people become the voluntary instruments of his justice against them, and inure themselves to throw off that respect for the sacred order, by which they had been so long overawed and governed.

The spirits of the clergy were at last broken by this harsh treatment. Besides that the whole province of York, which lay nearest the danger that still hung over them from the Scots, voluntarily, from the first, voted a fifth of their moveables; the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and some others, made a composition for the secular clergy within their dioceses; and they agreed not to pay the fifth, which would have been an act of disobedience to Boniface's bull, but to deposit a sum equivalent in some church appointed them; whence it was taken by the king's officers. Many particular convents and clergymen made payment of a like sum, and received the king's protection. Those who had not ready money, entered into recognizances for the payment. And there was scarcely found one ecclesiastic in the kingdom, who seemed willing to suffer, for the sake of religious privileges, this new species of martyrdom, the most tedious and languishing of any, the most mortifying to spiritual pride, and not rewarded by that crown of glory, which the church holds up, with such ostentation, to her devoted adherents.

But as the money granted by parliament, though considerable, was not sufficient to supply the king's necessities, and that levied by compositions with the clergy came in slowly, Edward was obliged, for the obtaining of farther supply, to exert his arbitrary power, and to lay an oppressive hand on all orders of men in the kingdom. He limited the merchants in the quantity of wool allowed to be exported; and at the same time forced them to pay him a duty of forty shillings a sack, which was computed to be above the third of the value. He seized all the rest of the wool, as well as all the leather of the kingdom, into his hands, and disposed of these commodities for his own benefit: he required the sheriffs of each county to supply him with 2000 quarters of wheat, and as many oats, which he permitted them to seize wherever they could find them: the cattle and other commodities necessary for supplying his army were laid hold of without the consent of the owners; and though he promised to pay afterwards the equivalent of all these goods, men saw but little probability that a prince, who submitted so little to the limitations of law, could ever, amidst his multiplied necessities, be reduced to a strict observance of his engagements. He showed, at the same time,



an equal disregard to the principles of the feudal law, by which all the lands of the kingdom were held: in order to increase his army, and enable him to support that great effort which he intended to make against France, he required the attendance of every proprietor of land possessed of twenty pounds a year, even though he held not of the crown, and was not obliged by his tenure to perform any such service.

These acts of violence and of arbitrary power, notwithstanding the great personal regard generally borne to the king, bred murmurs in every order of men; and it was not long ere some of the great nobility, jealous of their own privileges as well as of national liberty, gave countenance and authority to these complaints. Edward assembled on the sea-coast an army, which he purposed to send over to Gascony, while he himself should in person make an impression on the side of Flanders; and he intended to put these forces under the command of Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford, the constable, and Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, the mareschal of England. But these two powerful earls refused to execute his commands, and affirmed, that they were only obliged by their office to attend his person in the wars. A violent altercation ensued; and the king, in the height of his passion, addressing himself to the constable, exclaimed, "Sir earl, by God, you shall either go or hang." "By God, Sir king," replied Hereford, "I will neither go nor hang." And he immediately departed, with the mareschal, and above thirty other considerable barons.

Upon this opposition, the king laid aside the project of an expedition against Guienne; and assembled the forces which he himself purposed to transport into Flanders. But the two earls, irritated in the contest, and elated by impunity, pretending that none of their ancestors had ever served in that country, refused to perform the duty of their office in mustering the army. The king, now finding it advisable to proceed with moderation, instead of attainting the earls, who possessed their dignities by hereditary right, appointed Thomas de Berkeley, and Geoffrey de Geyneville, to act, in that emergency, as constable and mareschal. He endeavoured to reconcile himself with the church; took the primate again into favour; made him, in conjunction with Reginald de Grey, tutor to the prince, whom he intended to appoint guardian of the kingdom during his absence; and he even assembled a great number of the nobility in Westminster-hall, to whom he deigned to make an apology for his past conduct. He pleaded the urgent necessities of the crown; his extreme want of money; his engagements from honour as well as interest to support his foreign allies: and he promised, if ever he returned in safety to redress all their grievances, to restore the execution of the laws, and to make all his subjects compensation for the losses which they had sustained. Meanwhile, he begged them to suspend their animosities; to judge of him by his future conduct, of which, he hoped, he should be more master; to remain faithful to his government, or, if he perished in the present war, to preserve their allegiance to his son and successor.

There were certainly, from the concurrence of discontents among the great, and grievances of the people, materials sufficient in any other period to have kindled a civil war in England: but the vigour and abilities of Edward kept every one in awe; and his dexterity, in stopping on the brink of danger, and retracting the measures to which he had been

pushed by his violent temper and arbitrary principles, saved the nation from so great a calamity. The two great earls dared not to break out into open violence: they proceeded no farther than framing a remonstrance, which was delivered to the king at Winchelsea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. They there complained of the violations of the Great Charter and that of forests; the violent seizures of corn, leather, cattle, and above all, of wool, a commodity which they affirmed to be equal in value to half the lands of the kingdom: the arbitrary imposition of forty shillings a sack on the small quantity of wool allowed to be exported by the merchants; and they claimed an immediate redress of all these grievances. The king told them that the greater part of his council were now at a distance, and without their advice he could not deliberate on measures of so great importance.

But the constable and mareschal, with the barons of their party, resolved to take advantage of Edward's absence, and to obtain an explicit assent to their demands. When summoned to attend the parliament at London, they came with a great body of cavalry and infantry; and before they would enter the city, required that the gates should be put into their custody. The primate, who secretly favoured all their pretensions, advised the council to comply; and thus they became masters both of the young prince and of the resolutions of parliament. Their demands, however, were moderate; and such as sufficiently justify the purity of their intentions in all their past measures: they only required, that the two charters should receive a solemn confirmation: that a clause should be added to secure the nation for ever against all impositions and taxes without consent of parliament; and that they themselves and their adherents, who had refused to attend the king into Flanders should be pardoned for the offence, and should be again received into favour. The prince of Wales and his council assented to these terms; and the charters were sent over to the king in Flanders to be there confirmed by him. Edward felt the utmost reluctance to this measure, which, he apprehended, would for the future impose fetters on his conduct, and set limits to his lawless authority. On various pretences he delayed three days in giving any answer to the deputies; and when the pernicious consequences of his refusal were represented to him, he was at last obliged, after many internal struggles, to affix his seal to the charters, as also to the clause that bereaved him of the power, which he had hitherto assumed, of imposing arbitrary taxes upon the people.

That we may finish at once this interesting transaction concerning the settlement of the charters, we shall briefly mention the subsequent events which relate to it. The constable and mareschal, informed of the king's compliance, were satisfied; and not only ceased from disturbing the government, but assisted the regency with their power against the Scots, who had risen in arms, and had thrown off the yoke of England. But being sensible, that the smallest pretence would suffice to make Edward retract these detested laws, which, though they had often received the sanction both of king and parliament, and had been acknowledged during three reigns, were never yet deemed to have sufficient validity; they insisted, that he should again confirm them on his return to England, and should thereby renounce all plea which he might derive from his residing in a foreign country, when he formerly affixed his seal to them. It appeared that they

judged aright of Edward's character and intentions: he delayed his confirmation as long as possible; and when the fear of worse consequences obliged him again to comply, he expressly added a salvo for his royal dignity or prerogative, which in effect enervated the whole force of the charters. The two earls and their adherents left the parliament in disgust; and the king was constrained, on a future occasion, to grant to the people, without any subterfuge, a pure and absolute confirmation of those laws, which were so much the object of their passionate affection. Even farther securities were then provided for the establishment of national privileges. Three knights were appointed to be chosen in each county, and were invested with the power of punishing, by fine and imprisonment, every transgression or violation of the charters: a precaution which, though it was soon disused, as encroaching too much on the royal prerogative, proves the attachment which the English, in that age, bore to liberty, and their well-grounded jealousy of the arbitrary disposition of Edward.

The work, however, was not yet entirely finished and complete. In order to execute the lesser charter, it was requisite by new perambulations, to set bounds to the royal forests, and to disafforest all land which former encroachments had comprehended within their limits. Edward discovered the same reluctance to comply with this equitable demand; and it was not till after many delays on his part, and many solicitations and requests, and even menaces of war and violence on the part of the barons, that the perambulations were made, and exact boundaries fixed, by a jury in each county, to the extent of his forests. Had not his ambitious and active temper raised him so many foreign enemies, and obliged him to have recourse so often to the assistance of his subjects, it is not likely that those concessions could ever have been extorted from him.

But while the people, after so many successful struggles, deemed themselves happy in the secure possession of their privileges, they were surprised, in 1305, to find that Edward had secretly applied to Rome, and had procured, from that mercenary court, an absolution from all the oaths and engagements, which he had so often reiterated, to observe both the charters. There are some historians so credulous as to imagine, that this perilous step was taken by him for no other purpose than to acquire the merit of granting a new confirmation of the charters, as he did soon after; and a confirmation so much the more unquestionable, as it could never after be invalidated by his successors, on pretence of any force or violence which had been imposed upon him. But besides that this might have been done with a better grace, if he had never applied for any such absolution, the whole tenor of his conduct proves him to be little susceptible of such refinements in patriotism; and this very deed itself, in which he anew confirmed the charters, carries on the face of it a very opposite presumption. Though he ratified the charters in general, he still took advantage of the papal bull so far as to invalidate the late perambulations of the forests, which had been made with such care and attention, and to reserve to himself the power, in case of favourable incidents, to extend as much as formerly those arbitrary jurisdictions. If the power was not in fact made use of, we can only conclude that the favourable incidents did not offer.

Thus, after the contests of near a whole century, and these ever accompanied with violent jealousies, often with public convulsions, the Great Charter

was finally established; and the English nation have the honour of extorting, by their perseverance this concession from the ablest, the most warlike, and the most ambitious of all their princes. It is computed, that above thirty confirmations of the charter were at different times required of several kings, and granted by them, in full parliament; a precaution which, while it discovers some ignorance of the true nature of law and government, proves a laudable jealousy of national privileges in the people, and an extreme anxiety lest contrary precedents should ever be pleaded as an authority for infringing them. Accordingly we find, that, though arbitrary practices often prevailed, and were even able to establish themselves in settled customs, the validity of the Great Charter was never afterwards formally disputed; and that grant was still regarded as the basis of English government, and the sure rule by which the authority of every custom was to be tried and canvassed. The jurisdiction of the Star-chamber, martial law, imprisonment by warrants from the privy-council, and other practices of a like nature, though established for several centuries, were scarcely ever allowed by the English to be parts of their constitution: the affection of the nation for liberty still prevailed over all precedent, and even all political reasoning: the exercise of these powers, after being long the source of secret murmurs among the people, was, in fullness of time, solemnly abolished as illegal, at least as oppressive, by the whole legislative authority.

To return to the period from which this account of the charters has led us: though the king's impatience to appear at the head of his armies in Flanders made him overlook all considerations, either of domestic discontents or of commotions among the Scots; his embarkation had been so long retarded by the various obstructions thrown in his way, that he lost the proper season for action, and after his arrival made no progress against the enemy. The king of France, taking advantage of his absence, had broken into the Low Countries; had defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes; had made himself master of Lisle, St. Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres; and seemed in a situation to take full vengeance on the earl of Flanders, his rebellious vassal. But Edward, seconded by an English army of 50,000 men (for this is the number assigned by historians), was able to stop the career of his victories; and Philip, finding all the weak resources of his kingdom already exhausted, began to dread a reverse of fortune, and to apprehend an invasion on France itself. The king of England, on the other hand, disappointed of assistance from Adolph, king of the Romans, which he had purchased at a very high price, and finding many urgent calls for his presence in England, was desirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war which served only to divert his force from the execution of more important projects. This disposition in both monarchs soon produced a cessation of hostilities for two years; and engaged them to submit their differences to the arbitration of Pope Boniface.

Boniface was among the last of the sovereign pontiffs that exercised an authority over the temporal jurisdiction of princes; and these exorbitant pretensions, which he had been tempted to assume from the successful example of his predecessors, but of which the season was now past, involved him in so many calamities, and were attended with so unfortunate a catastrophe, that they have been secretly abandoned, though never openly relinquished, by



his successors in the apostolic chair. Edward and Philip, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to insert in their reference, that Boniface was made judge of the difference by their consent, as a private person, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without seeming to be offended at this mortifying clause, proceeded to give a sentence between them, in which they both acquiesced. He brought them to agree that their union should be cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himself, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister, and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was likewise willing to restore Guienne to the English, which he had indeed no good pretence to detain; but he insisted that the Scots, and their king John Baliol, should, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and should be restored to their liberty. The difference, after several disputes, was compromised, by their making mutual sacrifices to each other. Edward agreed to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip should treat in like manner his ally the king of Scots. The prospect of conquering these two countries, whose situation made them so commodious an acquisition to the respective kingdoms, prevailed over all other considerations; and though they were both finally disappointed in their hopes, their conduct was very reconcilable to the principles of an interested policy. This was the first specimen which the Scots had of the French alliance, and which was exactly conformable to what a smaller power must always expect, when it blindly attaches itself to the will and fortunes of a greater. That unhappy people, now engaged in a brave though unequal contest for their liberties, were totally abandoned by the ally, in whom they reposed their final confidence, to the will of an imperious conqueror.

Though England, as well as other European countries was, in its ancient state, very ill qualified for making, and still worse for maintaining, conquests, Scotland was so much inferior in its internal force, and was so ill situated for receiving foreign succours, that it is no wonder Edward, an ambitious monarch, should have cast his eye on so tempting an acquisition, which brought both security and greatness to his native country. But the instruments whom he employed to maintain his dominion over the northern kingdom were not happily chosen; and acted not with the requisite prudence and moderation in reconciling the Scottish nation to a yoke which they bore with such extreme reluctance. Warrenne, retiring into England, on account of his bad state of health, left the administration entirely in the hands of Ormesby, who was appointed justiciary of Scotland, and Cressingham, who bore the office of treasurer; and a small military force remained to secure the precarious authority of those ministers. The latter had no other object than the amassing of money by rapine and injustice: the former distinguished himself by the rigour and severity of his temper: and both of them treating the Scots as a conquered people, made them sensible too early of the grievous servitude into which they had fallen. As Edward required that all the proprietors of land should swear fealty to him: every one who refused or delayed giving this testimony of submission, was outlawed and imprisoned, and punished without mercy; and the bravest and most generous spirits of the nation were thus exasperated to the highest degree against the English government.

There was one William Wallace, of a small fortune, but descended of an ancient family in the west

of Scotland, whose courage prompted him to undertake, and enabled him finally to accomplish, the desperate attempt of delivering his native country from the dominion of foreigners. This man, whose valorous exploits are the object of just admiration, but have been much exaggerated by the traditions of his countrymen, had been provoked by the insolence of an English officer to put him to death; and finding himself obnoxious on that account to the severity of the administration, he fled into the woods, and offered himself as a leader to all those whom their crimes, or bad fortune, or avowed hatred of the English, had reduced to a like necessity. He was endowed with gigantic force of body, with heroic courage of mind, with disinterested magnanimity, with incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons; and he soon acquired, among those desperate fugitives, that authority to which his virtues so justly entitled him. Beginning with small attempts, in which he was always successful, he gradually proceeded to more momentous enterprises; and he discovered equal caution in securing his followers, and valour in annoying the enemy. By his knowledge of the country he was enabled, when pursued, to ensure a retreat among the morasses, or forests, or mountains; and again collecting his dispersed associates, he unexpectedly appeared in another quarter, and surprised, and routed, and put to the sword the unwary English. Every day brought accounts of his great actions, which were received with no less favour by his countrymen than terror by the enemy: all those who thirsted after military fame were desirous to partake of his renown: his successful valour seemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy into which it had fallen, by its tame submission to the English: and though no nobleman of note ventured as yet to join his party, he had gained a general confidence and attachment, which birth and fortune are not alone able to confer.

Wallace having, by many fortunate enterprises, brought the valour of his followers to correspond to his own, resolved to strike a decisive blow against the English government; and he concerted the plan of attacking Ormesby at Scoon, and of taking vengeance on him for all the violence and tyranny of which he had been guilty. The justiciary, apprised of his intentions, fled hastily into England: and all the other officers of that nation imitated his example: their terror added alacrity and courage to the Scots, who betook themselves to arms in every quarter: many of the principal barons, and among the rest Sir William Douglas, openly countenanced Wallace's party: Robert Bruce secretly favoured and promoted the same cause: and the Scots, shaking off their fetters, prepared themselves to defend, by an united effort, that liberty which they had so unexpectedly recovered from the hands of their oppressors.

But Warrenne, collecting an army of 40,000 men in the north of England, determined to re-establish his authority; and he endeavoured, by the celerity of his armament and of his march, to compensate for his past negligence, which had enabled the Scots to throw off the English government. He suddenly entered Annandale, and came up with the enemy at Irvine, before their forces were fully collected, and before they had put themselves in a posture of defence. Many of the Scottish nobles, alarmed with their dangerous situation, here submitted to the English, renewed their oaths of fealty, promised to deliver hostages for their good behaviour, and received

a pardon for past offences. Others who had not yet declared themselves, such as the steward of Scotland and the earl of Lenox, joined, though with reluctance, the English army; and waited a favourable opportunity for embracing the cause of their distressed countrymen. But Wallace, whose authority over his retainers was more fully confirmed by the absence of the great nobles, persevered obstinately in his purpose; and finding himself unable to give battle to the enemy, he marched northwards, with an intention of prolonging the war, and of turning to his advantage the situation of that mountainous and barren country. When Warrenne advanced to Stirling, he found Wallace encamped at Cambuskenneth, on the opposite banks of the Forth; and being continually urged by the impatient Cressingham, who was actuated both by personal and national animosities against the Scots, he prepared to attack them in that position, which, Wallace, no less prudent than courageous, had chosen for his army. In spite of the remonstrances of Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotchman of birth and family, who sincerely adhered to the English, he ordered his army to pass a bridge which lay over the Forth: but he was soon convinced, by fatal experience, of the error of his conduct. Wallace, allowing such numbers of the English to pass as he thought proper, attacked them before they were fully formed, put them to rout, pushed part of them into the river, destroyed the rest by the edge of the sword, and gained a complete victory over them. Among the slain was Cressingham himself, whose memory was so extremely odious to the Scots, that they flayed his dead body, and made saddles and girths of his skin. Warrenne, finding the remainder of his army much dismayed by this misfortune, was obliged again to evacuate the kingdom, and retire into England. The castles of Roxborough and Berwick, ill fortified and feebly defended, fell soon after into the hands of the Scots.

Wallace, universally revered as the deliverer of his country, now received from the hands of his followers the dignity of regent or guardian under the captive Baliol; and finding that the disorders of war, as well as the unfavourable seasons, had produced a famine in Scotland, he urged his army to march into England, to subsist at the expense of the enemy, and to revenge all past injuries, by retaliating on that hostile nation. The Scots, who deemed every thing possible under such a leader, joyfully attended his call. Wallace, breaking into the northern counties during the winter season, laid every place waste with fire and sword; and after extending on all sides, without opposition, the fury of his ravages as far as the bishopric of Durham, he returned, loaded with spoils, and crowned with glory, into his own country. The disorders which at that time prevailed in England, from the refractory behaviour of the constable and mareschal, made it impossible to collect an army sufficient to resist the enemy, and exposed the nation to this loss and dishonour.

But Edward, who received in Flanders intelligence of these events, and had already concluded a truce with France, now hastened over to England, in certain hopes, by his activity and valour, not only of wiping off this disgrace, but of recovering the important conquest of Scotland, which he always regarded as the chief glory and advantage of his reign. He appeased the murmurs of his people by concessions and promises: he restored to the citizens of London the election of their own magistrates, of which they had been bereaved in the latter part of

his father's reign: he ordered strict inquiry to be made concerning the corn and other goods which had been violently seized before his departure, as if he intended to pay the value to the owners: and making public professions of confirming and observing the charters, he regained the confidence of the discontented nobles. Having by all these popular arts rendered himself entirely master of his people, he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland, and marched with an army of near a hundred thousand combatants to the northern frontiers.

Nothing could have enabled the Scots to resist but for one season so mighty a power, except an entire union among themselves; but as they were deprived of their king, whose personal qualities, even when he was present, appeared so contemptible, and had left among his subjects no principle of attachment to him or his family, factions, jealousies, and animosities unavoidably arose among the great, and distracted all their councils. The elevation of Wallace, though purchased by so great merit and such eminent services, was the object of envy to the nobility, who repined to see a private gentleman raised above them by his rank, and still more by his glory and reputation. Wallace himself, sensible of their jealousy, and dreading the ruin of his country from those intestine discords, voluntarily resigned his authority, and retained only the command over that body of his followers, who, being accustomed to victory under his standard, refused to follow into the field any other leader. The chief power devolved on the steward of Scotland, and Comyn of Badenoch; men of eminent birth, under whom the great chieftains were more willing to serve in defence of their country.

Turner gives the following account of Comyn:—"Baliol's sister left a son, named John Comyn, who had been made the guardian of Scotland, and leader of her armies against Edward. He was the representative of the rights of Baliol, which had been decreed to be antecedent to those of Bruce. The claims of Bruce had descended to his grandson, Robert Bruce; and thus Comyn and Robert Bruce stood in the same competition of right to the crown of Scotland which their ancestors Baliol and the first Bruce had maintained."

The two Scottish commanders, collecting their several forces from every quarter, fixed their station at Falkirk, and purposed there to abide the assault of the English. Wallace was at the head of a third body, which acted under his command. The Scottish army placed their pikemen along the front: lined the intervals between the three bodies with archers: and dreading the great superiority of the English in cavalry, endeavoured to secure their front by pallisadoes, tied together by ropes. In this disposition they expected the approach of the enemy.

The following instance of Edward's personal heroism, and the habits of those who wished really to be deemed warriors, is given by Turner:—"In the moor near Linthligow, he (Edward) halted them (his troops), for the night. They rested on the bare earth, their shields their pillows, their armour their bed, and their horses held, unbated, near them. As the king was sleeping, his war horse struck his side with his hoof, and broke two of his ribs. An alarm spread that the king was hurt; treason was suspected and charged; and a panic might have dispersed the English army, if Edward, subduing his sensations of pain, had not placed himself in his saddle, and re



assured his troops of his presence. At dawn they marched straight to Falkirk, and beheld the Scottish army. The king wished to refresh his troops with food, but was reminded that only a little brook separated the two armies. He saw the judgment of the remark, and he ordered the attack."

Hume continues:—"The king was pleased with the prospect of being able, by one decisive stroke, to determine the fortune of war; and dividing his army also into three bodies, he led them to the attack. The English archers, who began about this time to surpass those of other nations, first chased the Scottish bowmen off the field; then pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, who were cooped up within their intrenchments, threw them into disorder, and rendered the assault of the English pikemen and cavalry more easy and successful. The whole Scottish army was broken, and chased off the field with great slaughter; which the historians, attending more to the exaggerated relations of the populace than to the probability of things, make amount to fifty or sixty thousand men. It is only certain that the Scots never suffered a greater loss in any action, nor one which seemed to threaten more inevitable ruin to their country. Turner says the more probable account stated 20,000.

In this general rout of the army, Wallace's military skill and presence of mind enabled him to keep his troops entire; and retiring behind the Carron, he marched leisurely along the banks of that small river, which protected him from the enemy. Young Bruce, who had already given many proofs of his aspiring genius, but who served hitherto in the English army, appeared on the opposite banks; and distinguishing the Scottish chief, as well by his majestic port, as by the intrepid activity of his behaviour, called out to him, and desired a short conference. He here represented to Wallace the fruitless and ruinous enterprise in which he was engaged; and endeavoured to bend his inflexible spirit to submission under superior power and superior fortune: he insisted on the unequal contest between a weak state, deprived of its head and agitated by intestine discord, and a mighty nation, conducted by the ablest and most martial monarch of the age, and possessed of every resource either for protracting the war, or for pushing it with vigour and activity: if the love of his country were his motive for perseverance, his obstinacy tended only to prolong her misery; if he carried his views to private grandeur and ambition, he might reflect that, even if Edward should withdraw his armies, it appeared from past experience, that so many haughty nobles, proud of the pre-eminence of their families, would never submit to personal merit, whose superiority they were less inclined to regard as an object of admiration, than as a reproach and injury to themselves. To these exhortations Wallace replied, that, if he had hitherto acted alone as the champion of his country, it was solely because no second or competitor, or what he rather wished, no leader had yet appeared to place himself in that honourable station: that the blame lay entirely on the nobility, and chiefly on Bruce himself, who, uniting personal merit to dignity of family, had deserted the post which both nature and fortune, by such powerful calls, invited him to assume; that the Scots, possessed of such a head, would, by their unanimity and concord, have surmounted the chief difficulty under which they now laboured, and might hope, notwithstanding their present losses, to oppose successfully all the powers and abilities of Edward: that heaven itself could

not set a more glorious prize before their eyes either of virtue or ambition, than to join in one object, the acquisition of royalty with the defence of national independence: and that as the interests of his country, more than those of a brave man, could never be sincerely cultivated by a sacrifice of liberty, he himself was determined, as far as possible, to prolong not her misery but her freedom, and was desirous that his own life, as well as the existence of the nation, might terminate, when they could no otherwise be preserved than by receiving the chains of a haughty victor. The gallantry of these sentiments, though delivered by an armed enemy, struck the generous mind of Bruce: the flame was conveyed from the breast of one hero to that of another: he repented of his engagements with Edward; and opening his eyes to the honourable path pointed out to him by Wallace, secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of embracing the cause, however desperate, of his oppressed country. This story is told by all the Scotch writers; though it must be owned that Trivet and Hemingford, authors of good credit, both agree that Bruce was not at that time in Edward's army.

The subjection of Scotland, notwithstanding this great victory of Edward, was not yet entirely completed. The English army, after reducing the southern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of provisions; and left the northern counties in the hands of the natives. The Scots, no less enraged at their present defeat, than elated by their past victories, still maintained the contest for liberty; but being fully sensible of the great inferiority of their force, they endeavoured, by applications to foreign courts, to procure to themselves some assistance. The supplications of the Scottish ministers were rejected by Philip; but were more successful with the court of Rome. Boniface, pleased with an occasion of exerting his authority, wrote a letter to Edward, exhorting him to put a stop to his oppressions in Scotland, and displaying all the proofs, such as they had probably been furnished him by the Scots themselves, for the ancient independence of that kingdom. Among other arguments, hinted at above, he mentioned the treaty conducted and finished by Edward himself, for the marriage of his son with the heiress of Scotland; a treaty which would have been absurd, had he been superior lord of the kingdom, and had possessed, by the feudal law, the right of disposing of his ward in marriage. He mentioned several other striking facts, which fell within the compass of Edward's own knowledge; particularly, that Alexander, when he did homage to the king, openly and expressly declared in his presence, that he swore fealty not for the crown, but for the lands which he held in England: and the pope's letter might have passed for a reasonable one, had he not subjoined his own claim to be liege lord of Scotland; a claim which had not once been heard of, but which, with a singular confidence, he asserted to be full, entire, and derived from the most remote antiquity. The affirmative style, which had been so successful with him and his predecessors, in spiritual contests, was never before abused after a more egregious manner in any civil controversy.

The reply, which Edward made to Boniface's letter, contains particulars no less singular and remarkable. He there proves the superiority of England by historical facts, deduced from the period of Brutus, the Trojan, who, he said, founded the British monarchy in the age of Eli and Samuel: he supports his position by all the events which passed

in the island before the arrival of the Romans: and after laying great stress on the extensive dominions and heroic victories of King Arthur, he vouchsafes at last to descend to the time of Edward the elder, with which, in his speech to the states of Scotland, he had chosen to begin his claim of superiority. He asserts it to be a fact, notorious and confirmed by the records of antiquity, that the English monarchs had often conferred the kingdom of Scotland on their own subjects; had dethroned these vassal kings when unfaithful to them; and had substituted others in their stead. He displays with great pomp the full and complete homage which William had done to Henry II., without mentioning the former abolition of that extorted deed by King Richard, and the renunciation of all future claims of the same nature. Yet this paper he begins with a solemn appeal to the Almighty, the searcher of hearts, for his own firm persuasion of the justice of his claim; and no less than a hundred and four barons assembled in parliament at Lincoln, concur in maintaining before the pope, under their seals, the validity of these pretensions. At the same time, however, they take care to inform Boniface, that, though they had justified their cause before him, they did not acknowledge him for their judge: they had sworn to maintain all its royal prerogatives, and would never permit the king himself, were he willing, to relinquish its independence.

That neglect, almost total, of truth and justice, which sovereign states discover in their transactions with each other, is an evil universal and inveterate; is one great source of the misery to which the human race is continually exposed; and it may be doubted whether, in many instances, it be found in the end to contribute to the interests of those princes themselves, who thus sacrifice their integrity to their politics. As few monarchs have lain under stronger temptations to violate the principles of equity, than Edward in his transactions with Scotland; so never were they violated with less scruple and reserve: yet his advantages were hitherto precarious and uncertain; and the Scots, once roused to arms and inured to war, began to appear a formidable enemy, even to this military and ambitious monarch. They chose John Comyn for their regent; and not content with maintaining their independence in the northern parts, they made incursions into the southern counties, which Edward imagined he had totally subdued. John de Segrave, whom he had left guardian of Scotland, led an army to oppose them; and lying at Roslin, near Edinburgh, sent out his forces in three divisions, to provide themselves with forage and subsistence from the neighbourhood. One party was suddenly attacked by the regent and Sir Simon Fraser, and being unprepared, was immediately routed and pursued with great slaughter. The few that escaped, flying to the second division, gave warning of the approach of the enemy: the soldiers ran to their arms; and were immediately led on to take revenge for the death of their countrymen. The Scots, elated with the advantage already obtained, made a vigorous impression upon them: the English, animated with a thirst of vengeance, maintained a stout resistance: the victory was long undecided between them; but at last declared itself entirely in favour of the former, who broke the English and chased them to the third division, now advancing with a hasty march to support their distressed companions. Many of the Scots had fallen in the two first actions; most of them were wounded; and all of them extremely fatigued by the long continu-

ance of the combat: yet were they so transported with success and military rage, that, having suddenly recovered their order, and arming the followers of their camp with the spoils of the slaughtered enemy, they drove with fury upon the ranks of the dismayed English. The favourable moment decided the battle; which the Scots, had they met with a steady resistance, were not long able to maintain: the English were chased off the field: three victories were thus gained in one day: and the renown of these great exploits, seconded by the favourable dispositions of the people, soon made the regent master of all the fortresses in the south; and it became necessary for Edward to begin anew the conquest of the kingdom.

The king prepared himself for this enterprise with his usual vigour and abilities. He assembled both a great fleet and a great army; and entering the frontiers of Scotland, appeared with a force which the enemy could not think of resisting in the open field. The English navy, which sailed along the coast, secured the army from any danger of famine: Edward's vigilance preserved it from surprises: and by this prudent disposition they marched victorious from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, ravaging the open country, reducing all the castles, and receiving the submissions of all the nobility, even those of Comyn the regent. The most obstinate resistance was made by the castle of Brechin, defended by Sir Thomas Maule; and the place opened not its gates, till the death of the governor by discouraging the garrison obliged them to submit to the fate which had overwhelmed the rest of the kingdom. Wallace, though he attended the English army in their march, found but few opportunities of signaling that valour which had formerly made him so terrible to his enemies.

Edward having completed his conquest, which employed him during the space of near two years, now undertook the more difficult work of settling the country, of establishing a new form of government, and of making his acquisition durable to the crown of England. He seems to have carried matters to extremity against the natives: he abrogated all the Scottish laws and customs: he endeavoured to substitute the English in their place: he entirely rased or destroyed all the monuments of antiquity. Such records or histories as had escaped his former search were now burnt or dispersed: and he hastened, by too precipitate steps, to abolish entirely the Scottish name, and to sink it finally in the English.

Edward, however, still deemed his favourite conquest exposed to some danger, so long as Wallace was alive; and being prompted both by revenge and policy, he employed every art to discover his retreat, and become master of his person. At last, that hardy warrior, who was determined, amidst the universal slavery of his countrymen, still to maintain his independency, was betrayed into Edward's hands by Sir John Monteith, his friend, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment. The king, whose natural bravery and magnanimity should have induced him to respect like qualities in an enemy, enraged at some acts of violence committed by Wallace during the fury of war, resolved to overawe the Scots by an example of severity: he ordered Wallace to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made submissions, or sworn fealty to England, and to be executed on Tower-hill. This was the unworthy fate of a hero, who, through a course



of many years, had, with signal conduct, intrepidity, and perseverance, defended, against a public and oppressive enemy, the liberties of his native country.

Turner in his account makes the following descriptive quotation from Stow:—"William Wales was brought to London with great numbers of men and women wondring upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch-street. On the morrow being the even of Saint Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster. John Segreve, and Geoffrey Knight, the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of London, and many other, both on horsebacke and on foote, accompanying him; and in the great hall of Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel, for that he had said in times past, that he ought to beare a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported, and being appeached for a traytor, by Sir Peter Malloice the king's justice, hee answered that hee never was a traytor to the king of England."

But the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpose to which it was directed. The Scots already disgusted at the great innovations introduced by the sword of a conqueror into their laws and government, were farther enraged at the injustice and cruelty exercised upon Wallace; and all the envy which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant chief, being now buried in his grave, he was universally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and the patron of her expiring independency. The people, inflamed with resentment, were every where disposed to rise against the English government; and it was not long ere a new and more fortunate leader presented himself, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

Robert Bruce, grandson of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown, had succeeded by his grandfather's and father's death, to all their rights; and the demise of John Baliol, together with the captivity of Edward, eldest son of that prince, seemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He saw that the Scots, when the title to their crown had expired in the males of their ancient royal family, had been divided into parties nearly equal between the houses of Bruce and Baliol; and that every incident, which had since happened, had tended to wean them from any attachment to the latter. The slender capacity of John had proved unable to defend them against their enemies: he had meanly resigned his crown into the hands of the conqueror: he had, before his deliverance from captivity, reiterated that resignation in a manner seemingly voluntary; and had in that deed thrown out many reflections extremely dishonourable to his ancient subjects, whom he publicly called traitors, ruffians, and rebels, and with whom he declared he was determined to maintain no farther correspondence. He had, during the time of his exile, adhered strictly to that resolution; and his son, being a prisoner, seemed ill qualified to revive the rights, now fully abandoned, of his family. Bruce therefore hoped that the Scots, so long exposed from the want of a leader to the oppressions of their enemies, would unanimously fly to his standard, and would seat him on the vacant throne, to which he brought such plausible pretensions. His aspiring spirit, inflamed by the fervour of youth, and buoyed up by his natural courage, saw the glory alone of the enterprise, or regarded the prodigious difficulties which attended it, as the source only of farther glory. The miseries and oppressions which

he had beheld his countrymen suffer in their unequal contest; the repeated defeats and misfortunes which they had undergone; proved to him so many incentives to bring them relief, and conduct them to vengeance against the haughty victor. The circumstances which attended Bruce's first declaration are variously related; but we shall rather follow the account given by the Scottish historians; not that their authority is in general anywise comparable to that of the English, but because they may be supposed sometimes better informed concerning facts which so nearly interested their own nation.

Bruce, who had long harboured in his breast the design of freeing his enslaved country, ventured at last to open his mind to John Comyn, a powerful nobleman, with whom he lived in strict intimacy. He found his friend, as he imagined, fully possessed with the same sentiments: and he needed to employ no arts of persuasion to make him embrace the resolution of throwing off, on the first favourable opportunity, the usurped dominion of the English. But on the departure of Bruce, who attended Edward to London, Comyn, who either had all along dissembled with him, or began to reflect more coolly in his absence on the desperate nature of his undertaking, resolved to atone for his crime in assenting to this rebellion, by the merit of revealing the secret to the king of England. Edward did not immediately commit Bruce to custody; because he intended at the same time to seize his three brothers, who resided in Scotland; and he contented himself with secretly setting spies upon him, and ordering all his motions to be strictly watched. A nobleman of Edward's court, Bruce's intimate friend, was apprized of his danger; but not daring, amidst so many jealous eyes, to hold any conversation with him, he fell on an expedient to give him warning, that it was full time he should make his escape. He sent him by his servant a pair of gilt spurs, and a purse of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and left it to the sagacity of his friend to discover the meaning of the present. Bruce immediately contrived the means of his escape; and as the ground was at that time covered with snow, he had the precaution, it is said, to order his horses to be shod with their shoes inverted, that he might deceive those who should track his path over the open fields or cross roads, through which he purposed to travel. He arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Annandale, the chief seat of his family interest: and he happily found a great number of the Scottish nobility there assembled, and among the rest, John Comyn, his former associate.

The noblemen were astonished at the appearance of Bruce among them; and still more when he discovered to them the object of his journey. He told them that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country, and hoped, with their assistance, to redeem the Scottish name from all the indignities which it had so long suffered from the tyranny of their imperious masters: that the sacrifice of the rights of his family was the first injury which had prepared the way for their ensuing slavery: and by resuming them, which was his firm purpose, he opened to them the joyful prospect of recovering from the fraudulent usurper their ancient and hereditary independence: that all past misfortunes had proceeded from their disunion, and they would soon appear no less formidable than of old to their enemies, if they now deigned to follow into the field their rightful prince, who knew no medium between death and victory; that their mountains,

and their valour, which had, during so many ages, protected their liberty from all the efforts of the Roman empire, would still be sufficient, were they worthy of their generous ancestors, to defend them against the utmost violence of the English tyrant: that it was unbecoming men, born to the most ancient independence known in Europe, to submit to the will of any masters; but fatal to receive those who, being irritated by such persevering resistance, and inflamed with the highest animosity, would never deem themselves secure in their usurped dominion, but by exterminating all the ancient nobility, and even all the ancient inhabitants: and that, being reduced to this desperate extremity, it were better for them at once to perish, like brave men, with swords in their hands, than to dread long, and at last undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace, whose merits, in the brave and obstinate defence of his country, were finally rewarded by the hands of an English executioner.

The spirit with which this discourse was delivered, the bold sentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impression on the minds of his audience, and roused all those principles of indignation and revenge with which they had long been secretly actuated. The Scottish nobles declared their unanimous resolution to use the utmost efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to second the courage of Bruce, in asserting his and their undoubted rights against their common oppressors. Comyn alone, who had secretly taken his measures with the king, opposed this general determination; and by representing the great power of England, governed by a prince of such uncommon vigour and abilities, he endeavoured to set before them the certain destruction which they must expect, if they again violated their oaths of fealty, and shook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Bruce, already apprised of his treachery, and foreseeing the certain failure of all his own schemes of ambition and glory from the opposition of so potent a leader, took immediately his resolution; and moved partly by resentment, partly by policy, followed Comyn on the dissolution of the assembly, attacked him in the cloisters of the Grey Friars, through which he passed, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asking him soon after if the traitor was slain; "I believe so," replied Bruce. "And is that a matter," cried Kirkpatrick, "to be left to conjecture? I will secure him." Upon which he drew his dagger, ran to Comyn, and stabbed him to the heart. This deed of Bruce and his associates, which contains circumstances justly condemned by our present manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and just policy. The family of Kirkpatrick took for the crest of their arms, which they still wear, a hand with a bloody dagger; and chose for their motto those words, *I will secure him*; the expression employed by their ancestor when he executed that violent action.

The murder of Comyn affixed the seal to the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles: they had now no resource left but to shake off the yoke of England, or to perish in the attempt: the genius of the nation roused itself from its present dejection: and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partisans to arms, attacked with success the dispersed bodies of the English, got possession of many of the castles, and having made his authority be acknowledged in most parts of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned

and inaugurated in the abbey of Scone by the bishop of St. Andrews, who had zealously embraced his cause. The English were again chased out of the kingdom, except such as took shelter in the fortresses that still remained in their hands: and Edward found that the Scots, twice conquered in his reign, and often defeated, must yet be anew subdued. Not discouraged with these unexpected difficulties, he sent Aymer de Valence with a considerable force into Scotland, to check the progress of the malecontents; and that nobleman falling unexpectedly upon Bruce at Methven in Perthshire, threw his army into such disorder as ended in a total defeat. Bruce fought with the most heroic courage, was thrice dismounted in the action, and as often recovered himself; but was at last obliged to yield to superior fortune, and take shelter with a few followers, in the western isles. The earl of Athole, Sir Simon Fraser and Sir Christopher Seton, who had been taken prisoners, were ordered by Edward to be executed as rebels and traitors. Many other acts of rigour were exercised by him; and that prince, vowing revenge against the whole Scottish nation, whom he deemed incorrigible in their aversion to his government, assembled a great army, and was preparing to enter the frontiers, secure of success, and determined to make the defenceless Scots the victims of his severity; when he unexpectedly sickened and died near Carlisle; enjoining with his last breath his son and successor to prosecute the enterprise, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland. He expired in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, hated by his neighbours, but extremely respected and revered by his own subjects.

The enterprises finished by this prince, and the projects which he formed, and brought near to a conclusion, were more prudent, more regularly conducted, and more advantageous to the solid interests of his kingdom, than those which were undertaken in any reign, either of his ancestors or his successors. He restored authority to the government, disordered by the weakness of his father; he maintained the laws against all the efforts of his turbulent barons; he fully annexed to his crown the principality of Wales; he took many wise and vigorous measures for reducing Scotland to a like condition; and though the equity of this latter enterprise may reasonably be questioned, the circumstances of the two kingdoms promised such certain success, and the advantage was so visible of uniting the whole island under one head, that those who give great indulgence to reasons of state in the measures of princes, will not be apt to regard this part of his conduct with much severity. But Edward, however exceptionable his character may appear on the head of justice, is the model of a politic and warlike king: he possessed industry, penetration, courage, vigilance, and enterprise: he was frugal in all expenses that were not necessary; he knew how to open the public treasures on a proper occasion; he punished criminals with severity; he was gracious and affable to his servants and courtiers; and being of a majestic figure, expert in all military exercises, and in the main well-proportioned in his limbs, notwithstanding the great length and the smallness of his legs, he was as well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance, as to gain the approbation of men of sense by his more solid virtues.

But the chief advantage which the people of England reaped, and still continue to reap, from the reign of this great prince, was the correction, ex-



tension, amendment, and establishment of the laws, which Edward maintained in great vigour, and left much improved to posterity: for the acts of a wise legislator commonly remain, while the acquisitions of a conqueror often perish with him. This merit has justly gained to Edward the appellation of the English Justinian. The nature of his laws and system of jurisprudence will be more fully illustrated in the Appendix.

Turner closes his account of Edward's reign with the following description of him taken from a contemporary writer:—"His head was spherical and dovelike when he was pleased, but fierce as a lion's when he was disturbed; his hair black and crisp; his nose prominent, and rather raised in the middle; his chest was broad; his arms were agile; his thighs long; his feet arched; his body was firm and fleshy, but not fat. He was strong and active, that with his hand he could leap into his saddle. Passionately fond of hunting, whenever he was not engaged in war, he amused his leisure with his dogs and falcons. He was rarely indisposed, and did not lose either his teeth or sight by age. Temperate by habit he never devoted himself to the luxuries of his palace. He never wore his crown after the day of his coronation, thinking it rather a burden than an honour. He declined the royal garments of purple, and went about in the plain and common dress of a plebeian. Being once asked why he did not wear richer apparel? he answered, with the consciousness of true greatness, that it was absurd to suppose that he could be more estimable in fine than in simple clothing. No man was more acute in council, more fervid in eloquence, more self-possessed in danger, more cautious in prosperity, more firm in adversity. Those whom he once loved, he scarcely ever forsook; but he rarely admitted into his favour any one that had excited his dislike. His liberalities were magnificent."

Edward had by his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, four sons; but Edward, his son and successor, was the only one that survived him. She also bore him eleven daughters, most of whom died in their infancy: of the surviving, Joan was married first to the earl of Gloucester, and after his death to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret espoused John duke of Brabant; Elizabeth espoused first John earl of Holland, and afterwards the earl of Hereford; Mary was a nun at Ambresbury. He had by his second wife, Margaret of France, two sons and a daughter; Thomas created earl of Norfolk, and marshal of England; and Edmond, who was created earl of Kent by his brother when king. The princess died in her infancy.

## CHAP. XVII.

### EDWARD II.

*Weakness of the King—His passion for Favourites—Piers Gaveston—Discontent of the Barons—Murder of Gaveston—War with Scotland—Battle of Bannockburn—Hugh le Despenser—Civil Commotions—Execution of the earl of Lancaster—Conspiracy against the King—Insurrection—The King de-throned—Murdered—His Character.*

THE prepossessions entertained in favour of young Edward kept the English from being fully sensible of the extreme loss which they had sustained by the death of the great monarch who filled the throne;

and all men hastened with alacrity to take the oath of allegiance to his son and successor. This prince was in the twenty-third year of his age, was of an agreeable figure, of a mild and gentle disposition, and having never discovered a propensity to any dangerous vice, it was natural to prognosticate tranquillity and happiness from his government. But the first act of his reign blasted all these hopes, and shewed him to be totally unqualified for that perilous situation, in which every English monarch, during those ages, had, from the unstable form of the constitution, and the turbulent dispositions of the people derived from it, the misfortune to be placed. The indefatigable Robert Bruce, though his army had been dispersed, and he himself had been obliged to take shelter in the western isles, remained not long inactive; but before the death of the late king, had sallied from his retreat, had again collected his followers, had appeared in the field, and had obtained by surprise an important advantage over Aymer de Valence, who commanded the English forces. He was now become so considerable as to have afforded the king of England sufficient glory in subduing him, without incurring any danger of seeing all those mighty preparations made by his father fail in the enterprise. But Edward, instead of pursuing his advantages, marched but a little way into Scotland; and having an utter incapacity and equal aversion for all application or serious business, he immediately returned upon his footsteps, and disbanded his army. His grandees perceived from this conduct, that the authority of the crown, fallen into such feeble hands, was no longer to be dreaded, and that every insolence might be practised by them with impunity.

The next measure taken by Edward gave them an inclination to attack those prerogatives which no longer kept them in awe. There was one Piers Gaveston, son of a Gascon knight of some distinction, who had honourably served the late king, and who, in reward of his merits, had obtained an establishment for his son in the family of the prince of Wales. This young man soon insinuated himself into the affections of his master, by his agreeable behaviour, and by supplying him with all those innocent though frivolous amusements which suited his capacity and his inclinations. He was endowed with the utmost elegance of shape and person, was noted for a fine mien and easy carriage, distinguished himself in all warlike and genteel exercises, and was celebrated for those quick sallies of wit in which his countrymen usually excel. By all these accomplishments he gained so entire an ascendancy over young Edward, whose heart was strongly disposed to friendship and confidence, that the late king, apprehensive of the consequences, had banished him the kingdom, and had, before he died, made his son promise never to recall him. But no sooner did he find himself master, as he vainly imagined, than he sent for Gaveston; and even before his arrival at court, endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, which had escheated to the crown by the death of Edmond, son of Richard king of the Romans. Not content with conferring on him those possessions, which had sufficed as an appanage for a prince of the blood, he daily loaded him with new honours and riches; married him to his own niece, sister of the earl of Gloucester; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity, but as it enabled him to exalt to the highest splendour this object of his fond affections.

The haughty barons, offended at the superiority



EDWARD II.





of a minion, whose birth, though reputable, they despised as much inferior to their own, concealed not their discontent; and soon found reasons to justify their animosity in the character and conduct of the man they hated. Instead of disarming envy by the moderation and modesty of his behaviour, Gaveston displayed his power and influence with the utmost ostentation; and deemed no circumstance of his good fortune so agreeable as its enabling him to eclipse and mortify all his rivals. He was vain-glorious, profuse, rapacious; fond of exterior pomp and appearance, giddy, with prosperity; and as he imagined that his fortune was now so strongly rooted in the kingdom, as his ascendancy was uncontrolled over the weak monarch, he was negligent in engaging partisans, who might support his sudden and ill-established grandeur. At all tournaments he took delight in foiling the English nobility by his superior address: in every conversation he made them the object of his wit and raillery: every day his enemies multiplied upon him; and nought was wanting but a little time to cement their union, and render it fatal both to him and to his master.

It behoved the king to take a journey to France, both in order to do homage for the duchy of Guienne, and to espouse the Princess Isabella, daughter to Philip le bel, reputed the most beautiful woman in Europe, and to whom he had long been affianced, though unexpected accidents had hitherto retarded the completion of the marriage. Edward left Gaveston guardian of the realm, with more ample powers than had usually been conferred; and, on his return with his young queen, renewed all the proofs of that fond attachment to the favourite, of which every one so loudly complained. This princess was of an imperious and intriguing spirit; and finding that her husband's capacity required, as his temper inclined him, to be governed, she thought herself best entitled, on every account, to perform the office; and she contracted a mortal hatred against the person who had disappointed her in these expectations. She was well pleased therefore, to see a combination of the nobility forming against Gaveston, who, sensible of her hatred, had wantonly provoked her by new insults and injuries.

Thomas earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood, was by far the most opulent and powerful subject in England, and possessed in his own right, and soon after in that of his wife, heiress of the family of Lincoln, no less than six earldoms, with a proportionable estate in land, attended with all the jurisdictions and power which commonly in that age were annexed to landed property. He was turbulent and factious in his disposition; mortally hated the favourite, whose influence over the king exceeded his own; and he soon became the head of that party among the barons, who desired the depression of this insolent stranger. The confederated nobles bound themselves by oath to expel Gaveston: both sides began already to put themselves in a warlike posture: the licentiousness of the age broke out in robberies and other disorders, the usual prelude of civil war: and the royal authority, despised in the king's own hands, and hated in those of Gaveston, became insufficient for the execution of the laws, and the maintenance of peace in the kingdom. A parliament being summoned at Westminster, Lancaster and his party came thither with an armed retinue; and were there enabled to impose their own terms on the sovereign. They required the banishment of Gaveston, imposed an oath on him never to return, and engaged the

bishops, who never failed to interpose in all civil concerns, to pronounce him excommunicated, if he remained any longer in the kingdom. Edward was obliged to submit; but even in his compliance gave proofs of his fond attachment to his favourite. Instead of removing all umbrage by sending him to his own country, as was expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, attended him to Bristol on his journey thither, and before his departure conferred on him new lands and riches both in Gascony and England. Gaveston, who did not want bravery, possessed talents for war, acted during his government with vigour against some Irish rebels, whom he subdued.

In the year 1309, according to Lingard, "The king assembled his parliament, and solicited an aid. In the last year he had obtained a twentieth from the lords and knights, a fifteenth from the citizens and burgesses: the repetition of the request in the present, emboldened the commons to append to their vote of a twenty-fifth the unprecedented demand, that their petition for the redress of their grievances should be previously granted. The petition deserves the notice of the reader, because it enumerates those abuses, which for more than a century continued under different modifications to harass and irritate the people. They complained:—1. That the king's purveyors took all kinds of provisions without giving any security for the payment: 2. That he had imposed additional duties on wine, on cloth, and on foreign imports, which had raised the price one third to the consumer: 3. That by the debasement of the coin the value of all commodities had been advanced: 4. That the stewards and mareschals of the king's household held pleas, which did not fall under their cognizance: 5. And exercised their authority beyond the verge, that is, a circuit of twelve leagues round the king's person: 6. That no clerks were appointed, as they had been under the last monarch, to receive the petitions of the commons in parliament: 7. That the officers appointed to take articles for the king's use in fairs and markets, took more than they ought, and made a profit of the surplus: 8. That in civil suits men were prevented from obtaining their right by writs under the privy seal: 9. That felons eluded the punishment of their crimes by the ease with which charters of pardon were obtained: 10. That the constables of the castles held common pleas at their gates without any authority: and, 11. That the escheaters ousted men of their inheritances, though they had appealed to the king's courts. Edward was startled at this remonstrance. He prorogued the parliament, that he might have time to consider it; and then granted every article with the exception of that which regarded the new duty on imports. He withdrew the duty for the moment; but ordered it to be levied again next year."

Meanwhile the king, unhappy in the absence of his minion, employed every expedient to soften the opposition of the barons to his return: as if success in that point were the chief object of his government. The high office of hereditary steward was conferred on Lancaster: his father-in-law, the earl of Lincoln, was bought off by other concessions: Earl Warrene was also mollified by civilities, grants or promises: the insolence of Gaveston, being no longer before men's eyes, was less the object of general indignation: and Edward, deeming matters sufficiently prepared for his purpose, applied to the court of Rome, and obtained for Gaveston a dispensation from that oath which the barons had compelled



nim to take, that he would for ever abjure the realm. He went down to Chester to receive him on his first landing from Ireland; flew into his arms with transports of joy; and having obtained the formal consent of the barons in parliament to his re-establishment, set no longer any bounds to his extravagant fondness and affection. Gaveston himself, forgetting his past misfortunes, and blind to their causes, resumed the same ostentation and insolence; and became more than ever the object of general detestation among the nobility.

The barons first discovered their animosity by absenting themselves from parliament; and finding that this expedient had not been successful, they began to think of employing sharper and more effectual remedies. Though there had scarcely been any national ground of complaint, except some dissipation of the public treasure: though all the acts of maleadministration, objected to the king and his favourite, seemed of a nature more proper to excite heart-burnings in a hall or assembly, than commotions in a great kingdom: yet such was the situation of the times, that the barons were determined, and were able, to make them the reasons of a total alteration in the constitution and civil government. Having come to parliament, in defiance of the laws and the king's prohibition, with a numerous retinue of armed followers, they found themselves entirely masters; and they presented a petition, which was equivalent to a command, requiring Edward to devolve on a chosen junto the whole authority, both of the crown and of the parliament. The king was obliged to sign a commission, empowering the prelates and barons to elect twelve persons who should, till the term of Michaelmas in the year following, have authority to enact ordinances for the government of the kingdom, and regulation of the king's household; consenting that these ordinances should thenceforth and for ever have the force of laws; allowing the ordainers to form associations among themselves and their friends, for their strict and regular observance; and all this for the greater glory of God, the security of the church, and the honour and advantage of the king and kingdom. The barons in return signed a declaration, in which they acknowledged that they owed these concessions merely to the king's free grace; promised that this commission should never be drawn into precedent; and engaged that the power of the ordainers should expire at the time appointed.

The chosen junto accordingly framed their ordinances, and presented them to the king and parliament for their confirmation in the ensuing year. Some of these ordinances were laudable, and tended to the regular execution of justice: such as those, requiring sheriffs to be men of property, abolishing the practice of issuing privy seals for the suspension of justice, restraining the practice of purveyance, prohibiting the adulteration and alteration of the coin, excluding foreigners from the farms of the revenue, ordering all payments to be regularly made into the exchequer, revoking all late grants of the crown, and giving the parties damages in the case of vexatious prosecutions.

Lingard enumerates the articles more particularly, and mentions some particulars, one of which, certainly, as appertaining to the formation of the constitution, is worthy of being raised from the oblivion into which Hume has cast it. Lingard thus translates it:—"Whereas many persons are delayed of their demands in the king's court, because the party alleges that answer ought not to be made to

the demandant out of the king's presence; and whereas many persons are grieved against right by the officers of the king, of which grievances they cannot obtain redress without a common parliament; we ordain that the king hold a parliament once a year, or twice if need be, and in a convenient place; and that in such parliament, the pleas that have been delayed as aforesaid, and the pleas in which the judges are of different opinions, shall be recorded and determined: and that in the same manner shall be determined the petitions that have been presented in parliament, as law and reason shall demand."

But what chiefly grieved the king, was the ordinance for the removal of evil counsellors, by which a great number of persons were by name excluded from every office of power and profit; and Piers Gaveston himself was for ever banished the king's dominions, under the penalty, in case of disobedience, of being declared a public enemy. Other persons, more agreeable to the barons, were substituted in all the offices. And it was ordained, that for the future all the considerable dignities in the household, as well as in the law, revenue, and military governments, should be appointed by the *baronage* in parliament; and the power of making war, or assembling his military tenants, should no longer be invested solely in the king, nor be exercised without the consent of the nobility.

Edward, from the same weakness both in his temper and situation, which had engaged him to grant this unlimited commission to the barons, was led to a parliamentary sanction to their ordinances: but as a consequence of the same character, he *secretly* made a protest against them, and declared, that since the commission was granted only for the making of ordinances to the advantage of king and kingdom, such articles as should be found prejudicial to both, were to be held as not ratified and confirmed. It is no wonder, indeed, that he retained a firm purpose to revoke all ordinances which had been imposed on him by violence, which entirely annihilated the royal authority, and above all, which deprived him of the company and society of a person whom, by an unusual infatuation, he valued above all the world, and above every consideration of interest or tranquillity.

As soon, therefore, as Edward, removing to York, had freed himself from the immediate terror of the barons' power, he invited back Gaveston from Flanders, which that favourite had made the place of his retreat; and declaring his banishment to be illegal, and contrary to the laws and custom of the kingdom, openly re-instated him in his former credit and authority. The barons, highly provoked at this disappointment, and apprehensive of danger to themselves, from the declared animosity of so powerful a minion, saw that either his or their ruin was now inevitable; and they renewed, with redoubled zeal, their former confederacy against him. The earl of Lancaster was a dangerous head of this alliance: Guy earl of Warwick entered into it with a furious and precipitate passion: Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford, the constable, and Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, brought to it a great accession of power and interest: even earl Warrenne deserted the royal cause, which he had hitherto supported, and was reduced to embrace the side of the confederates. And as Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, professed himself of the same party, he determined the body of clergy, and consequently the people, to declare against the king and his

minion. So predominant at that time was the power of the great nobility, that the combination of a few of them was always able to shake the throne; and such an universal concurrence became irresistible. The earl of Lancaster suddenly raised an army, and marched to York, where he found the king already removed to Newcastle. He flew thither in pursuit of him; and Edward had just time to escape to Tinmouth, where he embarked, and sailed with Gaveston, to Scarborough. He left his favourite in that fortress, which, had it been properly supplied with provisions, was deemed impregnable; and he marched forward to York, in hopes of raising an army, which might be able to support him against his enemies. Pembroke was sent by the confederates to besiege the castle of Scarborough; and Gaveston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison, was obliged to capitulate, and to surrender himself prisoner. He stipulated that he should remain in Pembroke's hands for two months; that endeavours should, during that time, be mutually used for a general accommodation; that if the terms proposed by the barons were not accepted, the castle should be restored to him in the same condition as when he surrendered it; and that the earl of Pembroke and Henry Piercy should, by contract, pledge all their lands for the fulfilling of these conditions. Pembroke, now master of the person of this public enemy, conducted him to the castle of Dedington, near Banbury; where, on pretence of other business, he left him, protected by a feeble guard. Warwick, probably in concert with Pembroke, attacked the castle; the garrison refused to make any resistance: Gaveston was yielded up to him, and conducted to Warwick castle: the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, immediately repaired thither: and without any regard either to the laws or the military capitulation, they ordered the head of the obnoxious favourite to be struck off by the hands of the executioner.

The king had retired northward to Berwick when he heard of Gaveston's murder; and his resentment was proportioned to the affection which he had ever born him while living. He threatened vengeance on all the nobility who had been active in that bloody scene, and he made preparations for war in all parts of England. But being less constant in his enmities than in his friendships, he soon after hearkened to terms of accommodation, granted the barons a pardon of all offences; and as they stipulated to ask him publicly pardon on their knees, he was so pleased with these vain appearances of submission, that he seemed to have sincerely forgiven them all past injuries. But as they still pretended, notwithstanding their lawless conduct, a great anxiety for the maintenance of law, and required the establishment of their former ordinances as a necessary security for that purpose, Edward told them, that he was willing to grant them a free and legal confirmation of such of these ordinances as were not entirely derogatory to the prerogative of the crown. This answer was received, for the present, as satisfactory. The king's person, after the death of Gaveston, was now become less obnoxious to the public; and as the ordinances insisted on appeared to be nearly the same with those which had formerly been extorted from Henry III. by Montfort, and which had been attended with so many fatal consequences, they were, on that account, demanded with less vehemence by the nobility and people. The minds of all men seemed to be much appeased: the animosities of faction no longer prevailed: and

England, now united under its head, would henceforth be able, it was hoped, to take vengeance on all its enemies; particularly on the Scots, whose progress was the object of general resentment and indignation.

Immediately after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce left his fastnesses, in which he intended to have sheltered his feeble army; and supplying his defect of strength by superior vigour and abilities, he made deep impression on all his enemies, foreign and domestic. He chased Lord Argyre, and the chieftain of the Macdowals, from their hills, and made himself entirely master of the high country: he thence invaded, with success, the Comyns, in the low countries of the north: he took the castles of Inverness, Forfar, and Brechin. He daily gained some new accession of territory; and, what was a more important acquisition, he daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion, and insisted under his standard every bold leader, whom he enriched by the spoils of his enemies. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatness and renown of that warlike family, seconded him in all his enterprises: Edward Bruce, Robert's own brother, distinguished himself by acts of valour: and the terror of the English power being now abated by the feeble conduct of the king, even the least sanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independence; and the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses, which he had not the means to attack, had acknowledged the authority of Robert.

In this situation, Edward had found it necessary to grant a truce to Scotland; and Robert successfully employed the interval in consolidating his power, and introducing order into the civil government, disjoined by a long continuance of wars and factions. The interval was very short: the truce, ill observed on both sides, was at last openly violated; and war recommenced with greater fury than ever. Robert, not content with defending himself, had made successful inroads into England, subsisted his needy followers by the plunder of that country, and taught them to despise the military genius of a people who had long been the object of their terror. Edward, at last, roused from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to risque too much against an enemy so much superior, retired again into the mountains. The king advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being destitute of provisions, and being ill supported by the English nobility, who were then employed in framing their ordinances, he was soon obliged to retreat, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. But the apparent union of all the parties in England, after the death of Gaveston, seemed to restore that kingdom to its native force, opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland, and promised a happy conclusion to a war in which both the interests and passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

Edward assembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finishing, at one blow, this important enterprise. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony: he enlisted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries: he invited over great numbers of the disorderly Irish as to a certain prey: he joined to them a body of the Welsh, who were actuated by like motives: and assembling the whole military force of England, he marched to the frontiers with an army, which, according to the Scotch writers, amounted to a hundred thousand men



This number has been, however, very variously stated, and by some historians of good authority, the infantry as so low as 21,540 men, of which 14,500 were said to be raised in the northern counties, and 7040 from Wales, because the king wanted men accustomed to fight in forests and on mountains.

The army collected by Robert exceeded not thirty thousand combatants; but being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valour, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader, be deemed formidable to the most numerous and best appointed armies. The castle of Stirling, which, with Berwick, was the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, had long been besieged by Edward Bruce: Philip de Mowbray the governor, after an obstinate defence, was at last obliged to capitulate, and to promise, that if, before a certain day which was now approaching, he were not relieved, he should open his gates to the enemy. Robert therefore, sensible that here was the ground on which he must expect the English, chose the field of battle with all the skill and prudence imaginable, and made the necessary preparations for their reception. He posted himself at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling; where he had a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left; and not content with having taken these precautions to prevent his being surrounded by the more numerous army of the English, he foresaw the superior strength of the enemy in cavalry, and made provision against it. Having a rivulet in front, he commanded deep pits to be dug along its banks, and sharp stakes to be planted in them; and he ordered the whole to be carefully covered with turf. The English arrived in sight in the evening, and a bloody conflict immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry; where Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his adversary to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body.

The Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the valour of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the combat on the ensuing day: the English, confident in their numbers, and elated with former successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge: and the night, though extremely short in that season and in that climate, appeared tedious to the impatience of the several combatants. Early in the morning Edward drew out his army, and advanced towards the Scots. The earl of Gloucester, his nephew, who commanded the left wing of the cavalry, impelled by the ardour of youth, rushed on to the attack without precaution, and fell among the covered pits, which had been prepared by Bruce for the reception of the enemy. This body of horse was disordered: Gloucester himself was overthrown and slain: Sir James Douglas, who commanded the Scottish cavalry, gave the enemy no leisure to rally, but pushed them off the field with considerable loss, and pursued them in sight of their whole line of infantry. While the English army were alarmed with this unfortunate beginning of the action, which commonly proves decisive, they observed an army on the heights towards the left, which seemed to be marching leisurely in order to surround them; and they were distracted by their multiplied fears. This was a number of waggons and sumpter-boys whom Robert had collected; and having supplied them with

military standards, gave them the appearance, at a distance, of a formidable body. The stratagem took effect: a panic seized the English: they threw down their arms and fled: they were pursued with great slaughter, for the space of ninety miles, till they reached Berwick: and the Scots, besides an inestimable booty, took many persons of quality prisoners, and above 400 gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whose ransom was a new accession of wealth to the victorious army. The king himself narrowly escaped, by taking shelter in Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him by the earl of March; and he thence passed by sea to Berwick.

Such was the great and decisive battle of Bannockburn, which secured the independence of Scotland, and fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom. The number of slain on those occasions is always uncertain, and is commonly much magnified by the victors: but this defeat made a deep impression on the minds of the English; and it was remarked, that, for some years, no superiority of numbers could encourage them to keep the field against the Scots. Robert, in order to avail himself of his present success, entered England, and ravaged all the northern counties without opposition: he besieged Carlisle; but that place was saved by the valour of Sir Andrew Harclay, the governor: he was more successful against Berwick, which he took by assault; and this prince, elated by his continued prosperity, now entertained hopes of making the most important conquests on the English. He sent over his brother Edward, with an army of 6000 men, into Ireland; and that nobleman assumed the title of king of that island, he himself followed soon after with more numerous forces: the horrible and absurd oppressions which the Irish suffered under the English government made them, at first, fly to the standard of the Scots, whom they regarded as their deliverers: but a grievous famine, which at that time desolated both Ireland and Britain, reduced the Scottish army to the greatest extremities; and Robert was obliged to return, with his forces much diminished, into his own country. His brother, after having experienced a variety of fortune, was defeated and slain near Dundalk by the English, commanded by Lord Bermingham; and these projects, too extensive for the force of the Scottish nation, thus vanished into smoke.

Lingard here says that "for three years the English groaned under the two most direful scourges that can affect the human race, pestilence and famine. The deficiency of the harvest in 1314 had created an alarm; and the merchants of Newcastle, and probably those of other ports, obtained the royal license to purchase corn in France, and import it into England; but the supply was so scanty, that the parliament which assembled in February fixed a maximum on the price of provisions. This measure was of no avail. In defiance of the statute, the price of every article rapidly advanced: wheat, peas, and beans were sold at twenty shillings the quarter, and even the king's family found it difficult on some occasions to procure bread for the table. Unfortunately the following season was preternaturally wet and stormy: the more early crops were damaged by the rain: the others never ripened at all; and before Christmas the scarcity of the preceding year had been doubled. To add to the calamity, a pestilential disease raged among the cattle: and the want of nourishment, and the insalubrity of the food, produced dysenteries and other epidemic disorders among the people. The parliament, convinced by

experience of its error, repealed the maximum, and the king, at the suggestion of the citizens of London, suspended the breweries, as a measure 'without which not only the indigent but the middle classes must inevitably have perished through want of food.' Still the prices continued to advance till the quarter of wheat sold for ten times its usual value; and the poor were reduced to feed on roots, horses, dogs, and the most loathsome animals. Even instances are recorded which, for the honour of human nature, we may hope to be untrue, of men eating the dead bodies of their companions, and parents those of their children.

"The continuance of the calamity had taught the most extravagant to economize their resources. Many expelled from their castles the crowds of domestics and dependants, with whom they usually swarmed; and these unfortunate men, without the lawful means of support, were necessitated to live by the plunder of their former patrons, or of their inoffensive neighbours. Every county was infested with bands of robbers, whose desperate rapacity was not to be checked by the terrors of the punishment of the law. The inhabitants were forced to combine for their own protection: association was opposed to association: summary vengeance was inflicted by each party; and the whole country presented one great theatre of rapine, anarchy, and bloodshed."

Edward, besides suffering from these national disasters, as well as from the invasion of the Scots, and the insurrection of the Irish, was also infested with a rebellion in Wales; and, above all, by the contumacy of his own nobility, who took advantage of the public calamities, insulted his fallen fortunes, and endeavoured to establish their own independence on the ruins of the throne. Lancaster, and the barons of his party, who had declined attending him on his Scottish expedition, no sooner saw him return with disgrace, than they insisted on the renewal of their ordinances, which, they still pretended, had validity; and the king's unhappy situation obliged him to submit to their demands. The ministry was new-modelled by the direction of Lancaster: that prince was placed at the head of the council: it was declared, that all the offices should be filled, from time to time, by the votes of parliament, or rather by the will of the great barons: and the nation, under this new model of government, endeavoured to put itself in a better posture of defence against the Scots. But the factious nobles were far from being terrified with the progress of these public enemies: on the contrary, they founded the hopes of their own future grandeur on the weakness and distresses of the crown: Lancaster himself was suspected, with great appearance of reason, of holding a secret correspondence with the king of Scots: and though he was entrusted with the command of the English armies, he took care that every enterprise should be disappointed, and every plan of operations prove unsuccessful.

All the European kingdoms, especially that of England, were at this time unacquainted with the office of a prime minister, so well understood at present in all regular monarchies; and the people could form no conception of a man, who, though still in the rank of a subject, possessed all the power of a sovereign, eased the prince of the burthen of affairs, supplied his want of experience or capacity, and maintained all the rights of the crown, without degrading the greatest nobles by their submission to his temporal authority. Edward was plainly, by nature, unfit to hold himself the reins of

government: he had no vices, but was unhappy in a total incapacity for serious business: he was sensible of his own defects, and necessarily sought to be governed: yet every favourite whom he successively chose was regarded as a fellow-subject exalted above his rank and station: he was the object of envy to the great nobility; his character and conduct were decried with the people: his authority over the king and kingdom was considered as an usurpation: and unless the prince had embraced the dangerous expedient of devolving his power on the earl of Lancaster, or some mighty baron, whose family interest was so extensive as to be able alone to maintain his influence, he could expect no peace or tranquillity upon the throne.

The king's chief favourite, after the death of Gaveston, was Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, a young man of English birth, of high rank, and of a noble family. He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address, which were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward; but was destitute of that moderation and prudence which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct him through all the perils of that dangerous station to which he was advanced. His father, who was of the same name, and who, by means of his son, had also attained great influence over the king, was a nobleman venerable from his years, respected through all his past life for wisdom, valour, and integrity, and well fitted by his talents and experience, could affairs have admitted of any temperament, to have supplied the defects both of the king and of his minion. But no sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenser, than the turbulent Lancaster, and most of the great barons, regarded him as their rival, made him the object of their animosity, and formed violent plans for his ruin. They first declared their discontent by withdrawing from parliament; and it was not long ere they found a pretence for proceeding to greater extremities against him.

The king, who set no limits to his bounty towards his minions, had married the younger Spenser to his niece, one of the co-heirs of the earl of Gloucester, slain at Bannockburn. The favourite, by his succession to that opulent family, had inherited great possessions in the marches of Wales; and being desirous of extending still farther his influence in those quarters, he is accused of having committed injustice on the barons of Audley and Ammori, who had also married two sisters of the same family. There was likewise a baron in that neighbourhood, called William de Braouse, lord of Gower, who had made a settlement of his estate on John de Mowbray, his son-in-law; and, in case of failure of that nobleman and his issue, had substituted the earl of Hereford in the succession to the barony of Gower. Mowbray, on the decease of his father-in-law, entered immediately in possession of the estate, without the formality of taking livery and seizin from the crown: but Spenser, who coveted that barony, persuaded the king to put in execution the rigour of the feudal law, to seize Gower as escheated to the crown, and to confer it upon him. This transaction, which was the proper subject of a law suit, immediately excited a civil war in the kingdom. The earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to arms: Audley and Ammori joined them with all their forces: the two Rogers de Mortimer and Roger de Clifford, with many others, disgusted, for private reasons, at the Spensers, brought a considerable accession to the party: and their army being now formidable, they sent a



message to the king, requiring him immediately to dismiss or confine the younger Spenser; and menacing him, in case of refusal, with renouncing their allegiance to him, and taking revenge on that minister by their own authority. They scarcely waited for an answer; but immediately fell upon the lands of young Spenser, which they pillaged and destroyed; murdered his servants, drove off his cattle, and burned his houses. They thence proceeded to commit like devastations on the estates of Spenser the father, whose character they had hitherto seemed to respect: and having drawn and signed a formal association among themselves, they marched to London with all their forces, stationed themselves in the neighbourhood of that city, and demanded of the king the banishment of both the Spensers. These noblemen were then absent; the father abroad; the son at sea; and both of them employed in different commissions: the king therefore replied, that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to observe the laws, restrained him from giving his assent to so illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accused of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of making answer. Equity and reason were but a feeble opposition to men who had arms in their hands, and who, being already involved in guilt, saw no safety but in success and victory. They entered London with their troops; and giving in to the parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spensers, of which they attempted not to prove one article, they procured, by menaces and violence, a sentence of attainder and perpetual exile against these ministers. This sentence was voted by the lay barons alone: for the commons, though now an estate in parliament, were yet of so little consideration, that their assent was not demanded; and even the votes of the prelates were neglected amidst the present disorders. The only symptom which these turbulent barons gave of their regard to law, was their requiring from the king an indemnity for their illegal proceedings; after which they disbanded their army, and separated, in security, as they imagined, to their several castles.

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquiesce, rendered his person and his authority so contemptible, that every one thought himself entitled to treat him with neglect. The queen, having occasion soon after to pass by the castle of Leeds in Kent, which belonged to the Lord Badlesmere, desired a night's lodging, but was refused admittance; and some of her attendants, who presented themselves at the gate, were killed. The insult upon this princess, who had always endeavoured to live on good terms with the barons, and who joined them heartily in their hatred of the younger Spenser, was an action which nobody pretended to justify; and the king thought that he might, without giving general umbrage, assemble an army, and take vengeance on the offender. No one came to the assistance of Badlesmere; and Edward prevailed: but having now some forces on foot, and having concerted measures with his friends throughout England, he ventured to take off the mask, to attack all his enemies, and to recall the two Spensers, whose sentence he declared illegal, unjust, contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter, passed without the assent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the estate of barons. Still the commons were not mentioned by either party.

The king had now got the start of the barons; and

advantage which, in those times, was commonly decisive: and he hastened with an army to the marches of Wales, the chief seat of the power of his enemies, whom he found totally unprepared for resistance. Many of the barons in those parts endeavoured to appease him by submission: their castles were seized, and their persons committed to custody. But Lancaster, in order to prevent the total ruin of his party, summoned together his vassals and retainers; declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been suspected; received the promise of a reinforcement from that country, under the command of Randolph earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglas; and being joined by the earl of Hereford, advanced with all his forces against the king, who had collected an army of 30,000 men, and was superior to his enemies. Lancaster posted himself at Burton upon Trent, and endeavoured to defend the passages of the river: but being disappointed in that plan of operations, this prince, who had no military genius, and whose personal courage was even suspected, fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being there joined by his Scottish allies. He was pursued by the king; and his army diminished daily, till he came to Boroughbridge, where he found Sir Andrew Harcla posted with some forces on the opposite side of the river, and ready to dispute the passage with him. He was repulsed in an attempt which he made to force his way; the earl of Hereford was killed; the whole army of the rebels was disconcerted; Lancaster himself was become incapable of taking any measures either for flight or defence; and he was seized, without resistance, by Harcla, and conducted to the king. In those violent times, the laws were so much neglected on both sides, that, even where they might, without any sensible inconvenience, have been observed, the conquerors deemed it unnecessary to pay any regard to them. Lancaster, who was guilty of open rebellion, and was taken in arms against his sovereign, instead of being tried by the laws of his country, which pronounced the sentence of death against him, was condemned by a court-martial, and led to execution. Edward, however little vindictive in his natural temper, here indulged his revenge, and employed against the prisoner the same indignities which had been exercised, by his orders, against Gaveston. He was clothed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade without a bridle, a hood was put on his head, and in this posture, attended by the acclamations of the people, this prince was conducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own castles, and there beheaded.

Thus perished Thomas Earl of Lancaster, prince of the blood, and one of the most potent barons that had ever been in England. His public conduct sufficiently discovers the violence and turbulence of his character: his private deportment appears not to have been more innocent: and his hypocritical devotion, by which he gained the favour of the monks and populace, will rather be regarded as an aggravation than an alleviation of his guilt. Badlesmere, Giffard, Barret, Cheny, Fleming, and about eighteen of the most notorious offenders, were afterwards condemned by a legal trial, and were executed. Many were thrown into prison: others made their escape beyond sea; some of the king's servants were rewarded from the forfeitures: Harcla received for his services the earldom of Carlisle, and a large estate, which he soon after forfeited with his life, for a treasonable correspondence with the king of Scotland. But the greater part of those vast escheats was

seized by young Spenser, whose rapacity was insatiable. Many of the barons of the king's party were disgusted with this partial division of the spoils: the envy against Spenser rose higher than ever: the usual insolence of his temper, enflamed by success, impelled him to commit many acts of violence: the people, who always hated him, made him still more the object of aversion: all the relations of the attainted barons and gentlemen secretly vowed revenge: and though tranquillity was, in appearance, restored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king, and odium against Spenser, bred dangerous humours, the source of future revolutions and convulsions.

In this situation, no success could be expected from foreign wars; and Edward, after making one more fruitless attempt against Scotland, whence he retreated with dishonour, found it necessary to terminate hostilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years. Robert, though his title to the crown was not acknowledged in the treaty, was satisfied with ensuring his possession of it during so long a time. He had repelled with gallantry all the attacks of England: he had carried war both into that kingdom and into Ireland: he had rejected with disdain the pope's authority, who pretended to impose his commands upon him, and oblige him to make peace with his enemies: his throne was firmly established, as well in the affections of his own subjects as by force of arms: yet there naturally remained some inquietude in his mind, while at war with a state which, however at present disordered by faction, was of itself so much an overmatch for him, both in riches and in numbers of people. And this truce was, at the same time, the more seasonable for England, because the nation was at that juncture threatened with hostilities from France.

Philip the Fair, king of France, who died in 1315, had left the crown to his son Lewis Hutin, who, after a short reign, dying without male issue, was succeeded by Philip the Long, his brother, whose death soon after made way for Charles the Fair, the youngest brother of that family. This monarch had some grounds of complaint against the king's ministers in Guienne; and as there was no common or equitable judge in that strange species of sovereignty established by the feudal law, he seemed desirous to take advantage of Edward's weakness, and, under that pretence, to confiscate all his foreign dominions. After an embassy by the earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, Queen Isabella obtained permission to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjust, in an amicable manner, the difference with her brother: but while she was making some progress in this negotiation, Charles started a new pretension, the justice of which could not be disputed, that Edward himself should appear in his court, and do homage for the fees which he held in France. But there occurred many difficulties in complying with this demand. Young Spenser, by whom the king was implicitly governed, had unavoidably been engaged in many quarrels with the queen, who aspired to the same influence; and though that artful princess, on her leaving England, had dissembled her animosity, Spenser, well acquainted with her secret sentiments, was unwilling to attend his master to Paris, and appear in a court, where her credit might expose him to insults, if not danger. He hesitated no less on allowing the king to make the journey alone; both fearing, lest that easy prince should in his absence fall under other influence; and foreseeing the perils to which he

himself should be exposed, if, without the protection of royal authority, he remained in England, where he was so generally hated. While these doubts occasioned delays and difficulties, Isabella proposed, that Edward should resign the dominion of Guienne to his son, now thirteen years of age; and that the prince should come to Paris, and do the homage which every vassal owed to his superior lord. This expedient, which seemed so happily to remove all difficulties, was immediately embraced: Spenser was charmed with the contrivance: young Edward was sent to Paris: and the ruin covered under this fatal snare, was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council.

The queen, on her arrival in France, had there found a great number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenser soon begat a secret friendship and correspondence between them and that princess. Among the rest was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welch marches, who had been obliged, with others, to make his submissions to the king; had been condemned for high treason; but having received a pardon for his life, was afterwards detained in the Tower, with an intention of rendering his confinement perpetual. He was so fortunate as to make his escape into France; and being one of the most considerable persons now remaining of the party, as well as distinguished by his violent animosity against Spenser, he was easily admitted to pay his court to Queen Isabella. The graces of his person and address advanced him quickly in her affections: he became her confidant and counsellor in all her measures: and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to sacrifice at last to her passion, all the sentiments of honour and fidelity to her husband. Hating now the man whom she had injured, and whom she never valued, she entered ardently into all Mortimer's conspiracies; and having artfully gotten into her hands the young prince, and heir of the monarchy, she resolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She engaged her brother to take part in the same criminal purpose: her court was daily filled with the exiled barons: Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her: a correspondence was secretly carried on with the male content party in England: and when Edward, informed of those alarming circumstances, required her speedily to return with the prince, she publicly replied, that she would never set foot in the kingdom, till Spenser was for ever removed from his presence and councils: a declaration which procured her great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treasonable enterprises.

Edward endeavoured to put himself in a posture of defence; but, besides the difficulties arising from his own indolence and slender abilities, and the want of authority which of consequence attended all his resolutions, it was not easy for him, in the present state of the kingdom and revenue, to maintain a constant force ready to repel an invasion, which he knew not at what time or place he had reason to expect. All his efforts were unequal to the traitorous and hostile conspiracies, which, both at home and abroad, were forming against his authority, and which were daily penetrating farther even into his own family. His brother, the earl of Kent, a virtuous but weak prince, who was then at Paris, was engaged by his sister-in-law, and by the king of France, who was also his cousin-german, to give countenance to the invasion, whose sole object, he believed, was



the expulsion of the Spensers: he prevailed on his elder brother, the earl of Norfolk, to enter secretly into the same design: the earl of Leicester, brother and heir of the earl of Lancaster, had too many reasons for his hatred of these ministers, to refuse his concurrence. Walter de Reynel, archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the prelates, expressed their approbation of the queen's measures: several of the most potent barons, envying the authority of the favourite, were ready to fly to arms: the minds of the people, by means of some truths and many calumnies, were strongly disposed to the same party: and there needed but the appearance of the queen and prince, with such a body of foreign troops as might protect her against immediate violence, to turn all this tempest, so artfully prepared, against the unhappy Edward.

Charles, though he gave countenance and assistance to the faction, was ashamed openly to support the queen and prince against the authority of a husband and father; and Isabella was obliged to court the alliance of some other foreign potentate, from whose dominions she might set out on her intended enterprise. For this purpose she affianced young Edward, whose tender age made him incapable to judge of the consequences, with Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault; and having, by the open assistance of this prince, and the secret protection of her brother, enlisted in her service near three thousand men, she set sail from the harbour of Dort, and landed safely, and without opposition, on the coast of Suffolk. The earl of Kent was in her company: two other princes of the blood, the earl of Norfolk and the earl of Leicester, joined her soon after her landing with all their followers: three prelates, the bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, brought her both the force of their vassals and the authority of their character: even Robert de Watteville, who had been sent by the king to oppose her progress in Suffolk, deserted to her with all his forces. To render her cause more favourable, she renewed her declaration, that the sole purpose of her enterprise was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spensers, and of Chancellor Baldoc, their creature. The populace were allured by her specious pretences: the barons thought themselves secure against forfeitures by the appearance of the prince in her army: and a weak irresolute king, supported by ministers generally odious, was unable to stem this torrent, which bore with such irresistible violence against him.

Edward, after trying in vain to rouse the citizens of London to some sense of duty, departed for the west, where he hoped to meet with a better reception; and he had no sooner discovered his weakness by leaving the city, than the rage of the populace broke out without controul against him and his ministers. They first plundered, then murdered all those who were obnoxious to them: they seized the bishop of Exeter, a virtuous and loyal prelate, as he was passing through the streets; and having beheaded him, they threw his body into the river. They made themselves masters of the Tower by surprise; then entered into a formal association to put to death, without mercy, every one who should dare to oppose the enterprise of Queen Isabella, and of the prince. A like spirit was soon communicated to all other parts of England; and threw the few servants of the king, who still entertained thoughts of performing their duty, into terror and astonishment.

Edward was hotly pursued to Bristol by the earl

of Kent, seconded by the foreign forces under John de Hainault. He found himself disappointed in his expectations with regard to the loyalty in those parts; and he passed over to Wales, where, he flattered himself, his name was more popular, and which he hoped to find uninfected with the contagion of general rage which had seized the English. The elder Spenser, created earl of Winchester, was left governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied against him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. This venerable noble, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year, was instantly, without trial, or witness, or accusation, or answer, condemned to death by the rebellious barons: he was hanged on a gibbet; his body was cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs; and his head was sent to Winchester, the place whose title he bore, and was there set on a pole, and exposed to the insults of the populace.

The king, disappointed anew in his expectations of succour from the Welsh, took shipping for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himself in the mountains of Wales: he was soon discovered, was put under the custody of the earl of Leicester, and was confined in the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Spenser, his favourite, who also fell into the hands of his enemies, was executed, like his father, without any appearance of a legal trial: the earl of Arundel, almost the only man of his rank in England who had maintained his loyalty, was, without any trial, put to death at the instigation of Mortimer: Baldoc, the chancellor, being a priest, could not with safety be so suddenly despatched; but being sent to the bishop of Hereford's palace in London, he was there, as his enemies probably foresaw, seized by the populace, was thrown into Newgate, and soon after expired, from the cruel usage which he had received. Even the usual reverence paid to the sacerdotal character gave way, with every other consideration, to the present rage of the people.

The queen, to avail herself of the prevailing delusion, summoned, in the king's name, a parliament at Westminster; where, together with the power of her army, and the authority of her partisans among the barons, who were concerned to secure their past treasons by committing new acts of violence against their sovereign, she expected to be seconded by the fury of the populace, the most powerful of all instruments, and the least answerable for their excesses. A charge was drawn up against the king, in which, though it was framed by his inveterate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius, or his misfortunes, were objected to him: for the greatest malice found no particular crime with which it could reproach this unhappy prince. He was accused of incapacity for government, of wasting his time in idle amusements, of neglecting public business, of being swayed by evil counsellors, of having lost, by his misconduct, the kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guienne; and to swell the charge, even the death of some barons and the imprisonment of some prelates, convicted of treason, were laid to his account. It was in vain, amidst the violence of arms and tumult of the people, to appeal either to law or to reason: the deposition of the king, without any apparent opposition, was voted by parliament: the prince, already declared regent by his party, was placed on the throne: and a deputation was sent to Edward at Kenilworth, to require his resignation, which menaces and terror soon extorted from him.

Langard describes this transaction more at large,

as follows:—"The bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, a secret and an open enemy, were the first who arrived. They employed arguments, and promises, and threats, to obtain the consent of the unfortunate king: spoke of the greatness of mind he would display, and the reward he would deserve, by renouncing the crown to restore peace to his people; promised him, in the event of his compliance, the enjoyment of a princely revenue and establishment; and threatened if he refused, not only to depose him, but to pass by his son and choose a sovereign from another family. When they had sufficiently worked on his hopes and fears, they led him, dressed in a plain black gown, into the room, in which the deputation had been arranged to receive him. At the sight of Orleton, his mortal enemy, who advanced to address him, he started back, and sank to the ground; but recovered in a short time sufficiently to attend to the speech of that prelate. His answer has been differently reported by his friends and opponents. According to the former, he replied that no act of his could be deemed free, as long as he remained a prisoner; but that he should endeavour to bear patiently whatever might happen. By the latter we are told, that he expressed his sorrow for having given such provocation to the people; submitted to what he could not avert; and thanked the parliament for having continued the crown in his family. Sir William Trussel immediately addressed him in these words:—"I, William Trussel, procurator of the earls, barons, and others, having for this full and sufficient power, do render and give back to you, Edward, once king of England, the homage and fealty of the persons named in my procuracy; and acquit and discharge them thereof, in the best manner that law and custom will give. And I now make protestation in their name, that they will no longer be in your fealty or allegiance, nor claim to hold any thing of you as king, but will account you hereafter as a private person without any manner of royal dignity." The distressing ceremony was closed by the act of Sir Thomas Blount, the steward household, who, as was always done at the king's death, broke his staff of office, and declared that all persons engaged in the royal service were discharged."

But it was impossible that the people, however corrupted by the barbarity of the times, still farther enflamed by faction, could for ever remain insensible to the voice of nature. Here, a wife had first deserted, next invaded, and then dethroned her husband; and made her minor son an instrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; had, by lying pretences, seduced the nation into a rebellion against their sovereign; had pushed them into violence and cruelties that dishonoured them: all those circumstances were so odious in themselves, and formed such a complicated scene of guilt, that the least reflection sufficed to open men's eyes, and make them detest this flagrant infringement of every public and private duty. The suspicions which soon arose of Isabella's criminal commerce with Mortimer, the proofs which daily broke out of this part of her guilt, increased the general abhorrence against her; and her hypocrisy, in publicly bewailing with tears the king's unhappy fate, was not able to deceive even the most stupid and most prejudiced of her adherents. In proportion as the queen became the object of public hatred, the dethroned monarch, who had been the victim of her crimes and her ambition, was regarded with pity, with friendship, with veneration; and men became sensible, that all his misconduct,

which faction had so much exaggerated, had been owing to the unavoidable weakness, not to any voluntary depravity, of his character. The earl of Leicester, now earl of Lancaster, to whose custody he had been committed, was soon touched with those generous sentiments; and besides using his prisoner with gentleness and humanity, he was suspected to have entertained still more honourable intentions in his favour. The king, therefore, was taken from his hands, and delivered over to Lord Berkeley, and Maltravers, and Gourney, who were entrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in the custody of Berkeley, he was still treated with the gentleness due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Maltravers and Gourney came, every species of indignity was practised against him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the prince's spirit, and to employ his sorrows and afflictions, instead of more violent and more dangerous expedients, for the instruments of his murder. It is reported that one day, when Edward was to be shaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought from the ditch for that purpose; and when he desired it to be changed, and was still denied his request, he burst into tears, which bedewed his cheeks; and he exclaimed, that in spite of their insolence, he should be shaved with clean and warm water. But as this method of laying Edward in his grave appeared still too slow to the impatient Mortimer, he secretly sent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, instantly to dispatch him; and these ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel and barbarous as possible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's sickness, in whose custody he then was, and who was thereby incapacitated from attending his charge; they came to Berkeley castle, and put themselves in possession of the king's person. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him; thrust into his fundament a red-hot iron, which they inserted through a horn; and though the outward marks of violence upon his person were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonizing king filled the castle, while his bowels were consuming.

It appears there is a considerable difference in the statements of the various chroniclers as to the foregoing transactions. Lingard has in the following manner noticed some of these variations. He says, "Moor ascribes the king's death to the contrivance of Orleton, but the charge is probably groundless as he had been for some months out of the kingdom on an embassy to the papal court, where he was deprived of his bishopric, but at length procured in its place the see of Worcester. On Moor's authority also it has been said that the actual murderers were Maltravers and Gourney (as stated by Hume). But though Maltravers was condemned by the same parliament which condemned the murderers, it was for a different crime, which forms a presumption that he was innocent of this. According to the judgment of the house of peers in 1330, Mortimer commanded (he confessed it before his death), Gourney and Ogle to perpetrate the murder. Mortimer suffered death, the other two had fled out of the kingdom; but a reward of 100*l.* was offered for the apprehension, or of 100 marks for the head, of Gourney; and another reward of 100 marks for the apprehension, and of 40*l.* for the head of Ogle. What became of Ogle, I know not: Gourney fled into Spain, and



was apprehended by the magistrates of Burgos. At the request of the king of England, he was examined by them in the presence of an English envoy. What disclosures he made were kept secret; but we may suppose that they implicated persons of high rank, as the messengers, who had him in charge, received orders to behead him at sea on his way to England. With respect to Lord Berkeley, he was tried at his own demand before a jury of knights, and acquitted. The king, however, ordered him to be put under the custody of Sir Ralph Nevill till the next parliament, for having placed officers of a bad character near the person of his father. But in the next parliament, at the request of the lords, he was permitted to be at large, till the truth could be learned from Gourney, *who was still alive*. From these words it is probable that Ogle died before the capture of Gourney."

Hume says, Gourney and Maltravers were generally detested; and when the ensuing revolution in England threw their protectors from power, they found it necessary to provide for their safety by flying the kingdom. Gourney was afterwards seized at Marseilles, delivered over to the seneschal of Guienne, put on board a ship with a view of carrying him to England; but was beheaded at sea by secret orders, as was supposed, from some nobles and prelates in England, anxious to prevent any discovery which he might make of his accomplices. Maltravers concealed himself for several years in Germany; but having found means of rendering some service to Edward III., he ventured to approach his person, threw himself on his knees before him, submitted to mercy, and received a pardon.

It is not easy to imagine a man more innocent and inoffensive than the unhappy king whose tragical death we have related; nor a prince less fitted for governing that fierce and turbulent people subjected to his authority. He was obliged to devolve on others the weight of government, which he had neither ability nor inclination to bear: the same indolence and want of penetration led him to make choice of ministers and favourites who were not always the best qualified for the trust committed to them: the seaitious grandees, pleased with his weakness, yet complaining of it, under pretence of attacking his ministers, insulted his person and invaded his authority: and the impatient populace, mistaking the source of their grievances, threw all the blame upon the king, and increased the public disorders by their faction and violence. It was in vain to look for protection from the laws, whose voice, always feeble in those times, was not heard amidst the din of arms: what could not defend the king was less able to give shelter to any of the people: the whole machine of government was torn in pieces with fury and violence: and men, instead of regretting the manners of their age, and the form of their constitution, which required the most steady and most skilful hand to conduct them, imputed all errors to the person who had the misfortune to be entrusted with the reins of empire.

But though such mistakes are natural and almost unavoidable while the events are recent, it is a shameful delusion in modern historians, to imagine that all the ancient princes, who were unfortunate in their government, were also tyrannical in their conduct, and that the seditions of the people always proceeded from some invasion of their privileges by the monarch. Even a great and a good king was not in that age secure against faction and rebellion, as appears in the case of Henry II.; but a great

king had the best chance, as we learn from the history of the same period, for quelling and subduing them. Compare the reigns and characters of Edward I. and II. The father made several violent attempts against the liberties of the people: his barons opposed him: he was obliged, at least found it prudent, to submit: but as they dreaded his valour and abilities, they were content with reasonable satisfaction, and pushed no farther their advantages against him. The facility and weakness of the son, not his violence, threw every thing into confusion: the laws and government were overturned: an attempt to reinstate them was an unpardonable crime: and no atonement, but the deposition and tragical death of the king himself, could give those barons contentment. It is easy to see that a constitution which depended so much on the personal character of the prince, must necessarily, in many of its parts, be a government of will, not of laws. But always to throw, without distinction, the blame of all disorders upon the sovereign, would introduce a fatal error in politics, and serve as a perpetual apology for treason and rebellion: as if the turbulence of the great, and madness of the people, were not, equally with the tyranny of princes, evils incident to human society, and no less carefully to be guarded against in every well-regulated constitution.

Such are the remarks of Hume. Mackintosh seems in the following passage inclined to extenuate in a slight degree the conduct of the king's enemies. "The conduct of Queen Isabella, though it cannot be justified on any supposition, will be aggravated or extenuated by the judgment which the reader may form on charges made by ancient writers against Edward, to which nothing but historical justice could warrant an allusion. The very prevalence of such rumours were enough to produce alienation and disgust in a youthful beauty, long before the appearance of those feelings could be justly ascribed to deep design or criminal animosity."

While these abominable scenes passed in England, the theatre of France was stained with a wickedness equally barbarous, and still more public and deliberate. The order of knights templars had arisen during the first fervour of the crusades; and uniting the two qualities, the most popular in that age, devotion and valour, and exercising both in the most popular of all enterprises, the defence of the Holy Land, they had made rapid advances in credit and authority, and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France. Their great riches, joined to the course of time, had, by degrees, relaxed the severity of these virtues; and the templars had in a great measure lost that popularity which first raised them to honour and distinction. Acquainted from experience with the fatigues and dangers of those fruitless expeditions to the East, they rather chose to enjoy in ease their opulent revenues in Europe: and being all men of birth, educated, according to the custom of that age, without any tincture of letters, they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. Their rival order, that of St. John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had as yet preserved them from like corruptions, still distinguished themselves by their enterprises against the infidels, and succeeded to all the popularity, which was lost by the indolence and luxury of the templars. But though these reasons had weakened the foundations of this order, once so celebrated and







EDWARD III.

reverted, the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair, who, having entertained a private disgust against some eminent templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole order in an undistinguished ruin. On no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices and profligacy, he ordered on one day all the templars in France to be committed to prison, and imputed to them such enormous and absurd crimes, as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the accusation. Besides their being universally charged with murder, robbery, and vices the most shocking to nature; every one, it was pretended, whom they received into their order, was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to join to this impiety the superstition of worshipping a gilded head, which was secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles. They also initiated, it was said, every candidate by such infamous rites, as could serve to no other purpose, than to degrade the order in his eyes, and destroy for ever the authority of all his superiors over him. Above a hundred of these unhappy gentlemen were put to the question, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt: the more obstinate perished in the hands of their tormentors: several, to procure immediate ease in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them: forged confessions were imputed to others: and Philip, as if their guilt were now certain, proceeded to a confiscation of all their treasures. But no sooner were the templars relieved from their tortures, than, preferring the most cruel execution to a life with infamy, they disavowed their confessions, exclaimed against the forgeries, justified the innocence of their order, and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them in ancient or later times, as a full apology for their conduct. The tyrant, enraged at this disappointment, and thinking himself now engaged in honour to proceed to extremities, ordered fifty-four of them, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to perish by the punishment of fire in his capital: great numbers expired after a like manner in other parts of the kingdom: and when he found that the perseverance of these unhappy victims, in justifying to the last their innocence, had made deep impression on the spectators, he endeavoured to overcome the constancy of the templars by new inhumanities. The grand master of the order, John de Molay, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold, erected before the church of Notre-dame, at Paris; a full pardon was offered them on the one hand, the fire, destined for their execution, was shown to them on the other: these gallant nobles still persisted in the protestations of their own innocence and that of their order; and were instantly hurried into the flames by the executioner.

In all this barbarous injustice, Clement V. who was the creature of Philip, and then resided in France, fully concurred; and without examining a witness, or making any enquiry into the truth of facts, he summarily, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, abolished the whole order. The templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny; the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them; but no where except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found. England sent an ample testimony of their piety and morals; but as

the order was now annihilated, the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions were, by command of the pope, transferred to the order of St. John.

Hume says, I have seen a French manuscript, containing accounts of some private disbursements of Edward. There is an article, among others, of a crown paid to one for making the king laugh. To judge by the events of his reign, this ought not to have been an easy undertaking.

This king left four children, two sons, and two daughters: Edward, his eldest son and successor; John, created afterwards earl of Cornwall, died young at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, count of Gueldres.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### EDWARD III.

*War with Scotland—Execution of the Earl of Kent—Execution of Mortimer Earl of March—State of Scotland—War with that Kingdom—King's claim to the crown of France—Preparations for war with France—War—Naval Victory—Domestic disturbances—Affairs of Brittany—Renewal of the wars with France—Invasion of France—Battle of Creci—War with Scotland—Captivity of the King of Scots.*

THE violent party, which had taken arms against Edward II., and finally deposed that unfortunate monarch, deemed it requisite for their future security to pay so far an exterior obedience to the law, as to desire a parliamentary indemnity for all their illegal proceedings; on account of the necessity which, it was pretended, they lay under, of employing force against the Spensers and other evil counsellors, enemies of the kingdom. All the attainders also, which had passed against the earl of Lancaster and his adherents, when the chance of war turned against them, were easily reversed during the triumph of their party; and the Spensers, whose former attainder had been reversed by parliament, were now again, in this change of fortune, condemned by the votes of their enemies. A council of regency was likewise appointed by parliament, consisting of twelve persons; five prelates, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford; and seven lay peers, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey, and the lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Ross. The earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of the king's person. But though it was reasonable to expect, that, as the weakness of the former king had given reins to the licentiousness of the barons, great domestic tranquillity would not prevail during the present minority; the first disturbance arose from an invasion by foreign enemies.

The king of Scots declining in years and health but retaining still that martial spirit which had raised his nation from the lowest ebb of fortune, deemed the present opportunity favourable for infesting England. He first made an attempt on the castle of Norham, in which he was disappointed; he then collected an army of 25,000 men on the frontiers, and having given the command to the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, threatened an incursion into the northern counties. The English regency, after trying in vain every expedient to restore peace with



Scotland, made vigorous preparations for war; and besides assembling an English army of near sixty thousand men, they invited back John of Hainault, and some foreign cavalry, whom they had dismissed, and whose discipline and arms had appeared superior to those of their own country. Young Edward himself, burning with a passion for military fame, appeared at the head of these military forces; and marched on Durham, the appointed place of rendezvous, in quest of the enemy, who had already broken into the frontiers, and were laying every thing waste around them.

Murray and Douglas were the two most celebrated warriors, bred in the long hostilities between the Scots and English; and their forces, trained in the same school, and inured to hardships, fatigues, and dangers, were perfectly qualified, by their habits and manner of life, for that desultory and destructive war which they carried into England. Except a body of about 4000 cavalry, well armed, and fit to make a steady impression in battle, the rest of the army were light-armed troops, mounted on small horses, which found subsistence every where, and carried them with rapid and unexpected marches, whether they meant to commit depredations on the peaceable inhabitants, or to attack an armed enemy, or to retreat into their own country. Their whole equipage consisted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a supply in case of necessity, each soldier carried behind him; together with a light plate of iron, on which he instantly baked the meal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief subsistence was the cattle which he seized; and his cookery was as expeditious as all his other operations. After flaying the animal, he placed the skin, loose and hanging in the form of a bag, upon some stakes; he poured water into it, kindled a fire below, and thus made it serve as a caldron for the boiling of his victuals.

The chief difficulty which Edward met with, after composing some dangerous frays which broke out between his foreign forces and the English, was to come up with an army so rapid in its marches, and so little incumbered in its motions. Though the flame and smoke of burning villages directed him sufficiently to the place of their encampment, he found, upon hurrying thither, they had already dislodged; and he soon discovered, by new marks of devastation, that they had removed to some distant quarter. After harassing his army during some time in the fruitless chase, he advanced northwards, and crossed the Tyne, with a resolution of awaiting them on their return homewards, and taking vengeance for all their depredations. But that whole country was already so much wasted by their frequent incursions, that it could not afford subsistence to his army; and he was obliged again to return southwards, and change his plan of operations. He had now lost all track of the enemy; and though he promised the reward of a hundred pounds a year to any one who should bring him an account of their motions, he remained unactive some days, before he received any intelligence of them. He found at last, that they had fixed their camp on the southern banks of the Wear, as if they intended to await a battle; but their prudent leaders had chosen the ground with such judgment, that the English, on their approach, saw it impracticable, without temerity, to cross the river in their front, and attack them in their present situation. Edward, impatient for revenge and glory, here sent them a defiance, and encouraged them, if they dared, to meet him in an equal field, and try the fortune of arms. The

bold spirit of Douglas could ill brook this bravado, and he advised the acceptance of the challenge; but he was overruled by Murray, who replied to Edward, that he never took the counsel of an enemy in any of his operations. The king, therefore, kept still his position opposite to the Scots; and daily expected, that necessity would oblige them to change their quarters, and give him an opportunity of overwhelming them with superior forces. After a few days, they suddenly decamped, and marched farther up the river; but still posted themselves in such a manner as to preserve the advantage of the ground, if the enemy should venture to attack them. Edward insisted that all hazards should be run, rather than allow these ravagers to escape with impunity; but Mortimer's authority prevented the attack, and opposed itself to the valour of the young monarch. While the armies lay in this position, an incident happened which had nigh proved fatal to the English. Douglas having gotten the word, and surveyed exactly the situation of the English camp, entered it secretly in the night-time, with a body of two hundred determined soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with a view of carrying off the king in the midst of his army. But some of Edward's attendants, awaking in that critical moment, made resistance; his chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives for his safety; the king himself, after making a valorous defence, escaped in the dark; and Douglas, having lost the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a hasty retreat with the remainder. Soon after, the Scottish army decamped without noise in the dead of night; and having thus gotten the start of the English, arrived without farther loss in their own country. Edward, on entering the place of the Scottish encampment, found only six Englishmen, whom the enemy, after breaking their legs, had tied to trees, in order to prevent their carrying any intelligence to their countrymen.

The king was highly incensed at the disappointment which he had met with in his first enterprise, and at the head of so gallant an army. The symptoms which he had discovered of bravery and spirit gave extreme satisfaction, and were regarded as sure prognostics of an illustrious reign: but the general displeasure fell violently on Mortimer, who was already the object of public odium: and every measure which he pursued, tended to aggravate, beyond all bounds, the hatred of the nation both against him and Queen Isabella.

When the council of regency was formed, Mortimer, though in the plenitude of his power, had taken no care to ensure a place in it; but this semblance of moderation was only a cover to the most iniquitous and most ambitious projects. He rendered that council entirely useless by usurping to himself the whole sovereign authority; he settled on the queen-dowager the greater part of the royal revenues; he never consulted either the princes of the blood or the nobility in any public measure; the king himself was so besieged by his creatures, that no access could be procured to him; and all the envy which had attended Gaveston and Spenser fell much more deservedly on the new favourite.

Mortimer, sensible of the growing hatred of the people, thought it requisite on any terms to secure peace abroad; and he entered into a negotiation with Robert Bruce for that purpose. As the claim of superiority in England, more than any other cause, had tended to enflame the animosities between the two nations, Mortimer, besides stipulating a marriage between Jane, sister of Edward, and Da-

vid, the son and heir of Robert, consented to resign absolutely this claim, to give up all the homages done by the Scottish parliament and nobility, and to acknowledge Robert as independent sovereign of Scotland. In return for these advantages, Robert stipulated the payment of 30,000 marks to England. This treaty was ratified by parliament; but was nevertheless the source of great discontent among the people, who, having entered zealously into the pretensions of Edward I., and deemed themselves disgraced by the successful resistance made by so inferior a nation, were disappointed, by this treaty, in all future hopes both of conquest and of vengeance.

The princes of the blood, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, were much united in their councils; and Mortimer entertained great suspicions of their designs against him. In summoning them to parliament, he strictly prohibited them, in the king's name, from coming attended by an armed force, an illegal but usual practice in that age. The three earls, as they approached to Salisbury, the place appointed for the meeting of parliament, found, that though they themselves, in obedience to the king's command, had brought only their usual retinue with them, Mortimer and his party were attended by all their followers in arms; and they began with some reason to apprehend a dangerous design against their persons. They retreated, assembled their retainers, and were returning to take vengeance on Mortimer; when the weakness of Kent and Norfolk, who deserted the common cause, obliged Lancaster also to make his submissions. The quarrel, by the interposition of the prelates, seemed for the present to be appeased.

But Mortimer, in order to intimidate the princes, determined to have a victim; and the simplicity, with the good intentions, of the earl of Kent, afforded him soon after an opportunity of practising upon him. By himself and his emissaries he endeavoured to persuade that prince that his brother King Edward was still alive, and detained in some secret prison in England. The earl, whose remorse for the part which he had taken against the late king probably inclined him to give credit to this intelligence, entered into a design of restoring him to his liberty, of reinstating him on the throne, and of making thereby some atonement for the injuries which he himself had unwarily done him. After this harmless contrivance had been allowed to proceed a certain length, the earl was seized by Mortimer, was accused before the parliament, and condemned by those slavish though turbulent barons, to lose his life and fortune. The queen and Mortimer, apprehensive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and the prisoner was beheaded next day; but so general was the affection born him, and such pity prevailed for his unhappy fate, and though peers had been easily found to condemn him, it was evening before his enemies could find an executioner to perform the office.

The earl of Lancaster, on pretence of having assented to this conspiracy, was soon after thrown into prison. Many of the prelates and nobility were prosecuted: Mortimer employed this engine to crush all his enemies, and to enrich himself and his family by the forfeitures. The estate of the earl of Kent was seized for his younger son Geoffrey: the immense fortunes of the Spencers and their adherents were mostly converted to his own use: he affected a state and dignity equal or superior to the royal: his power became formidable to every one: his illegal practices were daily complained of; and all parties

forgetting past animosities, conspired in their hatred of Mortimer.

It was impossible that these abuses could long escape the observation of a prince endowed with so much spirit and judgment as young Edward, who being now in his eighteenth year, and feeling himself capable of governing, repined at being held in fetters by this insolent minister. But so much was he surrounded by the emissaries of Mortimer, that it behoved him to conduct the project for subverting him with the same secrecy and precaution as if he had been forming a conspiracy against his sovereign. He communicated his intentions to lord Montacute, who engaged the Lords Molins and Clifford, Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Sir Edward Bohun, Ufford, and others, to enter into their views; and the castle of Nottingham was chosen for the scene of the enterprise. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortress: the king also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants: and as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction the king's associates were admitted through a subterraneous passage, which had formerly been contrived for a secret outlet from the castle, but was now buried in rubbish; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's. A parliament was immediately summoned for his condemnation. He was accused before that assembly of having usurped the regal power from the council of regency appointed by parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conspiracy to restore that prince; of having solicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demesnes; of having dissipated the public treasure; of secreting 20,000 marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of other crimes and misdemeanors. The parliament condemned him, from the supposed notoriety of the facts, without trial, or hearing his answer, or examining a witness; and he was hanged on a gibbet at the Elms, in the neighbourhood of London. It is remarkable that this sentence was, near twenty years after, reversed by parliament, in favour of Mortimer's son; and the reason assigned was the illegal manner of proceeding. The principles of law and justice were established in England, not in such a degree as to prevent any iniquitous sentence against a person obnoxious to the ruling party; but sufficient, on the return of his credit or that of his friends, to serve as a reason or pretence for its reversal.

Justice was also executed, by a sentence of the house of peers, on some of the inferior criminals, particularly on Simon de Bereford: but the barons in that act of jurisdiction entered a protest, that though they had tried Bereford, who was none of their peers, they should not for the future be obliged to receive any such indictment. The queen was confined to her own house at Risings near London: her revenue was reduced to 4000 pounds a year: and though the king, during the remainder part of her life, paid her a decent visit one or twice a year, she never was able to reinstate herself in any credit or authority.

Edward having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself with industry and judgment to redress all those grievances which had proceeded either from want of authority



in the crown, or from the late abuses of it. He issued writs to the judges, enjoining them to administer justice, without paying any regard to arbitrary orders from the ministers: and as the robbers, thieves, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had, during the course of public convulsions, multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the great barons, who made use of them against their enemies, the king, after exacting from the peers a solemn promise in parliament that they would break off all connections with such malefactors, set himself in earnest to remedy the evil. Many of these gangs had become so numerous, as to require his own presence to disperse them; and he exerted both courage and industry in executing this salutary office. The ministers of justice, from his example, employed the utmost diligence in discovering, pursuing, and punishing criminals; and this disorder was by degrees corrected, at least palliated; the utmost that could be expected with regard to a disease hitherto inherent in the constitution.

In proportion as the government acquired authority at home, it became formidable to the neighbouring nations; and the ambitious spirit of Edward sought, and soon found, an opportunity of exerting itself. The wise and valiant Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independence of his country, and had fixed it by the last treaty of peace with England, soon after died, and left David, his son, a minor, under the guardianship of Randolph earl of Murray, the companion of all his victories. It had been stipulated in this treaty, that both the Scottish nobility, who before the commencement of the wars enjoyed lands in England, and the English who inherited estates in Scotland, should be restored to their respective possessions: but though this article had been executed pretty regularly on the part of Edward, Robert, who observed that the estates claimed by Englishmen were much more numerous and valuable than the others, either thought it dangerous to admit so many secret enemies into the kingdom, or found it difficult to wrest from his own followers the possessions bestowed on them as the reward of former services; and he had protracted the performance of his part of the stipulation. The English nobles, disappointed in their expectations, began to think of a remedy; and as their influence was great in the north, their enmity alone, even though unsupported by the king of England, became dangerous to the minor prince, who succeeded to the Scottish throne.

Edward Baliol, the son of that John who was crowned king of Scotland, had been detained some time a prisoner in England after his father was released; but having also obtained liberty, he went over to France, and resided in Normandy, on his patrimonial estate in that country, without any thoughts of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland. His pretensions, however plausible, had been so strenuously aljured by the Scots, and rejected by the English, that he was universally regarded as a private person; and he had been thrown into prison on account of some private offence of which he was accused. Lord Beaumont, a great English baron, who in right of his wife claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland, found him in this situation; and deemed him a proper instrument for his purpose, made such interest with the king of France, who was not aware of the consequences, that he recovered him his liberty, and brought him over with him to England.

The injured nobles, possessed of such a head, be-

gan to think of vindicating their rights by force of arms; and they applied to Edward for his concurrence and assistance. But there were several reasons which deterred the king from openly avowing their enterprise. In his treaty with Scotland he had entered into a bond of 20,000 pounds, payable to the pope, if within four years he violated the peace; and as the term was not yet elapsed, he dreaded the exacting of that penalty by the sovereign pontiff, who possessed so many means of forcing princes to make payment. He was also afraid that violence and injustice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with superior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whose independent title had so lately been acknowledged by a solemn treaty. And as the regent of Scotland, on every demand which had been made of restitution to the English barons, had always confessed the justice of their claim, and had only given an evasive answer, grounded on plausible pretences, Edward resolved not to proceed by open violence, but to employ like artifices against him. He secretly encouraged Baliol in his enterprise; connived at his assembling forces in the north; and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join the attempt. A force of near 2500 men were enlisted under Baliol, by Umfreville earl of Angus, the Lords Beaumont, Ferrars, Fitz-warin, Wake, Stafford, Talbot, and Moubray. As these adventurers apprehended that the frontiers would be strongly armed and guarded, they resolved to make their attack by sea; and having embarked at Ravenspur, they reached in a few days the coast of Fife.

Scotland was at that time in a very different situation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Besides the loss of that great monarch, whose genius and authority preserved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained a union among the unruly barons, Lord Douglas, impatient of rest, had gone to Spain, in a crusade against the Moors, and had there perished in battle: the earl of Murray, who had long been declining through age and infirmities, had lately died, and had been succeeded in the regency by Donald earl of Marre, a man of much inferior talents: the military spirit of the Scots, though still unbroken, was left without a proper guidance and direction: and a minor king seemed ill qualified to defend an inheritance, which it had required all the consummate valour and abilities of his father to acquire and maintain. But as the Scots were apprised of the intended invasion, great numbers, on the appearance of the English fleet, immediately ran to the shore, in order to prevent the landing of the enemy. Baliol had vigour and ability, and he drove back the Scots with considerable loss. He marched westward into the heart of the country, flattering himself that the ancient partisans of his family would declare for him. But the fierce animosities which had been kindled between the two nations, inspiring the Scots with a strong prejudice against a prince supported by the English, he was regarded as a common enemy; and the regent found no difficulty in assembling a great army to oppose him. It is pretended that Marre had no less than 40,000 men under his banners; but the same hurry and impatience that made him collect a force, which from its greatness was so disproportioned to the occasion, rendered all his motions unskilful and imprudent. The river Erne ran between the two armies; and the Scots, confiding in that security, as well as in their great superiority of numbers, kept no order in

their encampment. Baliol passed the river in the night-time; attacked the unguarded and undisciplined Scots; threw them into confusion, which was increased by the darkness, and by their very numbers to which they trusted; and he beat them off the field with great slaughter. But in the morning, when the Scots were at some distance, they were ashamed of having yielded the victory to so weak a foe, and they hurried back to recover the honour of the day. Their eager passions urged them precipitately to battle, without regard to some broken ground which lay between them and the enemy, and which disordered and confounded their ranks. Baliol seized the favourable opportunity, advanced his troops upon them, prevented them from rallying, and anew chased them off the field with redoubled slaughter. There fell above 12,000 Scots in this action; and among these the flower of the nobility; the regent himself, the earl of Carrick, a natural son of their late king, the earls of Athole and Monteith, Lord Hay of Errol, constable, and the Lords Keith and Lindsey. The loss of the English scarcely exceeded thirty men; a strong proof, among many others, of the miserable state of military discipline in those ages.

Baliol soon after made himself master of Perth; but still was not able to bring over any of the Scots to his party. Patric Dunbar earl of March, and Sir Archibald Douglas, brother to the lord of that name, appeared at the head of the Scottish armies, which amounted still to near 40,000 men; and they proposed to reduce Baliol and the English by famine. They blockaded Perth by land; they collected some vessels with which they invested it by water: but Baliol's ships attacking the Scottish fleet, gained a complete victory; and opened the communication between Perth and the sea. The Scotch armies were then obliged to disband for want of pay and subsistence: the nation was, in effect, subdued by a handful of men: each nobleman who found himself most exposed to danger, successively submitted to Baliol: that prince was crowned at Scone: David, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife, Jane, sister to Edward: and the heads of his party sued to Baliol for a truce, which he granted them, in order to assemble a parliament in tranquillity, and have his title recognised by the whole Scottish nation.

But Baliol's imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he was, notwithstanding the truce, attacked of a sudden near Annan, by Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of that party: he was routed; his brother John Baliol was slain; he himself was chased into England in a miserable condition; and thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it.

While Baliol enjoyed his short-lived and precarious royalty, he had been sensible, that without the protection of England, it would be impossible for him to maintain possession of the throne; and he had secretly sent a message to Edward, offering to acknowledge his superiority, to renew the homage for his crown, and to espouse the princess Jane, if the pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Edward, ambitious of recovering that important concession, made by Mortimer during his minority, threw off all scruples, and willingly accepted the offer; but as the dethroning of Baliol had rendered this stipulation of no effect, the king prepared to reinstate him in possession of the crown;

an enterprise which appeared from late experience so easy and so little hazardous. As he possessed many popular arts, he consulted his parliament on the occasion; but that assembly, finding the resolution already taken, declined giving any opinion, and only granted him, in order to support the enterprise, an aid of a fifteenth from the personal estates of the nobility and gentry, and a tenth of the moveables of boroughs. And they added a petition, that the king would thenceforth live on his own revenue, without grieving his subjects by illegal taxes, or by the outrageous seizure of their goods in the shape of purveyance.

As the Scots expected that the chief brunt of the war would fall upon Berwick, Douglas, the regent, threw a strong garrison into that place, under the command of Sir William Keith, and he himself assembled a great army on the frontiers, ready to penetrate into England, as soon as Edward should have invested that place. The English army was less numerous, but better supplied with arms and provisions, and retained in stricter discipline; and the king, notwithstanding the valiant defence made by Keith, had, in two months, reduced the garrison to extremities, and had obliged them to capitulate: they engaged to surrender, if they were not relieved within a few days by their countrymen. This intelligence being conveyed to the Scottish army, which was preparing to invade Northumberland, changed their plan of operations, and engaged them to advance towards Berwick, and attempt the relief of that important fortress. Douglas, who had ever purposed to decline a pitched battle, in which he was sensible of the enemy's superiority, and who intended to have drawn out the war by small skirmishes, and by mutually ravaging each other's country, was forced, by the impatience of his troops, to put the fate of the kingdom upon the event of one day. He attacked the English at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick; and, though his heavy-armed cavalry dismounted, in order to render the action more steady and desperate, they were received with such valour by Edward, and were so galled by the English archers, that they were soon thrown into disorder, and, on the fall of Douglas their general, were totally routed. The whole army fled in confusion, and the English, but much more the Irish, gave little quarter in the pursuit: all the nobles of chief distinction were either slain or taken prisoners: nearly thirty thousand of the Scots fell in the action: while the loss of the English amounted only to one knight, one esquire, and thirteen private soldiers: an inequality almost incredible.

After this fatal blow, the Scottish nobles had no other resource than instant submission; and Edward, leaving a considerable body with Baliol to complete the conquest of the kingdom, returned with the remainder of his army to England. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament assembled at Edinburgh; the superiority of England was again recognised; many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward; and to complete the misfortunes of that nation, Baliol ceded Berwick, Dunbar, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland, which were declared to be for ever annexed to the English monarchy.

If Baliol, on his first appearance, was dreaded by the Scots, as an instrument employed by England for the subjection of the kingdom: this deed confirmed all their suspicions, and rendered him the object of universal hatred. Whatever submissions they might be obliged to make, they considered



him, not as their prince, but as the delegate and confederate of their determined enemy: and neither the manners of the age, nor the state of Edward's revenue, permitting him to maintain a standing army in Scotland, the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the Scots revolted from Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Sir Andrew Murray, appointed regent by the party of this latter prince, employed with success his valour and activity in many small but decisive actions against Baliol; and a short time had almost wholly expelled him the kingdom. Edward was obliged again to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland: the Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses: he destroyed the houses and ravaged the estates of those whom he called rebels: but this confirmed them still farther in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered desperate, they were ready to take advantage, on the first opportunity, of the retreat of their enemy, and they soon re-conquered their country from the English. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland with like success: he found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was encamped: and though he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being broken and subdued. Besides being supported by their pride and anger, passions difficult to tame, they were encouraged amidst all their calamities, by daily promises of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reason to expect from this incident a great diversion of that force which had so long oppressed and overwhelmed them.

We now come to a transaction, on which depended the most memorable events, not only of this long and active reign, but of the whole English and French history, during more than a century; and it will therefore be necessary to give a particular account of the springs and causes of it.

It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never descend to a female; and, in order to give more authority to this maxim, and assign it a determinate origin, it had been usual to derive it from a clause in the Salian Code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that clause, when strictly examined, carries only the appearance of favouring this principle, and does not really, by the confession of the best antiquaries, bear the sense commonly imposed upon it. But though positive law seems wanting among the French for the exclusion of females, the practice had taken place; and the rule was established beyond controversy on some ancient, as well as some modern precedents. During the first race of the monarchy, the Franks were so rude and barbarous a people, that they were incapable of submitting to a female reign; and in that period of their history there were frequent instances of kings advanced to royalty in prejudice to females, who were related to the crown by nearer degrees of consanguinity. These precedents, joined to like causes, had also established the male succession in the second race; and though the instances were neither so frequent nor so certain during that period, the principle of excluding the female line seems still to have prevailed, and to have directed the conduct of the nation. During the third race, the crown had descended from father to son for eleven generations, from Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin; and thus, in fact, during the course of nine hundred years, the French monarchy had

always been governed by males, and no female, and none who founded his title on a female, had ever mounted the throne. Philip the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three sons, this Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, Isabella queen of England. Lewis Hutin, the eldest, left at his death one daughter, by Margaret sister of Eudes duke of Burgundy; and as his queen was then pregnant, Philip his younger brother was appointed regent, till it should appear whether the child proved a son or a daughter. The queen bore a male, who lived only a few days: Philip was proclaimed king: and as the duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the rights of his niece, the states of the kingdom, by a solemn and deliberate decree, gave her an exclusion, and declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. Philip died after a short reign, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles, without dispute or controversy, then succeeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was also short: he left one daughter; but as his queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if the issue should prove female. This prince was Philip de Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king; being the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair: the queen of France was delivered of a daughter: the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimously placed on the throne of France.

The king of England, who was at that time a youth of fifteen years of age, embraced a notion that he was intitled, in right of his mother, to the succession of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the cousin-german. There could not well be imagined a notion weaker or worse grounded. The principle of excluding females was of old an established opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with the most express and positive law: it was supported by ancient precedents: it was confirmed by recent instances, solemnly and deliberately decided: and what placed it still farther beyond controversy; if Edward was disposed to question its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretensions; since the three last kings had all left daughters, who were still alive, and who stood before him in the order of succession. He was therefore reduced to assert, that, though his mother Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, he himself, who inherited through her, was liable to no such objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity. But, besides that this pretension was more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, descended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, it was so contrary to the established principles of succession in every country of Europe, was so repugnant to the practice, both in private and public inheritances, that nobody in France thought of Edward's claim: Philip's title was universally recognized: and he never imagined that he had a competitor, much less so formidable a one as the king of England.

But though the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had rashly entertained this notion, he did not think proper to insist on his pretensions, which must have immediately involved him, on very unequal terms, in a dangerous and implacable war with so powerful a monarch. Philip was a prince of mature years, of great experience, and, at that time, of an established character both for prudence and valour; and by these circumstances, as well as by the internal union of his people, and their acqui-

escence in his undoubted right, he possessed every advantage above a raw youth, newly raised, by injustice and violence, to the government of the most intractable and most turbulent subjects in Europe. But there immediately occurred an incident which required that Edward should either openly declare his pretensions, or for ever renounce and abjure them. He was summoned to do homage for Guienne: Philip was preparing to compel him by force of arms: that country was in a very bad state of defence: and the forfeiture of so rich an inheritance was, by the feudal law, the immediate consequence of his refusing or declining to perform the duty of a vassal. Edward therefore thought it prudent to submit to present necessity: he went over to Amiens: did homage to Philip: and as there had arisen some controversy concerning the terms of this submission, he afterwards sent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France; which was in effect ratifying, and that in the strongest terms, Philip's title to the crown of that kingdom. His own claim indeed was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on it was no better than pretending to the violent conquest of the kingdom; and it is probable that he would never have further thought of it, had it not been for some incidents which excited an animosity between the monarchs.

Robert of Artois was descended from the blood-royal of France, was a man of great character and authority, had espoused Philip's sister, and by his birth, talents, and credit, was entitled to make the highest figure, and fill the most important offices, in the monarchy. This prince had lost the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birthright by a sentence, commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair; and he was seduced to attempt recovering possession by an action so unworthy of his rank and character as a forgery. The detection of this crime covered him with shame and confusion: his brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but prosecuted him with violence: Robert, incapable of bearing disgrace, left the kingdom, and hid himself in the Low Countries: chased from that retreat, by the authority of Philip, he came over to England; in spite of the French king's menaces and remonstrances, he was favourably received by Edward; and was soon admitted into the councils, and shared the confidence of that monarch. Abandoning himself to all the movements of rage and despair, he endeavoured to revive the prepossession entertained by Edward in favour of his title to the crown of France, and even flattered him, that it was not impossible for a prince of his valour and abilities to render his claim effectual. The king was the more disposed to hearken to suggestions of this nature, because he had, in several particulars, found reason to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and because that prince had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and supported, at least encouraged, the Scots in their struggles for independence. Thus resentment gradually filled the breasts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation proposed by the pope, who never ceased interposing his good offices between them. Philip thought that he should be wanting to the first principles of policy if he abandoned Scotland: Edward affirmed, that he must relinquish all pretensions to generosity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert. The former, informed of some preparations for hostilities which had been made by

his rival, issued a sentence of felony and attainder against Robert, and declared, that every vassal of the crown, whether *within* or *without* the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, would be involved in the same sentence; a menace easy to be understood: the latter, resolute not to yield, endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries and on the frontiers of Germany, the only places from which he either could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce such a diversion as might save the province of Guienne, which lay so much exposed to the power of Philip.

The king began with opening his intentions to the count of Hainault his father-in-law; and having engaged him in his interests, he employed the good offices and counsels of that prince in drawing into his alliance the other sovereigns of that neighbourhood. The duke of Brabant was induced, by his mediation, and by large remittances of money from England, to promise his concurrence: the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Faquemont and Baquen, were engaged by like motives to embrace the English alliance. These sovereign princes could supply, either from their own states or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and naught was wanting to make the force of that quarter very formidable but the accession of Flanders; which Edward procured by means somewhat extraordinary and unusual.

As the Flemings were the first people in the northern parts of Europe that cultivated arts and manufactures, the lowest ranks of men among them had risen to a degree of opulence unknown elsewhere to those of their station in that barbarous age: had acquired privileges and independence; and began to emerge from that state of vassalage, or rather of slavery, into which the common people had been universally thrown by the feudal institutions. It was probably difficult for them to bring their sovereign and their nobility to conform themselves to the principles of law and civil government, so much neglected in every other country: it was impossible for them to confine themselves within the proper bounds in their opposition and resentment against any instance of tyranny: they had risen in tumults: had insulted the nobles: had chased their earl into France: and delivering themselves over to the guidance of a seditious leader, had been guilty of all that insolence and disorder, to which the thoughtless and enraged populace are so much inclined, wherever they are unfortunate enough to be their own masters.

Their present leader was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns: he was accompanied by a guard, who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man that happened to fall under his displeasure: all the cities of Flanders were full of his spies; and it was immediate death to give him the smallest umbrage: the few nobles who remained in the country, lived in continual terror from his violence: he seized the estates of all those whom he had either banished or murdered; and bestowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own use. Such were the first effects that Europe saw of popular violence; after having groaned, during so many ages, under monarchical and aristocratical tyranny.

James d'Arteville was the man to whom Edward addressed himself for bringing over the Flemings to



his interests; and that prince, the most haughty and most aspiring of the age, never courted any ally with so much assiduity and so many submissions, as he employed towards this bold and turbulent tradesman. D'Arteville, proud of these advances from the king of England, and sensible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connexions with the English, who furnished them the materials of their woollen manufactures, the chief source of their opulence, readily embraced the interests of Edward, and invited him over into the Low Countries. Edward, before he entered on this great enterprise, affected to consult his parliament, asked their advice, and obtained their consent. And the more to strengthen his hands, he procured from them a grant of 20,000 sacks of wool, which might amount to about a hundred thousand pounds: this commodity was a good instrument to employ with the Flemings; and the price of it with his German allies. He completed the other necessary sums by loans, by pawning the crown jewels, by confiscating, or rather robbing at once all the Lombards, who now exercised the invidious trade formerly monopolised by the Jews, of lending on interest; and being attended by a body of English forces, and by several of his nobility, he sailed over to Flanders.

The German princes, in order to justify their unprovoked hostilities against France, had required the sanction of some legal authority; and Edward, that he might give them satisfaction on this head, had applied to Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, and had been created by him *vicar of the empire*; an empty title, but which seemed to give him a right of commanding the service of the princes of Germany. The Flemings, who were vassals of France, pretending like scruples with regard to the invasion of their liege lord; Edward, by the advice of d'Arteville, assumed in his commissions, the title of king of France; and, in virtue of this right, claimed their assistance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the usurper of his kingdom. This step, which he feared would destroy all future amity between the kingdoms, and beget endless and implacable jealousies in France, was not taken by him without much reluctance and hesitation: and not being in itself very justifiable, it has in the issue been attended with many miseries to both kingdoms. From this period we may date the commencement of that great animosity, which the English nation have ever since born to the French, which has so visible an influence on all future transactions, and which has been, and continues to be, the spring of many rash and precipitate resolutions among them. In all the preceding reigns since the conquest, the hostilities between the two crowns had only been casual and temporary; and as they had never been attended with any bloody or dangerous event, the traces of them were easily obliterated by the first treaty of pacification. The English nobility and gentry valued themselves on their French or Norman extraction: they affected to employ the language of that country in all public transactions, and even in familiar conversation: and both the English court and camp being always full of nobles, who came from different provinces of France, the two people were, during some centuries, more intermingled together than any two distinct nations whom we meet with in history. But the fatal pretensions of Edward III. dissolved all these connexions, and left the seeds of great animosity in both countries, especially among the English. For it is remarkable, that this latter nation, though they were commonly

the aggressors, and by their success and situation were enabled to commit the most cruel injuries on the other, have always retained a stronger tincture of national antipathy; nor is their hatred retaliated on them to an equal degree by the French. That country lies in the middle of Europe, has been successively engaged in hostilities with all its neighbours, the popular prejudices have been diverted into many channels, and, among a people of softer manners, they never rose to a great height against any particular nation.

Philip made great preparations against the attack from the English, and such as seemed more than sufficient to secure him from the danger. Besides the concurrence of all the nobility in his own populous and warlike kingdom, his foreign alliances were both more cordial and more powerful than those which were formed by his antagonist. The pope, who at this time lived at Avignon, was dependent on France, and being disgusted at the connexions between Edward and Lewis of Bavaria, whom he had excommunicated, he embraced with zeal and sincerity the cause of the French monarch. The king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, the count of Bar, were in the same interests; and on the side of Germany, the king of Bohemia, the Palatine, the dukes of Lorraine and Austria, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpont, Vaudemont, and Geneva. The allies of Edward were in themselves weaker; and having no object but his money, which began to be exhausted, they were slow in their motions, and irresolute in their measures. The duke of Brabant, the most powerful among them, seemed even inclined to withdraw himself wholly from the alliance; and the king was necessitated, both to give the Brabanters new privileges in trade, and to contract his son Edward with the daughter of that prince, ere he could bring him to fulfil his engagements. The summer was wasted in conferences and negotiations before Edward could take the field; and he was obliged, in order to allure his German allies into his measures, to pretend that the first attack should be made upon Cambray, a city of the empire which had been garrisoned by Philip. But finding, upon trial, the difficulty of the enterprise, he conducted them towards the frontiers of France; and he there saw, by a sensible proof, the vanity of his expectations: the count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault his brother-in-law (for the old count was dead), refused to commence hostilities against their liege lord, and retired with their troops. So little account did they make of Edward's pretensions to the crown of France!

The king, however, entered the enemy's country, and encamped on the fields of Vironfosse near Campelle, with an army of near 50,000 men, composed almost entirely of foreigners: Philip approached him with an army of near double the force, composed chiefly of native subjects; and it was daily expected that a battle would ensue. But the English monarch was averse to engage against so great a superiority: the French thought it sufficient if he eluded the attacks of his enemy, without running any unnecessary hazard. The two armies faced each other for some days: mutual defiance was sent: and Edward, at last, retired into Flanders, and disbanded his army.

Such was the fruitless and almost ridiculous conclusion of Edward's mighty preparations; and, as his measures were the most prudent that could be embraced in his situation, he might learn from experience in what a hopeless enterprise he was

engaged. His expenses, though they had led to no end, had been consuming and destructive: he had contracted near 300,000 pounds of debt; he had anticipated all his revenue; he had pawned every thing of value which belonged either to himself or his queen; he was obliged, in some measure, even to pawn himself to his creditors, by not sailing to England till he obtained their permission, and by promising, on his word of honour, to return in person, if he did not remit their money.

But he was a prince of too much spirit to be discouraged by the first difficulties of an undertaking; and he was anxious to retrieve his honour by more successful and more gallant enterprises. For this purpose he had, during the course of the campaign, sent orders to summon a parliament by his son Edward, whom he had left with the title of guardian, and to demand some supply in his urgent necessities. The barons seemed inclined to grant his request; but the knights, who often, at this time, acted as a separate body from the burgesses, made some scruple of taxing the constituents without their consent; and they desired the guardian to summon a new parliament, which might be properly empowered for that purpose. The situation of the king and parliament was for the time nearly similar to that which they constantly fell into about the beginning of the 17th century; and similar consequences began visibly to appear. The king, sensible of the frequent demands which he should be obliged to make on his people, had been anxious to ensure to his friends a seat in the house of commons, and at his instigation the sheriffs and other placemen had made interest to be elected into that assembly; an abuse which the knights desired the king to correct by the tenor of his writ of summons, and which was accordingly remedied. On the other hand, the knights had professedly annexed conditions to their intended grant, and required a considerable retrenchment of the royal prerogatives, particularly with regard to purveyance, and the levying of the ancient feudal aids for knightening the king's eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter. The new parliament called by the guardian retained the same free spirit; and though they offered a large supply of 30,000 sacks of wool, no business was concluded; because the conditions which they annexed appeared too high to be compensated by a temporary concession. But when Edward himself came over to England he summoned another parliament, and he had the interest to procure a supply on more moderate terms. A confirmation of the two charters, and of the privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and trespasses, and a remedy for some abuses in the execution of common law, were the chief conditions insisted on; and the king, in return for his concessions on these heads, obtained from the barons and knights an unusual grant, for two years, of the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece on their estates; and from the burgesses a ninth of their moveables at their true value. The whole parliament also granted a duty of forty shillings on each sack of wool exported, on each three hundred woollfells, and on each last of leather for the same term of years; but dreading the arbitrary spirit of the crown, they expressly declared that this grant was to continue no longer, and was not to be drawn into precedent. Being soon afterwards sensible that this supply, though considerable and very unusual in that age, would come in slowly, and would not answer the king's urgent necessities, proceeding both from his debts and his preparations for war; they agreed that 20,000 sacks of wool should

immediately be granted him, and their value be deducted from the ninth which were afterwards to be levied.

But there appeared at this time another jealousy in the parliament, which was very reasonable, and founded on a sentiment that ought to have engaged them rather to check than support the king in all those ambitious projects so little likely to prove successful, and so dangerous to the nation if they did. Edward, who before the commencement of the former campaign, had in several commissions assumed the title of king of France, now more openly in all public deeds gave himself that appellation, and always quartered the arms of France with those of England in his seals and ensigns. The parliament thought proper to obviate the consequences of this measure, and to declare that they owed him no obedience as king of France, and that the two kingdoms must for ever remain distinct and independent. They undoubtedly foresaw that France, if subdued, would in the end prove the seat of government; and they deemed this previous protestation necessary, in order to prevent their becoming a province to that monarchy. A frail security, if the event had really taken place.

As Philip was apprised, from the preparations which were making both in England and the Low Countries, that he must expect another invasion from Edward, he fitted out a great fleet of 400 vessels, manned with 40,000 men; and he stationed them off Sluise, with a view of intercepting the king in his passage. The English navy was much inferior in number, consisting only of 240 sail; but whether it were by the superior abilities of Edward, or the greater dexterity of his seamen, they gained the wind of the enemy, and had the sun in their backs; and with these advantages began the action. The battle was fierce and bloody: the English archers, whose force and address were now much celebrated, galled the French on their approach; and when the ships grappled together, and the contest became more steady and furious, the example of the king, and of so many gallant nobles who accompanied him, animated to such a degree the seamen and soldiery, that they maintained every where a superiority over the enemy. The French also had been guilty of some imprudence in taking their station so near the coast of Flanders, and choosing that place for the scene of action. The Flemings, desiring the battle, hurried out of their harbours, and brought a reinforcement to the English; which coming unexpectedly, had a greater effect than in proportion to its power and numbers. Two hundred and thirty French ships were taken: thirty thousand Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals: the loss of the English was inconsiderable, compared to the greatness and importance of the victory. None of Philip's courtiers, it is said, dared to inform him of the event; till his fool or jester gave him a hint, by which he discovered the loss that he had sustained.

The lustre of this great success increased the king's authority among his allies, who assembled their forces with expedition, and joined the English army. Edward marched to the frontiers of France, at the head of above 100,000 men, consisting chiefly of foreigners, a more numerous army than either before or since has ever been commanded by any king of England. At the same time the Flemings, to the number of 50,000 men, marched out under the command of Robert of Artois, and laid siege to St. Omer; but this tumultuary army, composed entirely of



tradesmen inexperienced in war, was routed by a sally of the garrison, and, notwithstanding the abilities of their leader, was thrown into such a panic, that they were instantly dispersed, and never more appeared in the field. The enterprises of Edward, though not attended with so glorious an issue, proved equally vain and fruitless. The king of France had assembled an army more numerous than the English; was accompanied by all the chief nobility of his kingdom; was attended by many foreign princes, and even by three monarchs, the kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre: yet still he adhered to the prudent resolution of putting nothing to hazard, and after throwing strong garrisons into all the frontier towns, he retired backwards, persuaded that the enemy, having wasted their force in some tedious and unsuccessful enterprise, would afford him an easy victory.

Tournay was at that time one of the most considerable cities of Flanders, containing above 60,000 inhabitants of all ages, who were affectionate to the French government; and as the secret of Edward's designs had not been strictly kept, Philip learned that the English, in order to gratify their Flemish allies, had intended to open the campaign with the siege of this place: he took care, therefore, to supply it with a garrison of 14,000 men, commanded by the bravest nobility of France; and he reasonably expected that these forces, joined to the inhabitants, would be able to defend the city against all the efforts of the enemy. Accordingly Edward, when he commenced the siege, about the end of July, found every where an obstinate resistance: the valour of one side was encountered with equal valour by the other: every assault was repulsed, and proved unsuccessful: and the king was at last obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, in hopes that the great numbers of the garrison and citizens, which had enabled them to defend themselves against his attacks, would but expose them to be the more easily reduced by famine. The count of Eu, who commanded in Tournay, as soon as he perceived that the English had formed this plan of operations, endeavoured to save his provisions, by expelling all the useless mouths; and the duke of Brabant, who wished no success to Edward's enterprises, gave every one a free passage through his quarters.

After the siege had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to distress; and Philip, recalling all his scattered garrisons, advanced towards the English camp, at the head of a mighty army, with an intention of still avoiding any decisive action, but of seeking some opportunity of throwing relief into the place. Here Edward, irritated with the small progress he had hitherto made, and with the disagreeable prospect that lay before him, sent Philip a defiance by a herald: and challenged him to decide their claims for the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of a hundred against a hundred, or by a general engagement. But Philip replied, that Edward having done homage to him for the duchy of Guienne, and having solemnly acknowledged him for his superior, it by no means became him to send a defiance to his liege lord and sovereign: that he was confident, notwithstanding all Edward's preparations, and his conjunction with the rebellious Flemings, he himself should soon be able to chase him from the frontiers of France: that as the hostilities from England had prevented him from executing his purposed crusade against the infidels, he trusted in the assistance of the Almighty, who would reward his pious intention, and

punish the aggressor, whose ill-grounded claims had had rendered them abortive: that Edward proposed a duel on very unequal terms, and offered to hazard only his own person against both the kingdom of France, and the person of the king: but that if he would increase the stake, and put also the kingdom of England on the issue of the duel, he would, notwithstanding that the terms would still be unequal, very willingly accept of the challenge. It was easy to see that these mutual bravadoes were intended only to dazzle the populace, and that the two kings were too wise to think of executing their pretended purpose.

While the French and English armies lay in this situation, and a general action was every day expected, Jane, countess dowager of Hainault, interposed with her good offices, and endeavoured to conciliate peace between the contending monarchs, and to prevent any farther effusion of blood. This princess was mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip; and though she had taken the vows in a convent, and renounced the world, she left her retreat on this occasion, and employed all her pious efforts to allay those animosities which had taken place between persons so nearly related to her and to each other. As Philip had no material claims on his antagonist, she found that he hearkened willingly to the proposals; and even the haughty and ambitious Edward, convinced of his fruitless attempt, was not averse to her negotiation. He was sensible, from experience, that he had engaged in an enterprise which far exceeded his force; and that the power of England was never likely to prevail over that of a superior kingdom, firmly united under an able and prudent monarch. He discovered that all the allies whom he could gain by negotiation were at bottom averse to his enterprise; and though they might second it to a certain length, would immediately detach themselves, and oppose its final accomplishment, if ever they could be brought to think that there was seriously any danger of it. He even saw that their chief purpose was to obtain money from him; and as his supplies from England came in very slowly, and had much disappointed his expectations, he perceived their growing indifference in his cause, and their desire of embracing all plausible terms of accommodation. Convinced at last that an undertaking must be imprudent which could only be supported by means so unequal to the end, he concluded a truce, which left both parties in possession of their present acquisitions, and stopped all farther hostilities on the side of the Low Countries, Guienne, and Scotland, till Midsummer next. A negotiation was soon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the pope's legates; and the truce was attempted to be converted into a solid peace. Edward here required that Philip should free Guienne from all claims of superiority, and entirely withdraw his protection from Scotland: but as he seemed not anywise entitled to make such high demands, either from his past successes or future prospects, they were totally rejected by Philip, who agreed only to a prolongation of the truce.

The king of France soon after detached the Emperor Lewis from the alliance of England, and engaged him to revoke the title of Imperial Vicar, which he had conferred on Edward. The king's other allies on the frontiers of France, disappointed in their hopes, gradually withdrew from the confederacy. And Edward himself, harassed by his numerous and importunate creditors, was obliged to make his escape by stealth into England.

The unusual tax of a ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece, imposed by parliament, together with the great want of money, and still more, of credit in England, had rendered the remittances to Flanders extremely backward; nor could it be expected that any expeditious method of collecting an imposition, which was so new in itself, and which yielded only a gradual produce, could possibly be contrived by the king or his ministers. And though the parliament, foreseeing the inconvenience, had granted, as a present resource, 20,000 sacks of wool, the only English goods that bore a sure price in foreign markets, and were the next to ready money; it was impossible but the getting possession of such a bulky commodity, the gathering it from different parts of the kingdom, and the disposing of it abroad, must take up more time than the urgency of the king's affairs would permit, and must occasion all the disappointments complained of during the course of the campaign. But though nothing had happened which Edward might not reasonably have foreseen, he was so irritated with the unfortunate issue of his military operations, and so much vexed and affronted by his foreign creditors, that he was determined to throw the blame somewhere off himself, and he came in very bad humour into England. He discovered his peevish disposition by the first act which he performed after his arrival: as he landed unexpectedly, he found the Tower negligently guarded; and he immediately committed to prison the constable, and all others who had the charge of that fortress, and he treated them with unusual rigour. His vengeance fell next on the officers of the revenue, the sheriffs, the collectors of the taxes, the undertakers of all kinds; and besides dismissing all of them from their employments, he appointed commissioners to inquire into their conduct; and these men, in order to gratify the king's humour, were sure not to find any person innocent who came before them. Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy seal, Sir John Stunore, chief justice, Andrew Aubrey, mayor of London, were displaced and imprisoned; as were also the bishop of Chichester, chancellor, and the bishop of Litchfield, treasurer, Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the charge of collecting the new taxes had been chiefly intrusted, fell likewise under the king's displeasure; but being absent at the time of Edward's arrival, he escaped feeling the immediate effects of it.

There were strong reasons which might discourage the kings of England in those ages from bestowing the chief offices of the crown on prelates and other ecclesiastical persons. These men had so intrenched themselves in privileges and immunities, and so openly challenged an exemption from all secular jurisdiction, that no civil penalty could be inflicted on them for any malversation in office; and as even treason itself was declared to be no canonical offence, nor was allowed to be a sufficient reason for deprivation or other spiritual censures, that order of men had ensured to themselves an almost total impunity, and were not bound by any political law or statute. But, on the other hand, there were many peculiar causes which favoured their promotion. Besides that they possessed almost all the learning of the age, and were best qualified for civil employments; the prelates enjoyed equal dignity with the greatest barons, and gave weight, by their personal authority, to the powers entrusted with them: while at the same time they did not endanger the crown, by accumulating wealth or influence in their families, and were restrained, by the decency

of their character, from that open rapine and violence so often practised by the nobles. These motives had induced Edward, as well as many of his predecessors, to entrust the chief departments of government in the hands of ecclesiastics, at the hazard of seeing them disown his authority as soon as it was turned against them.

This was the case with Archbishop Stratford. That prelate, informed of Edward's indignation against him, prepared himself for the storm; and not content with standing upon the defensive, he resolved, by beginning the attack, to show the king that he knew the privileges of his character, and had courage to maintain them. He issued a general sentence of excommunication against all who on any pretext exercised violence on the person or goods of clergymen; who infringed those privileges secured by the great charter, and by ecclesiastical canons; or who accused a prelate of treason, or any other crime, in order to bring him under the king's displeasure. Even Edward had reason to think himself struck at by this sentence; both on account of the imprisonment of the two bishops and that of other clergymen concerned in levying the taxes, and on account of his seizing their lands and moveables, that he might make them answerable for any balance which remained in their hands. The clergy, with the primate at their head, were now formed into a regular combination against the king; and many calumnies were spread against him, in order to deprive him of the confidence and affections of the people. It was pretended that he meant to recal the general pardon, and the remission which he had granted of old debts, and to impose new and arbitrary taxes without consent of parliament. The archbishop went so far, in a letter to the king himself, as to tell him that there were two powers by which the world was governed, the holy pontifical apostolic dignity, and the royal subordinate authority: that of these two powers the clerical was evidently the supreme; since the priests were to answer at the tribunal of the divine judgment for the conduct of kings themselves: that the clergy were the spiritual fathers of all the faithful, and amongst others of kings and princes; and were entitled by a heavenly charter, to direct their wills and actions, and to censure their transgressions: and that prelates had heretofore cited emperors before their tribunal, had sitten in judgment on their life and behaviour, and had anathematized them for their obstinate offences. These topics were not well calculated to appease Edward's indignation; and when he called a parliament, he sent not to the primate, as to the other peers, a summons to attend it. Stratford was not discouraged at this mark of neglect or anger: he appeared before the gates, arrayed in his pontifical robes, holding the crosier in his hand, and accompanied by a pompous train of priests and prelates; and he required admittance as the first and highest peer in the realm. During two days the king rejected his application: but sensible either that this affair might be attended with dangerous consequences, or that in his impatience he had groundlessly accused the primate of malversation in his office, which seems really to have been the case, he at last permitted him to take his seat, and was reconciled to him.

Edward now found himself in a bad situation both with his own people and with foreign states; and it required all his genius and capacity to extricate himself from such multiplied difficulties and embarrassments. His unjust and exorbitant claims on



France and Scotland had engaged him in an implaceable war with these two kingdoms, his nearest neighbours: he had lost almost all his foreign alliances by his irregular payments: he was deeply involved in debts, for which he owed a consuming interest: his military operations had vanished into smoke: and except his naval victory, none of them had been attended even with glory or renown, either to himself or to the nation: the animosity between him and the clergy was open and declared: the people were discontented on account of many arbitrary measures in which he had been engaged: and, what was more dangerous, the nobility, taking advantage of his present necessities, were determined to retrench his power, and by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire to themselves independence and authority. But the aspiring genius of Edward, which had so far transported him beyond the bounds of discretion, proved at last sufficient to reinstate him in his former authority, and finally, to render his reign the most victorious that is to be met with in English story: though for the present he was obliged, with some loss of honour, to yield to the current which bore so strongly against him.

The parliament framed an act, which was likely to produce considerable alterations in the government. They premised, that whereas the great charter had, to the manifest peril and slander of the king, and damage of his people, been violated in many points, particularly by the imprisonment of free men, and the seizure of their goods, without suit, indictment, or trial, it was necessary to confirm it anew, and to oblige all the chief officers of the law, together with the steward and chamberlain of the household, the keeper of the privy-seal, the controller and treasurer of the wardrobe, and those who were entrusted with the education of the young prince, to swear to the regular observance of it. They also remarked, that the peers of the realm had formerly been arrested and imprisoned, and dispossessed of their temporalities and lands, and even some of them put to death, without judgment or trial; and they therefore enacted that such violences should henceforth cease, and no peer be punished but by the award of his peers in parliament. They required, that whenever any of the great offices above mentioned became vacant, the king should fill it by the advice of his council, and the consent of such barons as should at that time be found to reside in the neighbourhood of the court. And they enacted, that on the third day of every session, the king should resume into his own hand all these offices, except those of justices of the two benches, and the barons of exchequer; that the ministers should for the time be reduced to private persons; that they should in that condition answer before parliament to any accusation brought against them; and that, if they were found anywise guilty, they should finally be dispossessed of their offices, and more able persons be substituted in their place. By these last regulations the barons approached as near as they durst to those restrictions which had formerly been imposed on Henry III. and Edward II., and which, from the dangerous consequences attending them, had become so generally odious, that they did not expect to have either the concurrence of the people in demanding them, or the assent of the present king in granting them.

In return for these important concessions, the parliament offered the king a grant of 20,000 sacks of wool: and his wants were so urgent, from the

clamours of his creditors, and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept of the supply on these hard conditions. He ratified this statute in full parliament; but he secretly entered a protest of such a nature as were sufficient, one should imagine, to destroy all future trust and confidence with his people: he declared, that as soon as his convenience permitted, he would, from his own authority, revoke what had been extorted from him. Accordingly, he was no sooner possessed of the parliamentary supply, than he issued an edict, which contains many extraordinary positions and pretensions. He first asserts, that that statute had been enacted contrary to law; as if a free legislative body could ever do any thing illegal. He next affirms, that as it was hurtful to the prerogatives of the crown, which he had sworn to defend, he had only dissembled when he seemed to ratify it, but that he had never in his own breast given his consent to it. He does not pretend that either he or the parliament lay under force; but only that some inconvenience would have ensued, had he not seemingly affixed his sanction to that pretended statute. He therefore, with the advice of his council, and of some earls and barons, abrogates and annuls it; and though he professes himself willing and determined to observe such articles of it as were formerly law, he declares it to have thenceforth no force or authority. The parliaments that were afterwards assembled took no notice of this arbitrary exertion of royal power, which, by a parity of reason, left all their laws at the mercy of the king; and, during the course of two years, Edward had so far re-established his influence, and freed himself from his present necessities, that he then obtained from his parliament a legal repeal of the obnoxious statute. This transaction certainly contains remarkable circumstances, which discover the manners and sentiments of the age, and may prove what inaccurate work might be expected from such rude hands, when employed in legislation, and in rearing the delicate fabric of laws and a constitution.

But though Edward had happily recovered his authority at home, which had been impaired by the events of the French war, he had undergone so many mortifications from that attempt, and saw so little prospect of success, that he would probably have dropped his claim, had not a revolution in Brittany opened to him more promising views, and given his enterprising genius a full opportunity of displaying itself.

John III. duke of Brittany had, during some years, found himself declining through age and infirmities; and having no issue, he was solicitous to prevent those disorders to which, on the event of his demise, a disputed succession might expose his subjects. His younger brother, the count of Penthièvre, had left only one daughter, whom the duke deemed his heir; and as his family had inherited the duchy by a female succession, he thought her title preferable to that of the count of Mountfort, who, being his brother by a second marriage, was the male heir of that principality. He accordingly purposed to bestow his niece in marriage on some person who might be able to defend her rights; and he cast his eye on Charles of Blois, nephew to the king of France, by his mother Margaret of Valois, sister to that monarch. But as he both loved his subjects, and was beloved by them, he determined not to take this important step without their approbation; and having assembled the states of Brittany, he represented to them the advantages of that alliance, and

the prospect which it gave of an entire settlement of the succession. The Bretons willingly concurred in his choice: the marriage was concluded: all his vassals, and among the rest the count of Mountfort, swore fealty to Charles and to his consort as to their future sovereigns: and every danger of civil commotions seemed to be obviated, as far as human prudence could provide a remedy against them.

But on the death of this prince, the ambition of the count of Mountfort broke through all these regulations, and kindled a war, not only dangerous to Brittany, but to a great part of Europe. While Charles of Blois was soliciting at the court of France the investiture of the duchy, Mountfort was active in acquiring immediate possession of it; and by force or intrigue he made himself master of Rennes, Nantz, Brest, Hennebonne, and all the most important fortresses, and engaged many considerable barons to acknowledge his authority. Sensible that he could expect no favour from Philip, he made a voyage to England, on pretence of soliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and there, offering to do homage to Edward as king of France, for the duchy of Brittany, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions. Edward saw immediately the advantages attending this treaty: Mountfort, an active and valiant prince, closely united to him by interest, opened at once an entrance into the heart of France, and afforded him much more flattering views than his allies on the side of Germany and the Low Countries, who had no sincere attachment to his cause, and whose progress was also obstructed by those numerous fortifications which had been raised on that frontier. Robert of Artois was zealous in enforcing these considerations: the ambitious spirit of Edward was little disposed to sit down under those repulses which he had received, and which he thought had so much impaired his reputation: and it required a very short negotiation to conclude a treaty of alliance between two men who, though their pleas with regard to the preference of male or female succession were directly opposite, were intimately connected by their immediate interests.

As this treaty was still a secret, Mountfort on his return ventured to appear at Paris in order to defend his cause before the court of peers; but observing Philip and his judges to be prepossessed against his title, and dreading their intentions of arresting him, till he should restore what he had seized by violence, he suddenly made his escape: and war immediately commenced between him and Charles of Blois. Philip sent his eldest son, the duke of Normandy with a powerful army, to the assistance of the latter; and Mountfort, unable to keep the field against his rival, remained in the city of Nantz, where he was besieged. The city was taken by the treachery of the inhabitants; Mountfort fell into the hands of his enemies; was conducted as a prisoner to Paris; and was shut up in the tower of the Louvre.

This event seemed to put an end to the pretensions of the count of Mountfort; but his affairs were immediately retrieved by an unexpected incident, which inspired new life and vigour into his party. Jane of Flanders, countess of Mountfort, the most extraordinary woman of the age, was roused, by the captivity of her husband, from those domestic cares to which she had hitherto limited her genius; and she courageously undertook to support the falling fortunes of her family. No sooner did she receive

the fatal intelligence, than she assembled the inhabitants of Rennes where she then resided; and carrying her infant son in her arms, deplored to them the calamity of their sovereign. She recommended to their care the illustrious orphan, the sole male remaining of their ancient princes, who had governed them with such indulgence and lenity, and to whom they had ever professed the most zealous attachment. She declared herself willing to run all hazards with them in so just a cause; discovered the resources which still remained in the alliance of England; and entreated them to make one effort against an usurper who, being imposed on them by the arms of France, would in return make a sacrifice to his protector of the ancient liberties of Brittany. The audience, moved by the affecting appearance, and inspired by the noble conduct of the princess, vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family: all the other fortresses of Brittany embraced the same resolution: the countess went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, providing them with every thing necessary for subsistence, and concerting the proper plans of defence; and after she had put the whole province in a good posture, she shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she waited with impatience the arrival of those succours which Edward had promised her. Meanwhile she sent over her son to England, that she might both put him in a place of safety, and engage the king more strongly by such a pledge, to embrace with zeal the interests of her family.

Charles of Blois, anxious to make himself master of so important a fortress as Hennebonne, and still more to take the countess prisoner, from whose vigour and capacity all the difficulties to his succession in Brittany now proceeded, sat down before the place with a great army, composed of French, Spaniards, Genoese, and some Bretons; and he conducted the attack with indefatigable industry. The defence was no less vigorous: the besiegers were repulsed in every assault: frequent sallies were made with success by the garrison: and the countess herself being the most forward in all military operations, every one was ashamed not to exert himself to the utmost in this desperate situation. One day she perceived that the besiegers, entirely occupied in an attack, had neglected a distant quarter of their camp; and she immediately sallied forth at the head of a body of 200 cavalry, threw them into confusion, did great execution upon them, and set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines: but when she was preparing to return, she found that she was intercepted, and that a considerable body of the enemy had thrown themselves between her and the gates. She instantly took her resolution: she ordered her men to disband, and to make the best of their way by flight to Brest: she met them at the appointed place of rendezvous, collected another body of 500 horse, returned to Hennebonne, broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, and was received with shouts and acclamations by the garrison, who, encouraged by this reinforcement, and by an example of female valour, not uncommon in that violent age, determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

The reiterated attacks, however, of the besiegers had at length made several breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general assault, which was every hour expected, would overpower the garrison, diminished in numbers, and extremely weakened with watching and fatigue. It became necessary to treat of a capitulation: and the bishop of



Leon was already engaged for that purpose, in a conference with Charles of Blois; when the countess, who had mounted to a high tower, and was looking towards the sea with great impatience, descried some sails at a distance. She immediately exclaimed: "Behold the succours! the English succours! No capitulation!" This fleet had on board a body of heavy-armed cavalry, and six thousand archers, whom Edward had prepared for the relief of Hennebonne, but who had been long detained by contrary winds. They entered the harbour under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England; and having inspired fresh courage into the garrison, immediately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from all their posts, and obliged them to decamp.

But notwithstanding this success, the countess of Mountfort found that her party, overpowered by numbers, was declining in every quarter; and she went over to solicit more effectual succours from the king of England. Edward granted her a considerable reinforcement under Robert of Artois: who embarked on board a fleet of forty-five ships, and sailed to Brittany. He was met in his passage by the enemy; an action ensued, where the countess behaved with her wonted valour, and charged the enemy sword in hand; but the hostile fleets, after a sharp action, were separated by a storm, and the English arrived safely in Brittany. The first exploit of Robert was the taking of Vannes, which he mastered by conduct and address but he survived a very little time this prosperity. The Breton noblemen of the party of Charles assembled secretly in arms, attacked Vannes of a sudden, and carried the place; chiefly by reason of a wound received by Robert, of which he soon after died at sea on his return to England.

After the death of this unfortunate prince, the chief author of all the calamities with which his country was overwhelmed for more than a century, Edward undertook in person the defence of the countess of Mountfort; and as the last truce with France was now expired, the war, which the English and French had hitherto carried on as allies to the competitors for Brittany, was thenceforth conducted in the name and under the standard of the two monarchs. The king landed at Morbhan, near Vannes, with an army of 12,000 men; and, being master of the field, he endeavoured to give a lustre to his arms, by commencing at once three important sieges, that of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz. But by undertaking too much, he failed of success in all his enterprises. Even the siege of Vannes, which Edward in person conducted with vigour, advanced but slowly; and the French had all the leisure requisite for making preparations against him. The duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip, appeared in Brittany, at the head of an army of 30,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry; and Edward was obliged to draw together all his forces, and to entrench himself strongly before Vannes, where the duke of Normandy soon after arrived, and in a manner invested the besiegers. The garrison and the French camp were plentifully supplied with provisions; while the English, who durst not make any attempt upon the place in the presence of a superior army, drew all their subsistence from England, exposed to the hazards of the sea, and sometimes to those which arose from the fleet of the enemy. In this dangerous situation, Edward willingly hearkened to the mediation of the pope's legates, the cardinals of Palestine and Freacati, who

endeavoured to negotiate, if not a peace, at least a truce between the two kingdoms. A treaty was concluded for a cessation of arms during three years; and Edward had the abilities, notwithstanding his present dangerous situation, to procure to himself very equal and honourable terms. It was agreed that Vannes should be sequestered, during the truce, in the hands of the legates, to be disposed of afterwards as they pleased; and though Edward knew the partiality of the court of Rome towards his antagonists, he saved himself, by this device, from the dishonour of having undertaken a fruitless enterprise. It was also stipulated, that all prisoners should be released, that the places in Brittany should remain in the hands of the present possessors, and that the allies on both sides should be comprehended in the truce. Edward, soon after concluding this treaty, embarked with his army for England.

The truce, though calculated for a long time, was of very short duration; and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. Of course the historians of the two countries differ in their account of the matter. It seems probable, however, as is affirmed by the French writers, that Edward, in consenting to the truce, had no other view than to extricate himself from a perilous situation into which he had fallen, and was afterwards very careless in observing it. In all the memorials which remain on this subject, he complains chiefly of the punishment inflicted on Oliver de Clisson, John de Montauban, and other Breton noblemen, who, he says, were partisans of the family of Mountfort, and consequently under the protection of England. But it appears, that at the conclusion of the truce, these noblemen had openly, by their declarations and actions, embraced the cause of Charles of Blois; and if they had entered into any secret correspondence and engagements with Edward, they were traitors to their party, and were justly punishable by Philip and Charles for their breach of faith; nor had Edward any ground of complaint against France for such severities. But when he laid these pretended injuries before parliament, whom he affected to consult on all occasions, that assembly entered into the quarrel, advised the king not to be amused by a fraudulent truce, and granted him supplies for the renewal of the war: the counties were charged with a fifteenth for two years, and the boroughs with a tenth. The clergy consented to give a tenth for three years.

These supplies enabled the king to complete his military operations; and he sent his cousin, Henry earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, into Guienne, for the defence of that province. This prince, the most accomplished in the English court, possessed to a high degree the virtues of justice and humanity, as well as those of valour and conduct; and not content with protecting and cherishing the province committed to his care, he made a successful invasion on the enemy. He attacked the count of Lisle, the French general at Bergerac, beat him from his entrenchments, and took the place. He reduced a great part of Perigord, and continually advanced in his conquests, till the count of Lisle, having collected an army of ten or twelve thousand men, sat down before Auberoche, in hopes of recovering that place, which had fallen into the hands of the English. The earl of Derby came upon him by surprise, with only a thousand cavalry, threw the French into disorder, pushed his advantages, and obtained a complete victory. Lisle himself, with many considerable nobles, was taken prisoner. After

this important success, Derby made a rapid progress in subduing the French provinces. He took Monsegur, Monsepat, Villefranche, Miremont, and Tonins, with the fortress of Damassen. Aiguillon, a fortress deemed impregnable, fell into his hands from the cowardice of the governor. Angouleme was surrendered after a short siege. The only place where he met with considerable resistance was Reole, which, however, was at last reduced, after a siege of above nine weeks. He made an attempt on Blaye, but thought it more prudent to raise the siege, than waste his time before a place of small importance.

The reason why Derby was permitted to make, without opposition, such progress on the side of Guienne, was the difficulties under which the French finances then laboured, and which had obliged Philip to lay on new impositions, particularly the duty on salt, to the great discontent, and almost mutiny, of his subjects. But after the court of France was supplied with money, great preparations were made; and the duke of Normandy, attended by the duke of Burgundy and other great nobility, led towards Guienne a powerful army, which the English could not think of resisting in the open field. The earl of Derby stood on the defensive, and allowed the French to carry on, at leisure, the siege of Angouleme, which was their first enterprise. John Lord Norwich, the governor, after a brave and vigorous defence, found himself reduced to such extremities, as obliged him to employ a stratagem, in order to save his garrison, and to prevent his being reduced to surrender at discretion. He appeared on the walls, and desired a parley with the duke of Normandy. The prince there told Norwich, that he supposed he intended to capitulate. "Not at all," replied the governor: "but as to-morrow is the feast of the Virgin, to whom I know that you, Sir, as well as myself, bear a great devotion, I desire a cessation of arms for that day." The proposal was agreed to; and Norwich, having ordered his forces to prepare all their baggage, marched on next day, and advanced towards the French camp. The besiegers, imagining they were to be attacked, ran to their arms; but Norwich sent a messenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. The duke, who piqued himself on faithfully keeping his word, exclaimed, "I see the governor has outwitted me: but let us be content with gaining the place:" and the English were allowed to pass through the camp unmolested. After some other successes, the duke of Normandy laid siege to Aiguillon; and as the natural strength of the fortress, together with a brave garrison under the command of the earl of Pembroke and Sir Walter Manny, rendered it impossible to take the place by assault, he purposed, after making several fruitless attacks, to reduce it by famine; but, before he could finish this enterprise, he was called to another quarter of the kingdom, by one of the greatest disasters that ever befell the French monarchy.

Edward, informed by the earl of Derby of the great danger to which Guienne was exposed, had prepared a force with which he intended, in person, to bring it relief. He embarked at Southampton, on board a fleet of near a thousand sail, of all dimensions; and carried with him, besides all the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age. The winds proved long contrary; and the king, in despair of arriving in time at Guienne, was at last persuaded by Geoffrey d'Harcourt, to change the destination of his enterprise. This nobleman was a Norman by birth

had long made a considerable figure in the court of France, and was generally esteemed for his personal merit and his valour; but being disobliterated and persecuted by Philip, he had fled into England; had recommended himself to Edward, who was an excellent judge of men; and had succeeded to Robert of Artois in the invidious office of exciting and assisting the king in every enterprise against his native country. He had long insisted, that an expedition to Normandy promised, in the present circumstances, more favourable success than one to Guienne; that Edward would find the northern provinces almost destitute of military force, which had been drawn to the south; that they were full of flourishing cities, whose plunder would enrich the English; that their cultivated fields, as yet unspoiled by war, would supply them with plenty of provisions; and that the neighbourhood of the capital rendered every event of importance in those quarters. These reasons, which had not before been duly weighed by Edward, began to make more impression, after the disappointments which he met with in his voyage to Guienne: he ordered his fleet to sail to Normandy, and safely disembarked his army at la Hogue.

This army, which during the course of the ensuing campaign was crowned with the most splendid success, consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh infantry, and six thousand Irish. The Welsh and the Irish were light disorderly troops, fitter for doing execution in a pursuit, or scouring the country, than for any stable action. The bow was always esteemed a frivolous weapon, where true military discipline was known, and regular bodies of well-armed foot maintained. The only solid force in this army were the men at arms; and even these, being cavalry, were on that account much inferior, in the shock of battle, to good infantry: and as the whole were new levied troops, we are led to entertain a very mean idea of the military force of those ages, which, being ignorant of every other art, had not properly cultivated the art of war itself, the sole object of general attention.

The king created the earl of Arundel constable of his army, and the earls of Warwick and Harcourt marshals: he bestowed the honour of knighthood on the prince of Wales and several of the young nobility immediately upon his landing. After destroying all the ships in la Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourg, he spread his army over the whole country, and gave them an unbounded license of burning, spoiling, and plundering every place of which they became masters. The loose discipline then prevalent could not be much hurt by these disorderly practices; and Edward took care to prevent any surprise, by giving orders to his troops, however they might disperse themselves in the day-time, always to quarter themselves at night near the main body. In this manner Montebourg, Carentan, St. Lo, Valognes, and other places in the Cotentin, were pillaged without resistance; and an universal consternation was spread over the province.

The intelligence of this unexpected invasion soon reached Paris; and threw Philip into great perplexity. He issued orders, however, for levying forces in all quarters, and dispatched the count of Eu, constable of France, and the count of Tancarville, with a body of troops, to the defence of Caën, a populous and commercial, but open city, which lay in the neighbourhood of the English army. The temptation of so rich a prize soon allured Edward to approach it; and the inhabitants, encouraged b



their numbers, and by the reinforcements which they daily received from the country, ventured to meet him in the field. But their courage failed them on the first shock: they fled with precipitation: the counts of Eu and Tancarville were taken prisoners: the victors entered the city along with the vanquished, and a furious massacre commenced, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. The citizens, in despair, barricaded their houses, and assaulted the English with stones, bricks, and every missile weapon: the English made way by fire to the destruction of the citizens: till Edward, anxious to save both his spoil and his soldiers, stopped the massacre; and having obliged the inhabitants to lay down their arms, gave his troops license to begin a more regular and less hazardous plunder of the city. The pillage continued for three days: the king reserved for his own share the jewels, plate, silks, fine cloth, and fine linen; and he bestowed all the remainder of the spoil on his army. The whole was embarked on board the ships, and sent over to England; together with three hundred of the richest citizens of Caën, whose ransom was an additional profit, which he expected afterwards to levy. This dismal scene passed in the presence of two cardinal legates, who had come to negotiate a peace between the kingdoms.

The king moved next to Rouën, in hopes of treating that city in the same manner; but found that the bridge over the Seine was already broken down, and that the king of France himself was arrived there with his army. He marched along the banks of that river towards Paris, destroying the whole country, and every town and village which he met with on his road. Some of his light troops carried their ravages even to the gates of Paris; and the royal palace of St. Germain, together with Nanterre, Ruelle, and other villages, were reduced to ashes within sight of the capital. The English intended to pass the river at Poissy, but found the French army encamped on the opposite banks, and the bridge at that place, as well as all others over the Seine, broken down by orders from Philip. Edward now saw that the French meant to inclose him in their country, in hopes of attacking him with advantage on all sides: but he saved himself by a stratagem from this perilous situation. He gave his army orders to dislodge, and to advance farther up the Seine; but immediately returning by the same road, he arrived at Poissy, which the enemy had already quitted in order to attend his motions. He repaired the bridge with incredible celerity, passed over his army, and having thus disengaged himself from the enemy, advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. His vanguard, commanded by Harcourt, met with the townsmen of Amiens, who were hastening to reinforce their king, and defeated them with great slaughter: he passed by Beauvois, and burned the suburbs of that city: but as he approached the Somme, he found himself in the same difficulty as before: all the bridges on that river were either broken down, or strongly guarded: an army, under the command of Godemar de Faye, was stationed on the opposite banks: Philip was advancing on him from the other quarter, with an army of an hundred thousand men; and he was thus exposed to the danger of being inclosed, and of starving in an enemy's country. In this extremity he published a reward to any one that should bring him intelligence of a passage over the Somme. A peasant, called Golin Agace, whose name has been preserved by the share which he had in these im-

portant transactions, was tempted on this occasion to betray the interests of his country; and he informed Edward of a ford below Abbeville which had a sound bottom, and might be passed without difficulty at low water. The king hastened thither, but found Godemar de Faye on the opposite banks. Being urged by necessity, he deliberated not a moment; but threw himself into the river, sword in hand, at the head of his troops; drove the enemy from their station; and pursued them to a distance on the plain. The French army under Philip arrived at the ford when the rear-guard of the English were passing. So narrow was the escape which Edward, by his prudence and celerity, made from this danger: the rising of the tide prevented the French king from following him over the ford, and obliged that prince to take his rout over the bridge of Abbeville; by which some time was lost.

It is natural to think that Philip, at the head of so vast an army, was impatient to take revenge on the English, and to prevent the disgrace to which he must be exposed if an inferior enemy should be allowed, after ravaging so great a part of his kingdom, to escape with impunity. Edward also was sensible that such must be the object of the French monarch; and, as he had advanced but a little way before his enemy, he saw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of exposing his rear to the insults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He took, therefore, a prudent resolution: he chose his ground with advantage, near the village of Creci; he disposed his army in excellent order; he determined to await in tranquillity the arrival of the enemy; and he hoped that their eagerness to engage and to prevent his retreat, after all their past disappointments, would hurry them on to some rash and ill-concerted action. He drew up his army on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines: the first was commanded by the prince of Wales, and under him, by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Harcourt, and by the Lords Chandos, Holland, and other noblemen: the earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the Lords Willoughby, Basset, Roos, and Sir Lewis Tufton, were at the head of the second line: he took to himself the command of the third division, by which he purposed either to bring succour to the two first lines, or to secure a retreat in case of any misfortune, or to push his advantages against the enemy. He had likewise the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French, who might assail him from that quarter; and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which he also secured by an intrenchment.

Lingard says, "The spot on which he (Edward, the king), had determined to receive the enemy, was an eminence which rose with a gentle ascent, a little behind the village of Creci. In the evening he invited his barons to supper, entertained them with cheerfulness, and dismissed them with a promise of victory. When they were gone, he entered his oratory, threw himself on his knees before the altar, and prayed that God would preserve his honour. It was midnight when he retired to his bed: he slept little, and at the dawn of the morning assisted at mass, and received the communion with his son the prince of Wales, who had just reached his fifteenth year.

"As soon as the troops had breakfasted, the marshals issued their orders, and each lord, under his own banner and pennon, marched to the ground

which had been allotted him on the preceding day. All were dismounted, to take away the temptation of pursuit or flight. The first division, under the nominal command of the prince, the real command of the earls of Warwick and Oxford, consisted of eight hundred men at arms, a thousand Welsh infantry, and two thousand archers. At some distance behind them, but rather on the flank, was placed the second division of eight hundred men at arms, and twelve hundred archers. The third, under the command of the king, comprised seven hundred men at arms, and two thousand archers, and was stationed as a reserve (these numbers are given by Froissart, but it is thought they are too low,) on the summit of the hill. The archers of each division formed in its front, in the shape of a portcullis: and orders were issued that no man should incur himself with the charge of a prisoner, or quit his post to pursue a fugitive. Edward, on a palfrey, with a mareschal on each side, rode from company to company, speaking to all, exhorting them to defend his honour, and expressing his confidence of victory. About ten o'clock he ordered them to take refreshment. They sat in ranks on the ground with their bows and helmets before them.

"The king of France had marched from Abbeville about sunrise; but the multitude of his followers advanced in so disorderly a manner, that the knights who had reconnoitred the English army, advised him to postpone the battle till the morrow, and employ the interval in marshalling his army. Two officers were immediately dispatched, one to the van, the other to the rear, crying out 'Halt, banners, in the name of God and St. Denis;' but these orders increased the confusion. By some they were obeyed, by many misunderstood, and by the greater part disregarded. Philip suffered himself to be carried forward by the stream: and as soon as he saw the English, he lost his temper, and ordered the Genoese to form and begin the battle.

"The Genoese were a body of six, or according to some writers, of fifteen thousand Italians, who fought with cross bows, under two celebrated leaders, Antonia Doria, and Carlo Grimaldi. They were supported by the king's brother, the count D'Alençon, with a numerous cavalry superbly accoutred. The king himself followed with the rest of the army in four divisions: the amount of the combatants has been estimated by different writers at every intermediate number, between 60,000 and 120,000.

"Never, perhaps, were preparations for battle made under circumstances so truly awful. On that very day the sun suffered a partial eclipse: birds in clouds, the precursors of a storm, flew screaming over the two armies; and the rain fell in torrents accompanied with incessant thunder and lightning. About five in the afternoon the weather cleared up: the sun in full splendour darted his rays in the eyes of the enemy; and the Genoese, setting up three shouts, discharged their quarrels. But they were no match for the English archers, who received the volley in silence, and returned their arrows in such numbers, and with such force, that the cross-bow men began to waver. The Count D'Alençon, calling them cowards, ordered his men to cut down the runaways; but he only added to the disorder. Many of his knights were unhorsed by the archers, and as they lay on the ground were dispatched by the Welshmen, who had armed themselves with long knives for the purpose." The French historians say that the rain had slackened the strings of the Genoese bows, which were not kept in covers like the English.

"At length the passage was cleared: the count on one side, and his colleague the earl of Flanders on the other, skirted the English archers, while a numerous body of French, Germans, and Savoyards, forced their way to the men at arms under the command of the prince. The second division immediately closed for his support: but the conflict grew fierce and doubtful; and Sir Thomas Norwich was sent to request a reinforcement. Edward, who from a windmill watched the chances of the battle, and the movements of the armies, inquired if his son were killed or wounded. The messenger replied, 'No.' 'Then,' said he, 'tell Warwick that he shall have no assistance. Let the boy win his spurs. He and those who have him in charge, shall earn the whole glory of the day.'"

This speech is given very differently by different authors; Hume modernizes into a set speech, and Mackintosh gives it with none of the justice which Lingard has worded it; Mackintosh's appears to be the most correct statement, which is, that Edward asked of the messenger, "Is my son dead?" "No, sir," replied the knight; "but he is hardly matched." "Return to those who sent you," said the king, "and say, that they send no more to me while my son is alive. Let them suffer him to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will this journey (day) be his." This difference is of little consequence, except that it proves in how many different ways the same story may be told.

We now return to Lingard. "The king of France was impatient to join the Count D'Alençon; but the archers in his front opposed an impenetrable barrier. At each charge he lost the bravest of his attendants: his horse had been killed under him; and his friends advised, in vain, to retire. At length it began to grow dark: his brother and the earl of Flanders had fallen; and the battle evidently was lost, when John of Hainault, telling him to reserve himself for victory on some other occasion, laid hold of his bridle, and led him away by force. With a small retinue of five barons and sixty knights, he escaped to the city of Amiens.

"The flight of Philip did not terminate the contest. Many of the French continued in detached bodies to charge their adversaries: but as their efforts were made without concert, they generally ended in the destruction of the assailants. As the darkness increased the fighting gradually ceased: the voices of men, seeking the banners from which they had wandered, were no longer heard: and the English congratulated themselves on the repulse of the enemy. The king, ignorant of the extent of his victory, ordered fires to be kindled, and forbade his men to quit their posts. Eager to testify his approbation of the prince, he sprang to meet him, and clasping him in his arms, exclaimed: 'Fair son, continue your career. You have behaved nobly. You have shewn yourself worthy of me and the crown.' The young Edward sank on his knee, and modestly attributed all the merit to his father.

"The darkness of the night was succeeded by a dense mist in the morning, which equally intercepted the view; and to gain information the king sent out before sunrise a detachment of three thousand men. They soon found themselves in the midst of a body of militia from Beauvais and Amiens, which ignorant of the preceding events, had marched all night to overtake the army. These men unsuspecting of danger, and unprepared for battle, were massacred almost without resistance. A similar mistake proved equally fatal to the archbishop of



Rouën, and the grand Prior of France, with a numerous body of knights. As the day cleared, thousands of Frenchmen were discovered in the fields, who had passed the night under the trees and hedges, in the hope of finding their lords in the morning. These, too, were butchered by the English cavalry: so that the carnage of the second is asserted to have exceeded that of the former day.

"At noon the king ordered the Lords Cobham and Stafford to examine the field of battle. They took with them three heralds, to ascertain from the surcoats of the knights, and two secretaries to record, the names and ranks of those who had fallen. In the evening they presented to the king eighty banners, and a catalogue of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand persons of inferior consideration. A truce of three days was proclaimed to allow the enemy time to bury their dead: and Edward assisted in mourning at the funeral service in the cemetery of Monténay.

"Among the slain the most distinguished was John, king of Bohemia. Age had not chilled in him the fire of youth: though blind, he placed himself in the first division of the French; and as the issue grew dubious, ordered the four knights, his attendants, to lead him into the hottest of the battle, 'that I, too,' said he, 'may have a stroke at the English.' Placing himself in the midst of them, and interlacing their bridles, they spurred forward their horses, and were almost immediately slain. The reader will probably consider the Bohemian monarch as foolishly prodigal of life: by the writers of the age his conduct has been extolled as an instance of unparelled heroism. His crest, three ostrich feathers, with the motto, 'Ich dien,' I serve, was adopted by the prince of Wales, and has always been borne by his successors."

Mackintosh says, "John of Luxemburgh (the king of Bohemia), was slain by Prince John," an excess of credulity in favour of that young warrior, to which even Hume does not venture.

The date of this battle is variously given as having been fought on the 24th, the 25th, and the 26th of August. Mackintosh says, Saturday, the 26th of August, 1346, in which Rapin and Henry agree with him, and also Lingard, though the last, by a mistake in printing, has July for August, a self-evident error. It is somewhat strange that there should be any doubt of the actual date of a day marked by so extraordinary an astronomical occurrence.

Hume says, the king of Majorca was slain, but this was not the case; he certainly did not die until three years subsequently; and there is some doubt of his being present at all at this action. He gives the following statement of the numbers who were slain.

On the day of battle, and on the ensuing, there fell, by a moderate computation, 1200 French knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men at arms, besides about 30,000 of inferior rank: many of the principal nobility of France, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Aumale, were left on the field of battle. The action may seem no less remarkable for the small loss sustained by the English, than for the great slaughter of the French: there were killed in it only one esquire, and three knights, and very few of inferior rank: a demonstration, that the prudent disposition planned by Edward, and the disorderly attack made by the French, had rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle; which was indeed the common case with engagements in those times.

The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the measures which he pursued after it. Not elated by his present prosperity, so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces; he purposed only to secure such an easy entrance into that kingdom, as might afterwards open the way to more moderate advantages. He knew the extreme distance of Guienne: he had experienced the difficulty and uncertainty of penetrating on the side of the Low Countries, and had already lost much of his authority over Flanders by the death of d'Arteville, who had been murdered by the populace themselves, his former partisans, on his attempting to transfer the sovereignty of that province to the prince of Wales. The king, therefore, limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais; and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the slain, he marched with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

John of Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, was governor of Calais, and being supplied with every thing necessary for defence, he encouraged the townsmen to perform to the utmost their duty to their king and country. Edward, therefore, sensible from the beginning that it was in vain to attempt the place by force, purposed only to reduce it by famine: he chose a secure station for his camp; drew entrenchments around the whole city; raised huts for his soldiers, which he covered with straw or broom; and provided his army with all the conveniences necessary to make them endure the winter season, which was approaching. As the governor soon perceived his intention, he expelled all the useless mouths; and the king had the generosity to allow these unhappy people to pass through his camp, and he even supplied them with money for their journey.

While Edward was engaged in this siege, which employed him near a twelvemonth, there passed in different places many other events; and all to the honour of the English arms.

The retreat of the duke of Normandy from Guienne left the earl of Derby master of the field; and he was not negligent in making his advantage of the superiority. He took Mirebeau by assault: he made himself master of Lusignan in the same manner: Taillebourg and St. Jean d'Angeli fell into his hands: Poitiers opened its gates to him; and Derby having thus broken into the frontiers on that quarter, carried his incursions to the banks of the Loire, and filled all the southern provinces of France with horror and devastation.

The flames of war were at the same time kindled in Brittany. Charles of Blois invaded that province with a considerable army, and invested the fortress of Roche de Rien; but the countess of Mountfort, reinforced by some English troops under Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him during the night in his intrenchments, dispersed his army, and took Charles himself prisoner. His wife, by whom he enjoyed his pretensions to Brittany, compelled by the present necessity, took on her the government of the party, and proved herself a rival in every shape, and an antagonist to the countess of Mountfort, both in the field and in the cabinet. And while these heroic dames presented this extraordinary scene to the world, another princess in England, of still higher rank, showed herself no less capable of exerting every manly virtue.

The Scottish nation, after long defending, with

incredible perseverance, their liberties against the superior force of the English, recalled their king, David Bruce, in 1342. Though that prince, neither by his age nor capacity, could bring them great assistance, he gave them the countenance of sovereign authority; and as Edward's wars on the continent proved a great diversion to the force of England, they rendered the balance more equal between the kingdoms. In every truce which Edward concluded with Philip, the king of Scotland was comprehended; and when Edward made his last invasion upon France, David was strongly solicited by his ally to begin also hostilities, and to invade the northern counties of England. The nobility of his nation being always forward in such incursions, David soon mustered a great army, entered Northumberland at the head of above 50,000 men, and carried his ravages and devastations to the gates of Durham. But Queen Philippa, assembling a body of little more than 12,000 men, which she entrusted to the command of Lord Piercy, ventured to approach him at Neville's Cross, near that city; and riding through the ranks of her army, exhorted every man to do his duty, and to take revenge on these barbarous ravagers. Nor could she be persuaded to leave the field, till the armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots have often been unfortunate in the great pitched battles which they fought with the English; even though they commonly declined such engagements where the superiority of numbers was not on their side: but never did they receive a more fatal blow than the present. They were broken and chased off the field: fifteen thousand of them, some historians say twenty thousand, were slain; among whom were Edward Keith, earl mareschal, and Sir Thomas Charteris, chancellor: and the king himself was taken prisoner, with the earls of Sutherland, Fife, Monteith, Carrie, Lord Douglas, and many other noblemen.

Philippa, having secured her royal prisoner in the Tower, crossed the sea at Dover; and was received in the English camp before Calais with all the triumph due to her rank, her merit, and her success. This age was the reign of chivalry and gallantry: Edward's court excelled in these accomplishments as much as in policy and arms; and if any thing could justify the obsequious devotion then professed to the fair sex, it must be the appearance of such extraordinary women as shone forth during that period.

The town of Calais had been defended with remarkable vigilance, constancy, and bravery, by the townsmen, during a siege of unusual length: but Philip, informed of their distressed condition, determined at last to attempt their relief; and he approached the English with an immense army, which the writers of that age make amount to 200,000 men. But he found Edward so surrounded with morasses, and secured by intrenchments, that, without running on inevitable destruction, he concluded it impossible to make an attempt on the English camp. He had no other resource than to send his rival a vain challenge to meet him in the open field; which, being refused, he was obliged to decamp with his army, and disperse them into their several provinces.

John of Vienne, governor of Calais, now saw the necessity of surrendering his fortress, which was reduced to the last extremity by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants. He appeared on the walls, and made a signal to the English centinels that he desired a parley. Sir Walter Manny was sent to him by Edward. "Brave knight," cried the go-

vernor, "I have been entrusted by my sovereign with the command of this town: it is almost a year since you besieged me; and I have endeavoured, as well as those under me, to do our duty. But you are acquainted with our present condition: we have no hopes of relief; we are perishing with hunger; I am willing therefore to surrender, and desire, as the sole condition, to ensure the lives and liberties of these brave men, who have so long shared with me every danger and fatigue."

Manny replied, that he was well acquainted with the intentions of the king of England; that that prince was incensed against the townsmen of Calais for their pertinacious resistance, and for the evils which they had made him and his subjects suffer; that he was determined to take exemplary vengeance on them; and would not receive the town on any condition which should confine him in the punishment of these offenders. "Consider," replied Vienne, "that this is not the treatment to which brave men are entitled: if any English knight had been in my situation, your king would have expected the same conduct from him. The inhabitants of Calais have done for their sovereign what merits the esteem of every prince; much more of so gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you, that if we must perish, we shall not perish unrevengeed; and that we are not yet so reduced, but we can sell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is the interest of both sides to prevent these desperate extremities; and I expect that you yourself, brave knight, will interpose your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny was struck with the justness of the sentiments, and represented to the king the danger of reprisals, if he should give such treatment to the inhabitants of Calais. Edward was at last persuaded to mitigate the rigour of the conditions demanded: he only insisted that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, to be disposed of as he thought proper; that they should come to his camp, carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bare-headed and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and, on these conditions, he promised to spare the lives of all the remainder.

When this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, it struck the inhabitants with new consternation. To sacrifice six of their fellow-citizens to certain destruction for signaling their valour in a common cause, appeared to them even more severe than that general punishment with which they were before threatened; and they found themselves incapable of coming to any resolution in so cruel and distressful a situation. At last one of the principal inhabitants, called Eustace de St. Pierre, stepped forward, and declared himself willing to encounter death for the safety of his friends and companions: another, animated by his example, made a like generous offer: a third and a fourth presented themselves to the same fate; and the whole number was soon completed. These six heroic burghesses appeared before Edward in the guise of malefactors, laid at his feet the keys of their city, and were ordered to be led to execution. The queen threw herself on her knees before him, and, with tears in her eyes, begged the lives of these citizens. Having obtained her request, she carried them into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and, after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety.

This story is taken nearly word for word from Froissart, and, like many other of his extraordinary



stories, is somewhat to be suspected; and so much the more, as Avesbury, who is particular in his narration of the surrender of Calais, says nothing of it; and, on the contrary, extols in general the king's generosity and lenity to the inhabitants. The numberless mistakes of Froissart, proceeding either from negligence, credulity, or love of the marvellous, invalidate very much his testimony, even though he was a contemporary, and though his history was dedicated to Queen Philippa herself. It is a mistake to imagine, that the patrons of dedications read the books, much less vouch for all the contents of them. It is not a slight testimony that should make us give credit to a story so dishonourable to Edward, especially after that proof of his humanity, in allowing a free passage to all the women, children, and infirm people, at the beginning of the siege; at least, it is scarcely to be believed, that if the story has any foundation, he seriously meant to execute his menaces against the six townsmen of Calais.

Lingard disregards this story entirely, and Mackintosh says, "It may be expected the whole scene was a concerted exhibition, to display the grace of mercy in union with the terrors of vengeance."

The king took possession of Calais; and immediately executed an act of more justifiable rigour. He knew that, notwithstanding his pretended title to the crown of France, every Frenchman regarded him as a mortal enemy: he therefore ordered all the inhabitants of Calais to evacuate the town, and he peopled it anew with English; a policy which probably preserved so long to his successors the dominion of that important fortress. He made it the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not the sole commodities, of the kingdom, for which there was any considerable demand in foreign markets. All the English were obliged to bring thither these goods. Foreign merchants came to the same place in order to purchase them: and at a period when posts were not established, and when the communication between states was so imperfect, this institution, though it hurt the navigation of England, was probably of advantage to the kingdom.

Through the mediation of the pope's legates, Edward concluded a truce with France; but, even during this cessation of arms, he had very nearly lost Calais, the sole fruit of all his boasted victories. The king had entrusted the place to Aimery de Pavie, an Italian, who had discovered bravery and conduct in the wars, but was utterly destitute of every principle of honour and fidelity. This man agreed to deliver up Calais for the sum of twenty thousand crowns; and Geoffrey de Charni, who commanded the French forces in those quarters, and who knew that, if he succeeded in this service, he should not be disavowed, ventured, without consulting his master, to conclude the bargain with him. Edward, informed of this treachery by means of Aimery's secretary, summoned the governor to London on other pretences; and having charged him with the guilt, promised him his life, but on condition that he would turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. The Italian easily agreed to this double treachery. A day was appointed for the admission of the French; and Edward, having prepared a force of about a thousand men, under Sir Walter Manny, secretly departed from London, carrying with him the prince of Wales; and, without being suspected, arrived the evening before at Calais. On the appearance of Charni, a chosen band of French soldiers was admitted at the postern; and Aimery, receiving the stipulated sum, promised

that, with their assistance, he would immediately open the great gate to the troops, who were waiting with impatience for the fulfilling of his engagement. All the French who entered were immediately slain, or taken prisoners: the great gate opened: Edward rushed forth with cries of battle and of victory: the French, though astonished at the event, behaved with valour: a fierce and bloody engagement ensued. As the morning broke, the king, who was not distinguished by his arms, and who fought as a private man under the standard of Sir Walter Manny, remarked a French gentleman, called Eustace de Ribaumont, who exerted himself with singular vigour and bravery; and he was seized with a desire of trying a single combat with him. He stepped forth from his troop, and challenging Ribaumont by name, (for he was known to him,) began a sharp and dangerous encounter. He was twice beaten to the ground by the valour of the Frenchman: he twice recovered himself: the victory was long undecided; till Ribaumont, perceiving himself to be left almost alone, called out to his antagonist, "Sir knight, I yield myself your prisoner;" and at the same time delivered his sword to the king. Most of the French, being overpowered by numbers, and intercepted in their retreat, lost either their lives or their liberty.

According to Lingard, Aimery was not treacherous to Edward, but furnished him with the idea of outplotting Charni. Aimery was subsequently surprised in the castle at Fretun, by Charni, which Edward had given him, and murdered.

The French officers who had fallen into the hands of the English were conducted into Calais; where Edward discovered to them the antagonist with whom they had the honour to be engaged, and treated them with great regard and courtesy. They were admitted to sup with the prince of Wales and the English nobility; and, after supper, the king himself came into the apartment, and went about, conversing familiarly with one or other of his prisoners. He even addressed himself to Charni, and avoided reproaching him, in too severe terms, with the treacherous attempt which he had made upon Calais during the truce: but he openly bestowed the highest encomiums upon Ribaumont; called him the most valourous knight that he had ever been acquainted with; and confessed that he himself had at no time been in so great danger, as when engaged in combat with him. He then took a string of pearls, which he wore about his own head, and throwing it over the head of Ribaumont, he said to him, "Sir Eustace, I bestow this present upon you as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery: and I desire you to wear it a year for my sake: I know you to be gay and amorous, and to take delight in the company of ladies and damsels: let them all know from what hand you had the present: you are no longer a prisoner; I acquit you of your ransom; and you are at liberty to-morrow to dispose of yourself as you think proper."

Nothing proves more evidently the vast superiority assumed by the nobility and gentry above all the other orders of men during those ages, than the extreme difference which Edward made in his treatment of these French knights, and that of his reported conduct to the six citizens of Calais, who had exerted more signal bravery in a cause more justifiable and more honourable.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Institution of the Garter—State of France—Battle of Poitiers—Captivity of the king of France—State of that Kingdom—Invasion of France—Peace of Bretigni—State of France—Expedition into Castile—Rupture with France—Ill success of the English—Death of the prince of Wales—Death—and character of the King.*

THE prudent conduct and great success of Edward in his foreign wars, had excited a strong emulation and a military genius among the English nobility; and these turbulent barons, overawed by the crown, gave now a more useful direction to their ambition, and attached themselves to a prince who led them to the acquisition of riches and glory. That he might farther promote the spirit of emulation and obedience, the king instituted the order of the Garter, in imitation of some orders of a like nature, religious as well as military, which had been established in different parts of Europe. The number received into this order consisted of twenty-five persons, besides the sovereign; and as it has never been enlarged, this badge of distinction continues as honourable as at its first institution, and is still a valuable, though a cheap present, which the prince can confer on his greatest subjects. A vulgar story prevails, but is not supported by any ancient authority, that, at a court-ball, Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and the king, taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, as if they thought that he had not obtained this favour merely by accident: upon which he called out, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, "Evil to him that evil thinks;" and as every incident of gallantry among those ancient warriors was magnified into a matter of great importance, he instituted the order of the Garter in memorial of this event, and gave these words as the motto of the order. This origin, though frivolous, is not unsuitable to the manners of the times; and it is indeed difficult by any other means to account, either for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or for the peculiar badge of the garter, which seems to have no reference to any purpose either of military use or ornament.

But a sudden damp was thrown over this festivity and triumph of the court of England, by a destructive pestilence which invaded that kingdom, as well as the rest of Europe. "It was," says Lingard, "a pestilence as general and destructive as any recorded in history. We first discover it in the empire of Cathai; thence we may trace its progress through different provinces of Asia to the Delta and the banks of the Nile; a south wind transported it into Greece and the Grecian islands; from which it swept the coasts of the Mediterranean, depopulated Italy, and crossed the barrier of the Alps into France. A succession of earthquakes, which shook the continent of Europe from Calabria to the north of Poland, ushered in the fatal year 1348; and though England escaped this calamity (the earthquake) it was deluged from the month of June to December with almost incessant torrents of rain. In the first week of August, the plague made its appearance at Dorchester: in November it reached London, and thence gradually proceeded towards the north of the island. Of its victims, many expired in the course of six hours, and few lingered more than three days. From man, the exterminating malady extended to the brute creation; the carcasses of sheep, horses, and oxen, lay scattered in

the fields; they were untouched by birds of prey; and their putrefaction aided the malignity of the disorder. The labours of husbandry were neglected; no courts of justice were opened; the parliament was frequently prorogued by proclamation, and men, intent only on their own safety, fled from the care of the infected, and slighted every call of honour, duty, and humanity. When historians tell us that one-half or one-third of the human race perished, we may suspect them of exaggeration; but it is easy to form some idea of the mortality, from the fact that all the cemeteries in London were soon filled; that Sir Walter Manny purchased for a public burial place, a field of thirteen acres, where the Charter-house now stands; and that the bodies deposited in it, during several weeks, amounted to the daily average of two hundred. It was observed, that though the malady assailed the English in Ireland, it spared the natives. The Scots, too, were exempt for several months; and the circumstance afforded them a subject of triumph over their enemies, and introduced among them a popular oath, 'by the foul dethe of the English.' They had even assembled an army to invade the neighbouring counties, when the contagion insinuated itself into their camp in the forest of Selkirk. Five thousand men died before they disbanded their forces, and the fugitives carried with them the infection into the most distant recesses of Scotland.

The consequences of the mortality are carefully detailed by the contemporary writers. At first the reduction of the number of the consumers effected a proportionate reduction in the price of all merchantable articles; in the second year the prices rose with a rapidity, and to a height, which alarmed the government. The ravages of the pestilence had been chiefly confined to the lower orders; for the more wealthy, by shutting themselves up in their castles, and declining all unnecessary communication with the neighbourhood, had, in a great measure, escaped the infection. But hence arose a want of labourers for the cultivation of land, and of artisans to construct or repair the implements of husbandry."

In August, 1351, Edward obtained a naval victory, of which Hume makes no mention, although it appears to have been an obstinate engagement and of some political importance. Some of the Biscayan mariners, jealous rivals of the English, had committed many acts of piracy, and Edward, with a fleet of 50 small vessels, determined to chastise them in person; after an obstinate engagement the Spaniards were defeated, but not without great loss and imminent personal hazard on the part of the king and prince of Wales who were nearly sunk in their vessel, which was destroyed. Subsequently, a truce was concluded for twenty years, between "the king of England and the maritime cities of the lordship of the king of Castile."

During the truce, Philip de Valois had died, without being able to re-establish the affairs of France, which his bad success against England had thrown into extreme disorder. This monarch, during the first years of his reign, had obtained the appellation of "Fortunate," and acquired the character of prudent; but he ill maintained either the one or the other; less from his own fault, than because he was overmatched by the superior fortune and superior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his son John gave the French nation cause to regret even the calamitous times of his predecessor. John was distinguished by many virtues, particularly a scrupulous honour and fidelity: he was not



deficient in personal courage: but as he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight, which his difficult situation required, his kingdom was at the same time disturbed by intestine commotions, and oppressed with foreign wars. The chief source of its calamities was Charles king of Navarre, who received the epithet of the bad or wicked, and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation. This prince was descended from males of the blood royal of France; his mother was daughter of Lewis Hutin; he had himself espoused a daughter of King John: but all these ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to shake and overthrow it. With regard to his personal qualities, he was courteous, affable, engaging, eloquent; full of insinuation and address; inexhaustible in his resources; active and enterprising. But these splendid accomplishments were attended with such defects as made them pernicious to his country, and even ruinous to himself: he was volatile, inconstant, faithless, revengeful, malicious; restrained by no principle or duty; insatiable in his pretensions; and whether successful or unfortunate in one enterprise, he immediately undertook another, in which he was never deterred from employing the most criminal and most dishonourable expedients.

The constable of Eu, who had been taken prisoner by Edward at Caën, recovered his liberty, on the promise of delivering as his ransom, the town of Guisnes, near Calais, of which he was superior lord; but as John was offended at this stipulation, which, if fulfilled, opened still farther that frontier to the enemy: and as he suspected the constable of more dangerous connexions with the king of England, he ordered him to be seized, and, without any legal or formal trial, put him to death in prison. Charles de la Cerda was appointed constable in his place; and had a like fatal end; the king of Navarre ordered him to be assassinated; and such was the weakness of the crown, that this prince, instead of dreading punishment, would not even agree to ask pardon for his offence, but on condition that he should receive an accession of territory: and he had also John's second son put into his hands as a security for his person, when he came to court, and performed this act of mock penitence and humiliation before his sovereign.

The two French princes seemed entirely reconciled; but this dissimulation, to which John submitted from necessity, and Charles from habit, did not long continue; and the king of Navarre knew that he had reason to apprehend the most severe vengeance for the many crimes and treasons which he had already committed, and the still greater which he was meditating. To ensure himself of protection, he entered into a secret correspondence with England, by means of Henry earl of Derby, now earl of Lancaster, who at that time was employed in fruitless negotiations for peace at Avignon, under the mediation of the pope. John detected this correspondence; and to prevent the effects of it, he sent forces into Normandy, the chief seat of the king of Navarre's power, and attacked his castles and fortresses. But hearing that Edward had prepared an army to support an ally, he had the weakness to propose an accommodation with Charles, and even to give this traitorous subject the sum of a hundred thousand crowns as the purchase of a feigned reconciliation, which rendered him still more dangerous. The king of Navarre, insolent from past impunity, and desperate from the dangers which he apprehended, continued his intrigues; and associ-

ating himself with Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who had received his pardon from Philip de Valois, but persevered still in his factious disposition, he increased the number of his partizans in every part of the kingdom. He even seduced, by his address, Charles the king of France's eldest son, a youth seventeen years of age, who was the first that bore the name of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. But this prince, being made sensible of the danger and folly of these connexions, promised to make atonement for the offence by the sacrifice of his associates; and, in concert with his father, he invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feast at Roüen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the most obnoxious were immediately led to execution; the king of Navarre was thrown into prison: but this stroke of severity in the king, and of treachery in the Dauphin, was far from proving decisive in maintaining the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, put all the towns and castles belonging to that prince in a posture of defence; and had immediate recourse to the protection of England in this desperate extremity.

The truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill observed on both sides, was now expired: and Edward was entirely free to support the French malcontents. Well pleased that the factions in France had at length gained him some partisans in that kingdom, which his pretensions to the crown had never been able to accomplish, he purposed to attack his enemy both on the side of Guienne, under the command of the Prince of Wales, and on that of Calais, in his own person.

Young Edward arrived in the Garonne with his army, on board a fleet of three hundred sail, attended by the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Oxford, Suffolk, and other English noblemen. Being joined by the vassals of Gascony, he took the field; and as the present disorders in France prevented every proper plan of defence, he carried on with impunity his ravages and devastations, according to the mode of war in that age. He reduced all the villages and several towns in Languedoc to ashes: he presented himself before Thoulouse; passed the Garonne, and burned the suburbs of Carcassonne; advanced even to Narbonne, laying every place waste around him: and after an incursion of six weeks, returned with a vast booty and many prisoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters. The constable of Bourbon, who commanded in these provinces, received orders, though at the head of a superior army, on no account to run the hazard of a battle.

The king of England's incursion from Calais was of the same nature, and attended with the same issue. He broke into France at the head of a numerous army; to which he gave a full licence of plundering and ravaging the whole country. He advanced to St. Omer, where the king of France was posted; and on the retreat of that prince followed him to Hesdin. John still kept at a distance, and declined an engagement; but, in order to save his reputation, he sent Edward a challenge to fight a pitched battle with him; a usual bravado in that age, derived from the practice of single combat, and ridiculous in the art of war. The king finding no sincerity in this defiance, retired to Calais, and thence went over to England, in order to defend that kingdom against the threatened invasion of the Scots.

The Scots, taking advantage of the king's ab-

sence, and that of the military power of England, nad surprised Berwick; and had collected an army with a view of committing ravages upon the northern provinces: but on the approach of Edward they abandoned that place, which was not tenable while the castle was in the hands of the English: and, retiring to the mountains, gave the enemy full liberty of burning and destroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh. Baliol attended Edward on this expedition; but finding that his constant adherence to the English had given his countrymen an unconquerable aversion to his title, and that he himself was declining through age and infirmities, he finally resigned into the king's hands his pretensions to the crown of Scotland, and received in lieu of them an annual pension of 2000*l.*, with which he passed the remainder of his life in privacy and retirement.

During these military operations, Edward received information of the increasing disorders in France, arising from the imprisonment of the king of Navarre; and he sent Lancaster, at the head of a small army, to support the partisans of that prince in Normandy. The war was conducted with various success, but chiefly to the disadvantage of the French malcontents; till an important event happened in the other part of the kingdom, which had well nigh proved fatal to the monarchy of France, and threw everything into the utmost confusion.

The prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the preceding campaign, took the field with an army, which no historian makes amount to above 12,000 men, and of which not a third were English; and, with this small body, he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. After ravaging the Agenois, Quercy, and the Limousin, he entered the province of Berry, and made some attacks, though without success, on the towns of Bourges and Issoudon. It appeared, that his intentions were to march into Normandy, and to join his forces with those of the earl of Lancaster and the partisans of the king of Navarre; but finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every pass carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne. He found this resolution the more necessary, from the intelligence which he received of the king of France's motions. That monarch, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, and entertaining hopes of success from the young prince's temerity, collected a great army of above 60,000 men, and advanced, by hasty marches, to intercept his enemy. The prince not aware of John's near approach, lost some days on his retreat before the castle of Remorantin; and thereby gave the French an opportunity of overtaking him. They came within sight at Maupertuis near Poitiers; and Edward, sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all his characteristic courage and prudence.

But these would have proved insufficient to save him in this extremity, had the king of France known how to make use of his present advantages. His great superiority in numbers enabled him to surround the enemy; and, by intercepting all provisions, which were already become scarce in the English camp, to reduce this army, without a blow, to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. But such was the impatient ardour of the French nobility, and so much had their thoughts been bent on overtaking the English as their sole object, that this idea never struck any of the commanders; and they immediately took measures for the assault, as for a

certain victory. While the French army was drawn up in the order of battle, they were stopped by the appearance of the cardinal Talleyrand of Perigord; who, having learned the approach of the two armies to each other, had hastened, by interposing his good offices, to prevent any further effusion of Christian blood. By John's permission, he carried proposals to the prince of Wales; and found him so sensible of the bad posture of his affairs, that an accommodation seemed not impracticable. Edward told him, that he would agree to any terms consistent with his own honour and that of England; and he offered to purchase a retreat, by ceding all the conquests which he had made during this and the former campaign, and by stipulating not to serve against France during the course of seven years. But John, imagining that he had now got into his hands a sufficient pledge for the restitution of Calais, required that Edward should surrender himself prisoner, with a hundred of his attendants; and offered, on these terms, a safe retreat to the English army. The prince rejected the proposal with disdain; and declared that whatever fortune might attend him, England should never be obliged to pay the price of his ransom. This resolute answer cut off all hopes of accommodation; but, as the day was already spent in negotiating, the battle was delayed till the next morning.

The cardinal of Perigord, as did all the prelates of the court of Rome, bore a great attachment to the French interest; but the most determined enemy could not, by any expedient, have done a greater prejudice to John's affairs, than he did them by this delay. The prince of Wales had leisure, during the night, to strengthen by new intrenchments, the post which he had before so judiciously chosen; and he contrived an ambush of 300 men at arms, and as many archers, whom he put under the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army, during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himself. The lords Chandos, Audeley, and many other brave and experienced commanders, were at the head of different corps of his army.

John also arranged his forces in three divisions, nearly equal; the first was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; the third by the king himself, who had by his side Philip his fourth son and favourite, then about fourteen years of age. There was no reaching the English army, but through a narrow lane, covered on each side by hedges; and in order to open this passage, the marshals Andrehen and Clermont were ordered to advance with a separate detachment of men at arms. While they marched along the lane, a body of English archers, who lined the hedges, plied them on each side with their arrows; and being very near them, yet placed in perfect safety, they coolly took their aim against the enemy, and slaughtered them with impunity. The French detachment, much discouraged by the unequal combat, and diminished in their number, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met on the open ground the prince of Wales himself, at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception. They were discomfited and overthrown: One of the marshals was slain; the other taken prisoner: and the remainder of the detachment, who were still in the



lance, and exposed to the shot of the enemy, without being able to make resistance, recoiled upon their army and put every thing into disorder. In that critical moment the *Capit de Buche* unexpectedly appeared, and attacked in flank the dauphin's line, which fell into some confusion. *Landas*, *Bondenai*, and *St. Venant*, to whom the care of that young prince and his brothers had been committed, too anxious for their charge or for their own safety, carried them off the field, and set the example of flight, which was followed by the whole division. The duke of Orleans, seized with a like panic, and imagining all was lost, thought no longer of fighting, but carried off his division by a retreat, which soon turned into a flight. Lord Chandos called out to the prince, that the day was won; and encouraged him to attack the division under King John, which, though more numerous than the whole English army, were somewhat dismayed with the precipitate flight of their companions. John here made the utmost efforts to retrieve by his valour what his imprudence had betrayed; and the only resistance made that day, was by his line of battle. The prince of Wales fell with impetuosity on some German cavalry placed in the front, and commanded by the counts of *Sallebruche*, *Nydo*, and *Nosto*: a fierce battle ensued: one side were encouraged by the prospect of so great a victory: the other were stimulated by the shame of quitting the field to an enemy so much inferior: but the three German generals, together with the duke of Athens, constable of France, falling in battle, that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king himself exposed to the whole fury of the enemy. The ranks were every moment thinned around him: the nobles fell by his side one after another: his son, scarce fourteen years of age, received a wound, while he was fighting valiantly in defence of his father: the king himself, spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, might easily have been slain; but every English gentleman, ambitious of taking alive the royal prisoner, spared him in the action, exhorted him to surrender, and offered him quarter: several who attempted to seize him suffered for their temerity. He still cried out, "Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales?" and seemed unwilling to become prisoner to any person of inferior rank. But being told that the prince was at a distance on the field, he yielded himself to *Dennis de Morbec*, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly his country for murder. His son was taken with him. This victory was gained on the 18th Sept. 1356.

The prince of Wales, who had been carried away in pursuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the toils of battle; enquiring still with great anxiety concerning the fate of the French monarch. He dispatched the earl of Warwick to bring him intelligence; and that nobleman came happily in time to save the life of the captive prince, which was exposed to greater danger than it had been during the heat of the action. The English had taken him by violence from *Morbec*: the Gascons claimed the honour of detaining the royal prisoner: and some brutal soldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, had threatened to put him to death. Warwick overawed both parties, and approaching the king with great demonstrations of respect, offered to conduct him to the prince's tent.

Edward, in compliance with the highest politeness of chivalry, came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and sympathy;

administered comfort to him amidst his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior providence, which controls all the efforts of human force and prudence. The behaviour of John showed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment: his present abject fortune never made him forget for a moment that he was a king: more touched by Edward's generosity than by his own calamities, he confessed, that, notwithstanding his defeat and captivity, his honour was still unimpaired; and that, if he yielded the victory, it was at least gained by a prince of consummate valour and humanity.

Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the prisoner; and he himself served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue: he stood at the king's back during the meal; constantly refused to take a place at the table; and declared, that, being a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty, to assume such freedom. All his father's pretensions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion: John, in captivity, received the honours of a king, which were refused him, when seated on the throne.

We cannot but remark here, that this conduct of Edward, which all historians have so vaunted, seems to us, not to be the offspring of a truly generous or enlightened mind: had it been so, no invidious or ostentatious difference would have been made. His over humility must have been as wounding and have caused as visible a difference, as the most ignominious treatment. Edward the Black Prince, was a "mirror of knighthood," he had a warm imagination, which tinged his character with romance, and he therefore carried his courtesy and gallantry to the extreme, but these qualities ought not to be mistaken for humanity nor philanthropy, nor do they entitle him to the praise of being merciful and tender. He had no feeling but to rank, as his frequent indiscriminate slaughters prove.

All the English and Gascon knights imitated the courteous example set them by their prince. The captives were everywhere treated with humanity, and were soon after dismissed, on paying moderate ransoms to the persons into whose hands they had fallen. The extent of their fortunes was considered; and an attention was given, that they should still have sufficient means left to perform their military service in a manner suitable to their rank and quality. Yet so numerous were the noble prisoners, that these ransoms, added to the spoils gained in the field, were sufficient to enrich the prince's army; and as they had suffered very little in the action, their joy and exultation was complete.

The prince of Wales conducted his prisoner to *Bordeaux*; and not being provided with forces so numerous as might enable him to push his present advantages, he concluded a two years truce with France, which was also become requisite, that he might conduct the captive king with safety to England. He landed at Southwark, and was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks and stations. The prisoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty, and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side in a meaner attire, and carried by a black palfrey. In this situation he passed through the streets of London, and presented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the same politeness as if he

had been a neighbouring potentate that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly visit.

The king of France, besides the generous treatment which he met with in England, had the melancholy consolation of the wretched, to see companions in affliction. The king of Scots had been eleven years a captive in Edward's hands; and the good fortune of this latter monarch had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to be prisoners in his capital. But Edward, finding that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, and that the government, conducted by Robert Stuart his nephew and heir, was still able to defend itself, consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty, for the ransom of 100,000 marks sterling; and that prince delivered the sons of all his principal nobility as hostages for the payment.

Meanwhile, the captivity of John, joined to the preceding disorders of the French government, had produced in that country a dissolution, almost total, of civil authority, and had occasioned confusions, the most horrible and destructive that had ever been experienced in any age or in any nation. The dauphin, now about eighteen years of age, naturally assumed the royal power during his father's captivity; but though endowed with an excellent capacity, even in such early years, he possessed neither experience nor authority sufficient to defend a state, assailed at once by foreign power and shaken by intestine faction. In order to obtain supplies, he assembled the states of the kingdom: that assembly, instead of supporting his administration, were themselves seized with the spirit of liberty; and laid hold of the present opportunity to demand limitations of the prince's power, the punishment of past malversations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provost of the merchants, and first magistrate of Paris, put himself at the head of the unruly populace; and from the violence and temerity of his character, pushed them to commit outrages against the royal authority. They detained the dauphin in a sort of captivity; they murdered in his presence Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, marshals, the one of Normandy, the other of Burgundy; they threatened all the other ministers with a like fate; and when Charles, who was obliged to temporise and dissemble, made his escape from their hands, they levied war against him, and openly erected the standard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, shook off the dauphin's authority; took the government into their own hands; and spread the disorder into every province. The nobles, whose inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and who were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost all their influence; and being reproached with cowardice on account of the base desertion of their sovereign in the battle of Poitiers, were treated with universal contempt by the inferior orders. The troops, who, from the deficiency of pay, were no longer retained in discipline, threw off all regard to their officers, sought the means of subsistence by plunder and robbery, and associating to them all the disorderly people, with whom that age abounded, formed numerous bands, which infested all parts of the kingdom. They desolated the open country; burned and plundered the villages; and by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence, reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the most extreme necessity. The peasants, formerly oppressed and now left unprotected by their masters, became de-

perate from their present misery; and rising every where in arms, carried to the last extremity those disorders which were derived from the sedition of the citizens and disbanded soldiers. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, where everywhere exposed to the violence of popular rage; and instead of meeting with the regard due to their past dignity, became only, on that account, the object of more wanton insult to the mutinous peasants. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword with out mercy: their castles were consumed with fire, and levelled to the ground: their wives and daughters were first ravished, then murdered: the rebels proceeded so far as to impale some gentlemen, and roast them alive before a slow fire: a body of nine thousand of them broke into Meaux, where the wife of the dauphin, with above 300 ladies, had taken shelter: the most brutal treatment and most atrocious cruelty were justly dreaded by this helpless company: but the Captal de Buche, though in the service of Edward, yet moved by the feelings of a knight, flew to their rescue, and beat off the peasants with great slaughter. In other civil wars, the opposite factions, falling under the government of their several leaders, commonly preserve still the vestige of some rule and order: but here the wild state of nature seemed to be renewed: every man was thrown loose and independent of his fellows: and the populousness of the country, derived from the preceding police of civil society, served only to increase the horror and confusion of the scene.

Amidst these disorders, the king of Navarre made his escape from prison, and presented a dangerous leader to the furious malcontents. But the splendid talents of this prince qualified him only to do mischief, and to increase the public distractions: he wanted the steadiness and prudence requisite for making his intrigues subservient to his ambition, and forming his numerous partisans into a regular faction. He revived his pretensions, somewhat obsolete, to the crown of France: but while he advanced this claim, he relied entirely on his alliance with the English, who were concerned in interest to disappoint his pretensions; and who, being public and inveterate enemies to the state, served only, by the friendship which they seemingly bore him, to render his cause the more odious. And in all his operations he acted more like a leader of banditti, than one who aspired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged, by his station, to endeavour the re-establishment of order in the community.

The eyes, therefore, of all the French, who wished to restore peace to their miserable and desolated country, were turned towards the dauphin; and that young prince, though not remarkable for his military talents, possessed so much prudence and spirit, that he daily gained the ascendant over all his enemies. Marcel, the seditious provost of Paris, was slain while he was attempting to deliver the city to the king of Navarre and the English; and the capital immediately returned to its duty. The most considerable bodies of the peasants were dispersed and put to the sword: some bands of military robbers underwent the same fate: and though many grievous disorders still remained, France began gradually to assume the face of a regular civil government, and to form some plan for its defence and security.

During the confusion of the dauphin's affairs, Edward seemed to have a favourable opportunity for pushing his conquests: but besides that his hands



were tied by the truce, and he could only assist underhand the faction of Navarre; the state of the English finances and military power, during those ages, rendered the kingdom incapable of making any regular or steady effort, and obliged it to exert its force at very distant intervals, by which all the projected ends were commonly disappointed. Edward employed himself, during a juncture so inviting, chiefly in negotiations with his prisoner; and John had the weakness to sign terms of peace, which, had they taken effect, must have totally ruined and dismembered his kingdom. He agreed to restore all the provinces which had been possessed by Henry II. and his two sons, and to annex them for ever to England, without any obligation of homage or fealty on the part of the English monarch. But the dauphin and the states of France rejected this treaty, so dishonourable and pernicious to the kingdom; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having now by subsidies and frugality collected some treasure, prepared himself for a new invasion of France.

The great authority and renown of the king and the prince of Wales, the splendid success of their former enterprises, and the certain prospect of plunder from the defenceless provinces of France, soon brought together the whole military power of England; and the same motives invited to Edward's standard all the hardy adventurers of the different countries of Europe. He passed over to Calais, where he assembled an army of near a hundred thousand men; a force which the dauphin could not pretend to withstand in the open field: that prince, therefore, prepared himself to elude a blow which it was impossible for him to resist. He put all the considerable towns in a posture of defence, ordered them to be supplied with magazines and provisions; distributed proper garrisons in all places; secured every thing valuable in the fortified cities; and chose his own station at Paris, with a view of allowing the enemy to vent their fury on the open country.

The king, aware of this plan of defence, was obliged to carry along with him six thousand waggons, loaded with the provisions necessary for the subsistence of his army. After ravaging the provinces of Picardy, he advanced into Champagne; and having a strong desire to be crowned king of France at Rheims, the usual place in which this ceremony is performed, he laid siege to that city, and carried on his attacks, though without success, for the space of seven weeks. The place was bravely defended by the inhabitants, encouraged by the exhortations of the archbishop John de Craon; till the advanced season (for this expedition was entered upon in the beginning of winter) obliged the king to raise the siege. The province of Champagne meanwhile was desolated by his incursions; and he thence conducted his army with a like intent into Burgundy. He took and pillaged Tonnerre, Gailon, Avallon, and other small places; but the duke of Burgundy, that he might preserve his country from farther ravages, consented to pay him the sum of 100,000 nobles. Edward then bent his march towards the Nivernois, which saved itself by a like composition: he laid waste Brie and the Gatinois; and after a long march, very destructive to France, and somewhat ruinous to his own troops, he appeared before the gates of Paris, and taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, extended his army to Longjumeau, Mont-rouge, and Vaugirard. He tried to provoke the dauphin to hazard a battle, by sending him a defiance; but could not make that prudent prince change his plan of operations. Paris

was safe from the danger of an assault by its numerous garrison; from that of a blockade by its well supplied magazines: and as Edward himself could not subsist his army in a country wasted by foreign and domestic enemies, and left also empty by the precaution of the dauphin, he was obliged to remove his quarters; and he spread his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beausse, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to the fury of their devastations. The only repose which France experienced, was during the festival of Easter, when the king stopped the course of his ravages. For superstition can sometimes restrain the rage of men, which neither justice nor humanity is able to controul.

While the war was carried on in this ruinous manner, the negotiations for peace were never interrupted: but as the king still insisted on the full execution of the treaty which he had made with his prisoner at London, and which was strenuously rejected by the dauphin, there appeared no likelihood of an accommodation. The earl, now duke of Lancaster (for this title was introduced into England during the present reign) endeavoured to soften the rigour of these terms, and to finish the war on more equal and reasonable conditions. He insisted with Edward, that notwithstanding his great and surprising successes, the object of the war, if such were to be esteemed the acquisition of the crown of France, was not become any nearer than at the commencement of it; or rather, was set at a greater distance by those very victories and advantages which seemed to lead to it. That his claim of succession had not from the first procured him one partisan in the kingdom; and the continuance of these destructive hostilities had united every Frenchman in the most implacable animosity against him. That though intestine faction had crept into the government of France, it was abating every moment; and no party, even during the greatest heat of the contest, when subjection under a foreign enemy usually appears preferable to the dominion of fellow-citizens, had ever adopted the pretensions of the king of England. That the king of Navarre himself, who alone was allied with the English, instead of being a cordial friend, was Edward's most dangerous rival, and, in the opinion of his partisans, possessed a much preferable title to the crown of France. That the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the English soldiers, was ruinous to the king himself, who bore all the charges of the armament, without reaping any solid or durable advantage from it. That if the present disorders of France continued, that kingdom would soon be reduced to such a state of desolation, that it would afford no spoils to its ravagers; if it could establish a more steady government, it might turn the chance of war in its favour, and by its superior force and advantages be able to repel the present victors. That the dauphin, even during his greatest distresses, had yet conducted himself with so much prudence, as to prevent the English from acquiring one foot of land in the kingdom; and it were better for the king to accept by a peace, what he had in vain attempted to acquire by hostilities, which, however hitherto successful, had been extremely expensive, and might prove very dangerous: and that Edward having acquired so much glory by his arms, the praise of moderation was the only honour to which he could now aspire; an honour so much the greater, as it was durable, was united with that of prudence, and might be attended with the most real advantages.

These reasons induced Edward to accept of more

moderate terms of peace; and it is probable that, in order to palliate this change of resolution, he ascribed it to a vow made during a dreadful tempest, which attacked his army on their march, and which ancient historians represent as the cause of this sudden accommodation. The conferences between the English and French commissioners were carried on during a few days at Bretigni in the Chartraine, and the peace was at last concluded on the following conditions. It was stipulated that King John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay as his ransom three million of crowns of gold about 1,500,000 pounds of our present money; which was to be discharged at different payments; that Edward should for ever renounce all claims to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, l'Agenois, Perigot, the Linousin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France: that the full sovereignty of all these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England, and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal, from them: that the king of Navarre should be restored to all his honours and possessions: that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings; John his connexions with the Scots: that the disputes concerning the succession of Brittany, between the families of Blois and Mountfort, should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings; and if the competitors refused to submit the award, the dispute should no longer be a ground of war between the kingdoms: and that forty hostages, such as should be agreed on, should be sent to England as a security for the execution of all these conditions.

In consequence of this treaty, the king of France was brought over to Calais; whither Edward also soon after repaired: and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty. John was sent to Boulogne; the king accompanied him a mile on his journey; and the two monarchs parted with many professions, probably cordial and sincere, of mutual amity. The good disposition of John made him fully sensible of the generous treatment which he had received in England, and obliterated all memory of the ascendancy gained over him by his rival. There seldom has been a treaty of so great importance so faithfully executed by both parties. Edward had scarcely from the beginning entertained any hopes of acquiring the crown of France: by restoring John to his liberty, and making peace at a juncture so favourable to his arms, he had now plainly renounced all pretensions of this nature: he had sold at a very high price that chimerical claim; and had at present no other interest than to retain those acquisitions which he had made with such singular prudence and good fortune. John, on the other hand, though the terms were severe, possessed such fidelity and honour, that he was determined at all hazards to execute them, and to use every expedient for satisfying a monarch who had indeed been his greatest political enemy, but had treated him personally with singular humanity and regard. But, notwithstanding his endeavours, there occurred many difficulties in fulfilling his purpose; chiefly from the extreme reluctance which many towns and vassals in the neighbourhood of Guienne expressed against submitting to the English dominion; and John, in or-

der to adjust these differences, took a resolution of coming over himself to England. His council endeavoured to dissuade him from this rash design; and probably would have been pleased to see him employ more chicanes for eluding the execution of so disadvantageous a treaty: but John replied to them, that though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breasts of princes. Some historians would detract from the merit of this honourable conduct, by representing John as enamoured of an English lady to whom he was glad on this pretence to pay a visit; but besides that this surmise is not founded on good authority, it appears somewhat unlikely, on account of the advanced age of that prince, who was now in his fifty-sixth year. He was lodged in the Savoy; the palace where he had resided during his captivity, and where he soon after sickened and died. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the great dominion of fortune over men, than the calamities which pursued a monarch of such eminent valour, goodness, and honour, and which he incurred merely by reason of some slight imprudences, which in other situations would have been of no importance. But though both his reign and that of his father proved extremely unfortunate to their kingdom, the French crown acquired, during their time, very considerable accessions, those of Dauphiny and Burgundy. This latter province, however, John had the imprudence again to dismember by bestowing it on Philip his fourth son, the object of his most tender affections; a deed which was afterwards the source of many calamities to the kingdom.

John was succeeded in the throne by Charles the dauphin, a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified, by his consummate prudence and experience, to repair all the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his two predecessors. Contrary to the practice of all the great princes of those times, which held nothing in estimation but military courage, he seems to have fixed it as a maxim never to appear at the head of his armies; and he was the first king in Europe that showed the advantage of policy, foresight, and judgment, above a rash and precipitate valour. The events of his reign, compared with those of the preceding, are a proof how little reason kingdoms have to value themselves on their victories, or to be humbled by their defeats; which in reality ought to be ascribed chiefly to the good or bad conduct of their rulers, and are of little moment towards determining national characters and manners.

Before Charles could think of counterbalancing so great a power as England, it was necessary for him to remedy the many disorders to which his own kingdom was exposed. He turned his arms against the king of Navarre, the great disturber of France during that age: he defeated this prince by the conduct of Bertrand du Guesclin, a gentleman of Brittany, one of the most accomplished characters of the age, whom he had the discernment to chuse as the instrument of all his victories: and he obliged his enemy to accept of moderate terms of peace. Du Guesclin was less fortunate in the wars of Brittany, which still continued, notwithstanding the mediation of France and England: he was defeated and taken prisoner at Auray by Chandos: Charles of Blois was there slain, and the young count of Mountfort soon after got entire possession of that duchy. But the prudence of Charles broke the force of this blow: he submitted to the decision of fortune: he acknowledged the title of Mountfort.



though a zealous partisan of England; and received the proffered homage for his dominions. But the chief obstacle which the French king met with in the settlement of the state proceeded from obscure enemies, whom their crimes alone rendered eminent, and their number dangerous.

On the conclusion of the treaty of Bretigni, the many military adventurers who had followed the standard of Edward, being dispersed into the several provinces, and possessed of strong holds, refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could gain a subsistence. They associated themselves with the banditti, who were already inured to the habits of rapine and violence; and under the name of the "Companies" and "Companions," became a terror to all the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character, particularly Sir Matthew Gournay, Sir Hugh Calverly, the chevalier Verte, and others, were not ashamed to take the command of these ruffians, whose numbers amounted on the whole to near 40,000, and who bore the appearance of regular armies, rather than bands of robbers. These leaders fought pitched battles with the troops of France, and gained victories; in one of which, Jaques de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, was slain: and they proceeded to such a height, that they wanted little but regular establishments to become princes, and thereby sanctify, by the maxims of the world, their infamous profession. The greater spoil they committed on the country, the more easy they found it to recruit their number: all those who were reduced to misery and despair flocked to their standard; the evil was every day increasing: and though the pope declared them excommunicated, these military plunderers, however deeply affected by the sentence, to which they paid a much greater regard than to any principles of morality, could not be induced by it to betake themselves to peaceable or lawful professions.

As Charles was not able by power to redress so enormous a grievance, he was led by necessity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy, and to contrive some method of discharging into foreign countries this dangerous and intestine evil.

Peter, king of Castile, stigmatised by his contemporaries and by posterity with the epithet of "Cruel," had filled with blood and murder his kingdom and his own family; and having incurred the universal hatred of his subjects, he kept, from present terror alone, an anxious and precarious possession of the throne. His nobles fell every day the victims of his severity: he put to death several of his natural brothers from groundless jealousy; each murder, by multiplying his enemies, became the occasion of fresh barbarities; and as he was not destitute of talents, his neighbours, no less than his own subjects, were alarmed at the progress of his violence and injustice. The ferocity of his temper, instead of being softened by his strong propensity to love, was rather inflamed by that passion, and took thence new occasion to exert itself. Instigated by Mary de Padilla, who had acquired the ascendancy over him, he threw into prison Blanche de Bourbon, his wife, sister to the queen of France; and soon after made way by poison for the espousing of his mistress.

Henry, count of Trastamare, his natural brother, seeing the fate of every one who had become obnoxious to this tyrant, took arms against him; but being foiled in the attempt, he sought for refuge in France, where he found the minds of men ex-

tremely inflamed against Peter, on account of his murder of the French princess. He asked permission of Charles, to enlist the "Companies" in his service, and to lead them into Castile; where, from the concurrence of his own friends, and the enemies of his brother, he had the prospect of certain and immediate success. The French king, charmed with the project, employed du Guesclin in negotiating with the leaders of these banditti. The treaty was soon concluded. The high character of honour which that general possessed, made every one trust to his promises: though the intended expedition was kept a secret, the companies implicitly enlisted under his standard: and they required no other condition before their engagement, than an assurance that they were not to be led against the prince of Wales in Guienne. But that prince was so little averse to the enterprise, that he allowed some gentlemen of his retinue to enter into the service under du Guesclin.

Du Guesclin, having completed his levies, led the army first to Avignon, where the pope then resided, and demanded, sword in hand, an absolution for his soldiers, and the sum of 200,000 livres. The first was readily promised him; some more difficulty was made with regard to the second. "I believe that my fellows," replied du Guesclin, "may make a shift to do without your absolution; but the money is absolutely necessary." The pope then extorted from the inhabitants in the city and neighbourhood the sum of 100,000 livres, and offered it to du Guesclin. "It is not my purpose," cried that generous warrior, "to oppress the innocent people. The pope and his cardinals themselves can well spare me that sum from their own coffers. This money, I insist, must be restored to the owners. And should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution." The pope found the necessity of submitting, and paid him from his treasury the sum demanded. The army, hallowed by the blessings, and enriched by the spoils, of the church, proceeded on their expedition.

These experienced and hardy soldiers, conducted by so able a general, easily prevailed over the king of Castile, whose subjects, instead of supporting their oppressor, were ready to join the enemy against him. Peter fled from his dominions, took shelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the prince of Wales, whom his father had invested with the sovereignty of these conquered provinces, by the title of the principality of Aquitaine. The prince seemed now to have entirely changed his sentiments with regard to the Spanish transactions: whether that he was moved by the generosity of assisting a distressed prince, and thought, as is but too usual among sovereigns, that the rights of the people were a matter of much less consideration; or dreaded the acquisition of so powerful a confederate to France as the new king of Castile; or, what is most probable, was impatient of rest and ease, and sought only an opportunity for exerting his military talents, by which he had already required so much renown. We must say this last appears the most probable cause; for it must be confessed that Edward was but a violent and hardy warrior, who had little care for anything but the dazzling glory of military achievements. He promised his assistance to the dethroned monarch; and having obtained the consent of his father, he levied a great army, and set out upon his enterprise. He was accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, created duke of Lancaster,

in the room of the good prince of that name, who had died without any male issue, and whose daughter he had espoused. Chandos also, who bore among the English the same character which du Guesclin had acquired among the French, commanded under him in this expedition.

The first blow which the prince of Wales gave to Henry of Trastamare, was the recalling of all the "Companies" from his service; and so much reverence did they bear to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain, and enlisted under his banners. Henry, however, beloved by his new subjects, and supported by the king of Arragon and others of his neighbours, was able to meet the enemy with an army of 100,000 men; forces three times more numerous than those which were commanded by Edward, Du Guesclin, and all his experienced officers, advised him to delay any decisive action, to cut off the prince of Wales's provisions, and to avoid every engagement with a general, whose enterprises had hitherto been always conducted with prudence and crowned with success. Henry trusted too much to his numbers; and ventured to encounter the English prince at Najara. Historians of that age are commonly very copious in describing the shock of armies in battle, the valour of the combatants, the slaughter and the various successes of the day; but though small encounters in those times were often well disputed, military discipline was always too imperfect to preserve order in great armies; and such actions deserve more the name of routs than of battles. Henry was chased off the field, with the loss of above 20,000 men: there perished only four knights and forty private men on the side of the English.

Peter, who so well merited the infamous epithet which he bore, purposed to murder all his prisoners in cold blood; but was restrained from this barbarity by the remonstrances of the prince of Wales. All Castile now submitted to the victor; Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward finished this perilous enterprise with his usual glory. But he had soon reason to repent his connexions with a man like Peter, abandoned to all sense of virtue and honour. The ungrateful tyrant refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward, well repaid for his unjust enterprise, finding his soldiers daily perish by sickness, and even his own health impaired by the climate, was obliged, without receiving any satisfaction, to return into Guienne.

The barbarities exercised by Peter over his helpless subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived all the animosity of the Castilians against him; and, on the return of Henry of Trastamare, together with du Guesclin, and some forces levied anew in France, the tyrant was again dethroned, and was taken prisoner. The two brothers having met by accident or treachery in the tent of a French knight, immediately attacked each other, and Trastamare having been thrown on the floor by Peter, despatched the tyrant with his poniard. Trastamare was now placed on the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. The duke of Lancaster, who espoused in second marriage the eldest daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of that sovereignty, and, by claiming the succession, increased the animosity of the new king of Castile against England.

But the prejudice which the affairs of prince Edward received from this splendid though imprudent expedition, ended not with it. He had involved himself in so much debt, by his preparations and

the pay of his troops, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose on his principality a new tax, to which some of the nobility consented with extreme reluctance, and to which others absolutely refused to submit. This incident revived the animosity which the inhabitants bore to the English, and which all the amiable qualities of the prince of Wales were not able to mitigate or assuage. They complained that they were considered as a conquered people, that their privileges were disregarded, that all trust was given to the English alone, that every office of honour and profit was conferred on these foreigners, and that the extreme reluctance which most of them had expressed to receive the new yoke, was likely to be long remembered against them. They cast, therefore, their eyes towards their ancient sovereign, whose prudence they found had now brought the affairs of his kingdom into excellent order; and the counts of Armagnac, Comminge, and Perigord, the lord d'Albret, with other nobles, went to Paris, and were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government.

In the treaty of Bretigni it had been stipulated that the two kings should make renunciations, Edward of his claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; John of the homage and fealty due for Guienne, and the other provinces ceded to the English. But when that treaty was confirmed and renewed at Calais, it was found necessary, as Edward was not yet in possession of all the territories, that the mutual renunciations should for some time be deferred; and it was agreed that the parties meanwhile should make no use of their respective claims against each other. Though the failure in exchanging these renunciations had still proceeded from France, Edward appears to have taken no umbrage at it; both because this clause seemed to give him entire security, and because some reasonable apology had probably been made to him for each delay. It was, however, on this pretence, though directly contrary to treaty, that Charles resolved to ground his claim, of still considering himself as superior lord of those provinces, and of receiving the appeals of his sub-vassals.

But as views of policy, more than those of justice, enter into the deliberations of princes; and as the mortal injuries received from the English, the pride of their triumphs, the severe terms imposed by the treaty of peace, seemed to render every prudent means of revenge honourable against them; Charles was determined to take this measure, less by the reasonings of his civilians and lawyers than by the present situation of the two monarchies. He considered the declining years of Edward, the languishing state of the prince of Wales's health, the affection which the inhabitants of all these provinces bore to their ancient master, their distance from England, their vicinity to France, the extreme animosity expressed by his own subjects against these invaders, and their ardent thirst of vengeance; and having silently made all the necessary preparations, he sent to the prince of Wales a summons to appear in his court at Paris, and there to justify his conduct towards his vassals. The prince replied, that he would come to Paris; but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. The unwarlike character of Charles kept prince Edward, even yet, from thinking that that monarch was in earnest in this bold and hazardous attempt.

It soon appeared what a poor return the king had received by his distant conquests for all the bloo



and treasure expended in the quarrel, and how impossible it was to retain acquisitions, in an age when no regular force could be maintained sufficient to defend them against the revolt of the inhabitants, especially if that danger was joined with the invasion of a foreign enemy. Charles fell first upon Ponthieu, which gave the English an inlet into the heart of France: the citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to him; those of St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy, imitated the example, and the whole country was in a little time reduced to submission. The dukes of Berri and Anjou, brothers to Charles, being assisted by du Guesclin, who was recalled from Spain, invaded the southern provinces; and by means of their good conduct, the favourable dispositions of the people, and the ardour of the French nobility, they made every day considerable progress against the English.

"The prince," says Lingard, "with his wife and son, lay in the castle of Angouleme, a prey to disease and vexation, till he was roused from inactivity by the intelligence that the dukes of Anjou and Berri were advancing from different points to besiege him with their united forces. He declared that his enemies should find him in the field: his standard was unfurled at Cognac: and there was still such a magic in his name, that the French princes disbanded their armies and garrisoned their conquests: among these was Limoges, the capital of Limousin, which had been surrendered by the cowardice, perhaps betrayed by the perfidy, of the bishops and the inhabitants: Edward, who had always distinguished them with particular marks of his attachment, swore by the soul of his father, that he would punish their ingratitude or perish in the attempt. A month was spent in undermining the walls: early in the morning fire was put to the temporary supports: and at six o'clock a wide breach opened a way into the heart of the city. The inhabitants immediately abandoned all hope of defence: and men, women, and children, threw themselves at the feet of the prince soliciting mercy. It seemed as if the vindictive soul of don Pedro had been transferred into the breast of the English hero: no prayers or representations could mollify his resentment; and orders were issued for the promiscuous massacre of the whole population. 'There was not that day,' says Froissart, 'a man in Limoges, with a heart so hardened, or so little sense of religion, as not to bewail the unfortunate scene before his eyes. Upwards of 3000 men, women, and children, were slaughtered. God have mercy on their souls! for they were veritable martyrs.'

"The French knights, who formed the garrison, drew themselves up with their backs to a wall, resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible: and the English dismounting that they might be on the same footing with their opponents, advanced to the attack. The superiority of number was balanced by the courage of despair; and the prince, who from his litter was a spectator of the combat, felt so delighted with the prowess displayed by each party, that he offered by proclamation, life and the liberty of ransom to those who might choose to surrender. The survivors gladly accepted the boon; the city was pillaged and reduced to ashes.

"The reader has often had occasion to admire the character of the Black Prince. By the contemporary writers he is portrayed as the mirror of knighthood, the first and greatest of heroes. But the massacre at Limoges has left a foul blot on his memory. Among a thousand similar instances, it

proves, that the institution of chivalry had less influence in civilizing the human race, than is sometimes ascribed to it. It gave, indeed, courage some external embellishments: it regulated the laws of courtesy: it inculcated principles, often erroneous principles, of honour: but the sterner and more vindictive passions were effectually beyond its control: and the most accomplished knights of the age occasionally betrayed a ferocity of disposition, which would not have disgraced their barbarian ancestors of the sixth century. Chivalry also generated and nourished a profound contempt for the other orders in society. The Black Prince spared the lives of the knights who held Limoges against him; but shed with pleasure the meaner blood of the inhabitants, three thousand men, women, and children.

"But the military career of the prince was now terminated. The effort had exhausted his enfeebled constitution: and by the advice of his physicians he returned to England, where, at a distance from the court and from political concerns, he lingered for six years, cheering the gloom that hung over him, with the hope that his second son, Richard, (the eldest was dead) would succeed to the crown, and uphold the renown of the family."

The king, resuming, by advice of parliament, the vain title of king of France, endeavoured to send succours into Gascony; but all his attempts both by sea and land proved unsuccessful. The earl of Pembroke was intercepted at sea, and taken prisoner with his whole army near Rochelle, by a fleet which the king of Castile had fitted out for that purpose: Edward himself embarked for Bourdeaux with another army: but was so long detained by contrary winds, that he was obliged to lay aside the enterprise. Sir Robert Knolles, at the head of 30,000 men, marched out of Calais, and continued his ravages to the gates of Paris, without being able to provoke the enemy to an engagement: he proceeded in his march to the provinces of Maine and Anjou, which he laid waste; but part of his army being there defeated by the conduct of du Guesclin, who was now created constable of France, and who seems to have been the first consummate general that had yet appeared in Europe, the rest were scattered and dispersed, and the small remains of the English forces, instead of reaching Guienne, took shelter in Brittany, whose sovereign had embraced the alliance of England. The duke of Lancaster, some time after, made a like attempt with an army of 25,000 men; and marched the whole length of France from Calais to Bourdeaux; but was so much harrassed by the flying parties which attended him, that he brought not the half of his army to the place of their destination. Edward, from the necessity of his affairs, was at last obliged to conclude a truce with the enemy; after almost all his ancient possessions in France had been ravaged from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests, except Calais.

The decline of the king's life was exposed to many mortifications, and corresponded not to the splendid and noisy scenes which had filled the beginning and the middle of it. Besides seeing the loss of his foreign dominions, and being baffled in every attempt to defend them, he felt the decay of his authority at home, and experienced, from the sharpness of some parliamentary remonstrances, the great inconstancy of the people, and the influence of present fortune over all their judgments. This prince, who, during the vigour of his age, had been chiefly occupied in

the pursuits of war and ambition, began, at an unseasonable period, to indulge himself in pleasure; and being now a widower, he attached himself to a lady of sense and spirit, one Alice Perrers, who acquired a great ascendancy over him, and by her influence gave such general disgust, that, in order to satisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court. The indolence also, naturally attending old age and infirmities, had made him, in a great measure, resign the administration into the hands of his son the duke of Lancaster, who, as he was far from being popular, weakened extremely the affection which the English bore to the person and government of the king. Men carried their jealousies very far against the duke; and as they saw, with much regret, the death of the prince of Wales every day approaching, they apprehended, lest the succession of his son Richard, now a minor, should be defeated by the intrigues of Lancaster, and by the weak indulgence of the old king. But Edward, in order to satisfy both the people and the prince on this head, declared in parliament his grandson heir and successor to the crown; and thereby cut off all the hopes of the duke of Lancaster, if he ever had the temerity to entertain any.

The prince of Wales died in the year 1376, and in the forty-sixth year of his age; and about a year after, the king expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-first of his reign.

"He had," says Lingard, "lived in obscurity at Eltham, abandoned to the care of Alice Perrers. As he daily grew weaker, she removed him from Eltham to Shene, but kept him in ignorance of his approaching dissolution. On the morning of his death she drew the ring from his finger, and departed. The other domestics had separated to plunder the palace: but a priest who chanced to be present, hastening to the bed of the dying monarch, admonished him of his situation, and bade him prepare himself to appear before his Creator. Edward, who had just strength sufficient to thank him, took a crucifix in his hands, kissed it, wept, and expired."

The English are apt to consider with peculiar fondness the history of Edward III., and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest, the most glorious also, that occurs in the annals of their nation. The ascendancy which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his administration, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blest with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness: he made them feel his power, without their daring, or even being inclined, to murmur at it: his affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion; his valour and conduct made them successful in most of their enterprises; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those disturbances to which they were naturally so much inclined, and which the frame of the government seemed so much to authorise. This was the chief benefit which resulted from Edward's victories and conquests. His foreign wars were, in other respects, neither founded in justice, nor directed to

any salutary purpose. His attempt against the king of Scotland, a minor and a brother-in-law, and the revival of his grandfather's claim of superiority over that kingdom, were both unreasonable and ungenerous; and he allowed himself to be too easily seduced, by the glaring prospect of French conquests, from the acquisition of a point which was practicable, and which, if attained, might really have been of lasting utility to his country and his successors. The success which he met with in France, though chiefly owing to his eminent talents, was unexpected; and yet, from the very nature of things, not from any unforeseen accidents, was found, even during his lifetime, to have procured him no solid advantages. But the glory of a conqueror is so dazzling to the vulgar, the animosity of nations is so violent, that the fruitless desolation of so fine a part of Europe as France, is totally disregarded by us, and is never considered as a blemish in the character or conduct of this prince. And indeed, from the unfortunate state of human nature, it will commonly happen, that a sovereign of genius, such as Edward, who usually finds every thing easy in his domestic government, will turn himself towards military enterprises, where alone he meets with opposition, and where he has full exercise for his industry and capacity.

His character is thus drawn by Lingard:—"In personal accomplishments Edward is said to have been superior, in mental powers to have been equal, to any of his predecessors. More than usual care had been bestowed on his education; and he could not only speak the English and French, but also understood the German and Latin languages. His elocution was graceful; his conversation entertaining: his behaviour dignified, but also attractive. To the fashionable amusements of hawking and hunting he was much addicted: but to these he preferred the more warlike exercise of the tournament: and his subjects, at the exhibition, often burst into transports of applause, when they found that the unknown knight, whose prowess they had admired, proved to be their own sovereign. Of his courage as a combatant, and his abilities as a general, the reader will have formed a competent opinion from the preceding pages. The astonishing victories, which cast so much glory on one period of his reign, appear to have dazzled the eyes both of his subjects and foreigners, who placed him in the first rank of conquerors: but the disasters which clouded the evening of his life, have furnished a proof that his ambition was greater than his judgment. He was at last convinced that the crowns of France and Scotland were beyond his reach; but not until he had exhausted the strength of the nation by a series of gigantic but fruitless efforts. Before his death all his conquests, with the exception of Calais, had slipped from his grasp: the greater part of his hereditary dominions on the continent had been torn from him by a rival, whom he formerly despised; and a succession of short and precarious truces was sought, and accepted as a boon by the monarch, who in his more fortunate days had dictated the peace of Bretigni.

"Still the military expeditions of Edward, attended as they were with a great expenditure of money and effusion of blood, became in the result productive of advantages, which had neither been intended nor foreseen by their author. By plunging the king into debt, they rendered him more dependent on the people, who, while they bitterly complained of the increased load of taxation, secured by the temporary sacrifice



of their money permanent benefits both for themselves and posterity. There was scarcely a grievance, introduced by the ingenuity of feudal lawyers or the arrogance of feudal superiority, for which they did not procure a legal and often an effectual remedy. It was not indeed a time when even parliamentary statutes were faithfully observed. But during a reign of fifty years the commons annually preferred the same complaints; the king annually made the same grants; and at length, by the mere dint of repeated complaint and repeated concession, the grievances were in most cases considerably mitigated, in some entirely removed."

Edward had a numerous posterity by his queen, Philippa of Hainault. His eldest son was the heroic Edward, usually denominated the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. This prince espoused his cousin Joan, commonly called the *Fair Maid of Kent*, daughter and heir of his uncle, the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was first married to Sir Thomas Holland, by whom she had children. By the prince of Wales she had a son Richard, who alone survived his father.

The second son of King Edward (for we pass over such as died in their childhood) was Lionel duke of Clarence, who was first married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir of the earl of Ulster, by whom he left only one daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche. Lionel espoused in second marriage Violante, the daughter of the duke of Milan, and died in Italy soon after the consummation of his nuptials, without leaving any posterity by that princess. Of all the family, he resembled most his father and elder brother in his noble qualities.

Edward's third son was John of Gaunt, so called from the place of his birth: he was created duke of Lancaster; and from him sprang that branch which afterwards possessed the crown. The fourth son of this royal family was Edmund, created earl of Cambridge by his father, and duke of York by his nephew. The fifth son was Thomas, who received the title of the earl of Buckingham from his father, and that of duke of Gloucester from his nephew. In order to prevent confusion, we shall always distinguish these two princes by the titles of York and Gloucester, even before they were advanced to them.

There were also several princesses born to Edward by Philippa; namely, Isabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret, who espoused, in the order of their names, Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Bedford, Alphonso, king of Castile, John of Mountfort, duke of Brittany, and John Hastings, earl of Pembroke. The princess Joan died at Bourdeaux before the consummation of her marriage.

An account of the progress of the constitution, the changes in the law, and the advance of arts and manners, will be given in the Appendix.

## CHAP. XX.

### RICHARD II.

*Government during the minority—Insurrection of the common people—Discontents of the barons—Civil commotions—Expulsion or execution of the king's ministers—Cabals of the duke of Gloucester—Murder of the duke of Gloucester—Banishment of Henry duke of Hereford—Return of Henry—General insurrection—Deposition of the king—His death—and character.*

THE parliament which was summoned soon after the king's accession, was both elected and assem-

bled in tranquillity; and the great change, from a sovereign of wisdom and experience to a boy of eleven years of age, was not immediately felt by the people. The habits of order and obedience which the barons had been taught during the long reign of Edward, still influenced them; and the authority of the king's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, sufficed to repress for a time the turbulent spirit to which that order, in a weak reign, was so often subject. The dangerous ambition too of these princes themselves was checked by the plain and undeniable title of Richard, by the declaration of it made in parliament, and by the affectionate regard which the people bore to the memory of his father, and which was naturally transferred to the young sovereign upon the throne. The different characters also of these three princes rendered them a counterpoise to each other; and it was natural to expect, that any dangerous designs which might be formed by one brother, would meet with opposition from the others. Lancaster, whose age and experience, and authority under the late king, gave him the ascendancy among them, though his integrity seemed not proof against great temptations, was neither of an enterprising spirit, nor of a popular and engaging temper. York was indolent, inactive, and of slender capacity. Gloucester was turbulent, bold, and popular; but being the youngest of the family, was restrained by the power and authority of his elder brothers.

But as Edward, though he had fixed the succession to the crown, had taken no care to establish a plan of government during the minority of his grandson, it behoved the parliament to supply this defect: and the house of commons distinguished themselves by taking the lead on the occasion. This house, which had been rising to consideration during the whole course of the late reign, naturally received an accession of power during the minority; and as it was now becoming a scene of business, the members chose, for the first time, a speaker, who might preserve order in their debates, and maintain those forms which are requisite in all numerous assemblies. Peter de la Mare was the man selected; the same person that had been imprisoned, and detained in custody by the late king, for his freedom of speech, in attacking the mistress and the ministers of that prince. But though this election discovered a spirit of liberty in the commons, and was followed by farther attacks both on these ministers and on Alice Perrers, they were still too sensible of their great inferiority, to assume at first any immediate share in the administration of government, or the care of the king's person. They were content to apply by petition to the lords for that purpose, and desire them, both to appoint a council of nine, who might direct the public business, and to choose men of virtuous life and conversation, who might inspect the conduct and education of the young prince. The lords complied with the first part of this request, and elected the bishops of London, Carlisle, and Salisbury, the earls of Marche and Stafford, Sir Richard de Stafford, Sir Henry le Scrope, Sir John Devereux, and Sir Hugh Segrave, to whom they gave authority, for a year, to conduct the ordinary course of business. But as to the regulation of the king's household, they declined interposing in an office, which, they said, both was invidious in itself, and might prove disagreeable to his majesty.

The commons, as they acquired more courage, ventured to proceed a step farther in their applications. They presented a petition, in which they



Peckney sculp.

RICHARD II.





prayed the king to check the prevailing custom among the barons, of forming illegal confederacies, and supporting each other, as well as men of inferior rank, in the violations of law and justice. They received from the throne a general and an obliging answer to this petition: but another part of their application, that all the great officers should, during the king's minority, be appointed by parliament, which seemed to require the concurrence of the commons, as well as that of the upper house, in the nomination, was not complied with: the lords alone assumed the power of appointing these officers; the commons tacitly acquiesced in the choice; and thought, that, for the present, they themselves had proceeded a sufficient length, if they but advanced their pretensions, though rejected, of interposing in these more important matters of state.

On this footing then the government stood. The administration was conducted entirely in the king's name: no regency was expressly appointed: the nine counsellors and the great officers named by the peers, did their duty, each in his respective department: and the whole system was for some years kept together by the secret authority of the king's uncles, especially of the duke of Lancaster, who was in reality the regent.

The parliament was dissolved, after the commons had represented the necessity of their being reassembled once every year, as appointed by law; and after having elected two citizens as their treasurers, to receive and disburse the produce of two fifteenths and tenths, which they had voted to the crown. In the other parliaments called during the minority, the commons still discover a strong spirit of freedom, and a sense of their own authority, which, without breeding any disturbance, tended to secure their independence, and that of the people.

In the fifth year of the king "the commons complained of the government about the king's person, his court, the excessive number of his servants, of the abuses in the Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and of grievous oppressions in the country, by the great multitudes of maintainers of quarrels (men linked in confederacies together), who behaved themselves like kings in the country, so as there was very little law or right, and of the other things which they said were the cause of the late commotions under Wat Tyler." This irregular government, which no king and no house of commons had been able to remedy, was the source of the licentiousness of the great, and turbulency of the people, as well as tyranny of the princes. If subjects would enjoy liberty, and kings security, the laws must be executed.

In the ninth of this reign the commons also discovered an accuracy and a jealousy of liberty which we should little expect in those rude times. "It was agreed by parliament," says Cotton, "that the subsidy of wools, wool-fells, and skins, granted to the king until the time of Midsummer then ensuing, should cease from the same time unto the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*; for that thereby the king should be interrupted for claiming such grant as due."

Edward had left his grandson involved in many dangerous wars. The pretensions of the duke of Lancaster to the crown of Castile made that kingdom still persevere in hostilities against England. Scotland, whose throne was now filled by Robert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, and the first prince of that family, maintained such close connections with France, that war with one crown almost inevi-

tably produced hostilities with the other. The French monarch, whose prudent conduct had acquired him the surname of *wise*, as he had already baffled all the experience and valour of the two Edwards, was likely to prove a dangerous enemy to a minor king: but his genius, which was not naturally enterprising, led him not, at present, to give any disturbance to his neighbours; and he laboured, besides, under many difficulties at home, which it was necessary for him to surmount before he could think of making conquests in a foreign country. England was master of Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne; had lately acquired possession of Cherbourg from the cession of the king of Navarre, and of Brest from that of the duke of Brittany; and having thus an easy entrance into France from every quarter, was able, in its present situation, to give disturbance to his government. Before Charles could remove the English from these important posts, he died in the flower of his age, and left his kingdom to a minor son, who bore the name of Charles VI.

Meanwhile the war with France was carried on in a manner somewhat languid, and produced no enterprise of great lustre or renown. Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, making an inroad into Picardy with a detachment of the garrison, set fire to Boulogne. The duke of Lancaster conducted an army into Brittany, but returned without being able to perform any thing memorable. In a subsequent year, the duke of Gloucester marched out of Calais with a body of 2000 cavalry, and 8000 infantry; and scrupled not, with his small army, to enter into the heart of France, and to continue his ravages through Picardy, Champagne, the Brie, the Beausse, the Gatinois, the Orleansois, till he reached his allies in the province of Brittany. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of a more considerable army, came within sight of him; but the French were so overawed by the former successes of the English, that no superiority of numbers could tempt them to venture a pitched battle with the troops of that nation. As the duke of Brittany, soon after the arrival of these succours, formed an accommodation with the court of France, this enterprise proved also in the issue unsuccessful, and made no durable impression upon the enemy.

The expenses of these armaments, and the usual want of economy attending a minority, much exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the parliament, besides making some alterations in the council, to impose a new and unusual tax of three groats, on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and they ordained that, in levying that tax, the opulent should relieve the poor by an equitable compensation. This imposition produced a mutiny, which was singular in its circumstances. All history abounds with examples where the great tyrannise over the meaner sort; but here the lowest populace rose against their rulers, committed the greatest ravages upon them, and took vengeance for all former oppressions.

The faint dawn of the arts and of good government in that age had excited the minds of the populace in different states of Europe, to wish for a better condition, and to murmur against those chains which the laws enacted by the haughty nobility and gentry had so long imposed upon them. The commotions of the people in Flanders, the mutiny of the peasants in France, were the natural effects of this growing spirit of independence, and the report of these events being brought into England, where personal slavery, as we learn from Froissard, was



more general than in any other country in Europe, had prepared the minds of the multitude for an insurrection. John Ball, a preacher, who affected popularity, went about the country, and inculcated on his audience the principles of the first origin of mankind from one common stock, their equal right to liberty and to all the goods of nature, the tyranny of artificial distinctions, and the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more considerable part of the species, and the aggrandizement of a few insolent rulers. These doctrines, so agreeable to the populace, and so conformable to the ideas of primitive equality which are engraven in the hearts of all men, were greedily received by the multitude; and scattered the sparks of that sedition, which the present tax raised into a conflagration. He took for his text two verses, which, in spite of prejudice, one cannot but regard with some degree of approbation:—

When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Where was then the gentleman?

The sedition soon propagated itself into the counties of Kent, Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. Before the government had the least warning of the danger, the disorder had grown beyond control or opposition.

The most detailed and circumstantial account of this extraordinary insurrection is given by Lingard, who says, "One of the commissioners, Thomas de Bampton, sate at Brentwood in Essex; but the men of Fobbinges refused to answer before him; and when the chief justice of the common pleas attempted to punish their contumacy, they compelled him to flee, murdered the jurors and clerks of the commission, and carrying their heads upon poles, claimed the support of the nearest townships. In a few days all the commons in Essex were in a state of insurrection, under the command of a profligate priest, who had assumed the name of Jack Straw.

"The men of Kent were not long behind their neighbours in Essex. At Dartford one of the collectors had demanded the tax for a young girl the daughter of a tyler. Her mother maintained, that she was under the age required by the statute: and as the officer was proceeding to ascertain the fact by an indecent exposure of her person, her father, who was just returned from work, with a stroke of his hammer beat out the offender's brains. His courage was applauded by his neighbours. They swore that they would protect him from punishment, and by threats and promises secured the co-operation of all the villages in the western division of Kent.

"A third party of insurgents was formed by the men of Gravesend, irritated at the conduct of Sir Simon Burley. He had claimed one of the burghers as his bondsman, refused to grant him his freedom at a less price than three hundred pounds, and sent him a prisoner to the castle of Rochester. With the aid of a body of insurgents from Essex the castle was taken, and the captive liberated. At Maidstone they appointed Wat the Tyler of that town leader of the commons of Kent."

This multitude, amounting to a hundred thousand men, assembled on Blackheath; and as the princess of Wales, the king's mother, returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, passed through the midst of them, they insulted her attendants; and some of them, to show their purpose of levelling all mankind, forced kisses from her; but they allowed her to continue her journey, without doing her any serious injury. They sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower; and they de-

sired a conference with him. Richard sailed down the river in a barge for that purpose; but on his approaching the shore, he saw such symptoms of tumult and insolence, that he put back and returned to that fortress. The seditious peasants, meanwhile, favoured by the populace of London, had broken into the city; had burned the duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy; cut off the heads of all the gentlemen whom they laid hold of; expressed a particular animosity against the lawyers and attorneys; and pillaged the warehouses of the rich merchants. A great body of them quartered themselves at Mile-end; and the king, finding no defence in the Tower, which was weakly garrisoned, and ill supplied with provisions, was obliged to go out to them, and ask their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villeinage. These requests, which, though extremely reasonable in themselves, the nation was not sufficiently prepared to receive, and which it was dangerous to have extorted by violence, were, however, complied with; charters to that purpose were granted them; and this body immediately dispersed, and returned to their several homes.

During this transaction, another body of the rebels had broken into the Tower; had murdered Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor, with Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and some other persons of distinction; and continued their ravages in the city. The king next morning, very slenderly guarded, met Wat Tyler in Smithfield, at the head of 20,000 insurgents, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler boldly advanced into the midst of the royal retinue; a negotiation commenced, and according to the royalist authors (for we have no other left), Walworth, the lord mayor, jealous of Tyler, who had laid hold of the king's bridle (probably with the idea of leading him to the insurgents, the possession of his person having been one of his chief objects), plunged a short sword into his throat. Tyler spurred his horse, feeling himself murdered, to regain his compatriots, when Robert Standish, one of the king's esquires, despatched him. The boldness of Tyler, who could in an age so abounding with superstition, both as respects rank and power, sustain his demands and negotiate with the king thus surrounded, would have extorted the admiration of our historians had it been performed for the purposes of the aristocracy instead of for the liberties of the oppressed and degraded people. The multitude, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and this whole company, with the king himself, had undoubtedly perished on the spot, had it not been for the presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. He ordered his company to stop; he advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and exclaimed, "What are ye doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor. Come with me, and I will be your leader." Disconcerted and undirected, the populace followed him: he led them into the fields at Islington, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city; and was there joined by Sir Robert Knolles, and a force of a thousand men at arms, who had been secretly drawn together: he strictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters, and committing an undistinguished slaughter upon them; and he peaceably dismissed them with the same charters which had been granted to their fellows. Soon after, the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's

danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers; and Richard took the field at the head of an army 40,000 strong. It then behoved all the rebels to submit: the charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by the parliament; and all the promises violated; the people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before; and several of the ringleaders were severely punished for the late disorders. Many were even executed without process or form of law. According to Holingshead 1500 were executed. It was pretended, that the intentions of the mutineers had been to seize the king's person, to carry him through England at their head, and to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests, except the mendicant friars; to despatch afterwards the king himself; and having thus reduced all to a level, to order the kingdom at their pleasure. It is not impossible, but many of them, in the delirium of their first success, might have formed such projects: but of all the evils incident to human society, the insurrections of the populace, when not raised and supported by persons of higher quality, are the least to be dreaded: the mischiefs consequent to an abolition of all rank and distinction become so great, that they are immediately felt, and soon bring affairs back to their former order and arrangement.

A youth of sixteen (which was at this time the king's age), who had discovered so much courage, presence of mind, and address, and had so dexterously eluded the violence of this tumult, raised great expectations in the nation; and it was natural to hope, that he would, in the course of his life, equal the glories which had so uniformly attended his father and his grandfather in all their undertakings. But in proportion as Richard advanced in years, these hopes vanished; and his want of capacity, at least of solid judgment, appeared in every enterprise which he attempted. The Scots, sensible of their own deficiency in cavalry, had applied to the regency of Charles VI.; and John de Vienne, admiral of France, had been sent over with a body of 1500 men at arms, to support them in their incursions against the English. The langer was now deemed by the king's uncles somewhat serious; and a numerous army of 60,000 men was levied; and they marched into Scotland, with Richard himself at their head. The Scots did not pretend to make resistance against so great a force: they abandoned without scruple their country to be pillaged and destroyed by the enemy: and when de Vienne expressed his surprise at this plan of operations, they told him, that all their cattle were driven into the forests and fastnesses; that their houses and other goods were of small value; and that they well knew how to compensate any losses which they might sustain in that respect, by making an incursion into England. Accordingly, when Richard entered Scotland by Berwick and the east coast, the Scots, to the number of 20,000 men, attended by the French, entered the borders of England by the west, and carrying their ravages through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, collected a rich booty, and then returned in tranquillity to their own country. Richard meanwhile advanced towards Edinburgh, and destroyed in his way all the towns and villages on each side of him: he reduced that city to ashes: he treated in the same manner, Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low countries; but when he was advised to march towards the west coast, to await there the return of the enemy, and to

take revenge on them for their devastations, his impatience to return to England, and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements, outweighed every consideration; and he led back his army without effecting any thing by all these mighty preparations. The Scots, soon after, finding the heavy bodies of French cavalry very useless in that desultory kind of war to which they confined themselves, treated their allies so ill, that the French returned home, much disgusted with the country and with the manners of its inhabitants. And the English, though they regretted the indolence and levity of their king, saw themselves for the future secured against any dangerous invasion from that quarter.

But it was so material an interest of the French court to wrest the sea-port towns from the hands of their enemy, that they resolved to attempt it by some other expedient, and found no means so likely as an invasion of England itself. They collected a great fleet and army at Sluys; for the Flemings were now in alliance with them. All the nobility of France were engaged in this enterprise: the English were kept in alarm: great preparations were made for the reception of the invaders: and though the dispersion of the French ships by a storm, and the taking of many of them by the English, before the embarkation of the troops, freed the kingdom from the present danger, the king and council were fully sensible that this perilous situation might every moment return upon them.

There were two circumstances chiefly, which engaged the French at this time to think of such attempts. The one was the absence of the duke of Lancaster, who had carried into Spain the flower of the English military force, in prosecution of his vain claim to the crown of Castile; an enterprise in which, after some promising success, he was finally disappointed: the other was, the violent dissensions and disorders which had taken place in the English government.

The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the duke of Gloucester, a prince of ambition and genius, though it was not unsuitable to his years and slender capacity, was extremely disagreeable to his violent temper; and he soon attempted to shake off the yoke imposed upon him. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man of a noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of dissolute manners, had acquired an entire ascendancy over him, and governed him with an absolute authority. The king set so little bounds to his affection, that he first created his favourite, marquis of Dublin, a title before unknown in England, then duke of Ireland; and transferred to him by patent, which was confirmed in parliament, the entire sovereignty for life of that island. He gave in marriage his cousin-german, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci, earl of Bedford; but soon after he permitted him to repudiate that lady, though of an unexceptionable character, and to marry a foreigner, a Bohemian, with whom he had become enamoured. These public declarations of attachment turned the attention of the whole court towards the minion. All favours passed through his hands: access to the king could only be obtained by his mediation: and Richard seemed to take no pleasure in royal authority, but so far as it enabled him to lead with favours and titles and dignities this object of his affections.

The jealousy of power immediately produced an animosity between the minion and his creatures on the one hand, and the princes of the blood and chief nobility on the other; and the usual complaints



against the insolence of favourites were loudly echoed, and greedily received, in every part of the kingdom. Mowbray earl of Nottingham, the marshal, Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel, Percy earl of Northumberland, Montacute earl of Salisbury, Beauchamp earl of Warwick, were all connected with each other, and with the princes, by friendship or alliance, and still more by their common antipathy to those who had eclipsed them in the king's favour and confidence. No longer kept in awe by the personal character of the prince, they scorned to submit to his ministers; and the method which they took to redress the grievances complained of well suited the violence of the age, and proves the desperate extremities to which every opposition was sure to be instantly carried.

Michael de la Pole, the present chancellor, and lately created earl of Suffolk, was the son of an eminent merchant; but had risen by his abilities and valour during the wars of Edward III., had acquired the friendship of that monarch, and was esteemed the person of greatest experience and capacity among those who were attached to the duke of Ireland and the king's secret council. The duke of Gloucester, who had the house of commons at his devotion, impelled them to exercise that power, which they seem first to have assumed against lord Latimer during the declining years of the late king; and an impeachment against the chancellor was carried up by them to the house of peers, which was no less at his devotion. The king foresaw the tempest preparing against him and his ministers. After attempting in vain to rouse the Londoners to his defence, he withdrew from parliament, and retired with his court to Eltham. The parliament sent a deputation, inviting him to return, and threatening, that if he persisted in absenting himself, they would immediately dissolve, and leave the nation, though at that time in imminent danger of a French invasion, without any support or supply for its defence. At the same time a member was encouraged to call for the record containing the parliamentary deposition of Edward II.; a plain intimation of the fate which Richard, if he continued refractory, had reason to expect from them. The king, finding himself unable to resist, was content to stipulate, that, except finishing the present impeachment against Suffolk, no attack should be made upon any other of his ministers; and on that condition he returned to the parliament.

Nothing can prove more fully the innocence of Suffolk, than the frivolousness of the crimes which his enemies, in the present plenitude of their power, thought proper to object against him. It was alleged, that being chancellor, and obliged by his oath to consult the king's profit, he had purchased lands of the crown below their true value; that he had exchanged with the king a perpetual annuity of 400 marks a year, which he inherited from his father, and which was assigned upon the customs of the port of Hull, for lands of an equal income; that having obtained for his son the priory of St. Anthony, which was formerly possessed by a Frenchman, an enemy and a schismatic, and a new prior being at the same time named by the pope, he had refused to admit this person, whose title was not legal, till he made a composition with his son, and agreed to pay him a hundred pounds a year from the income of the benefice; that he had purchased from one Tydesman of Lamborch, an old and forfeited annuity of 500 pounds a year upon the crown, and had engaged the king to admit that had debt; and that,

when created earl of Suffolk, he had obtained a grant of 500*l.* a year, to support the dignity of that title. Even the proof of these articles, frivolous as they are, was found very deficient upon the trial: it appeared that Suffolk had made no purchase from the crown while he was chancellor, and that all his bargains of that kind, were made before he was advanced to that dignity. It is almost needless to add, that he was condemned notwithstanding his defence; and that he was deprived of his office.

Gloucester and his associates observed their stipulation with the king, and attacked no more of his ministers: but they immediately attacked himself and his royal dignity, and framed a commission, after the model of those which had been attempted almost in every reign since that of Richard I., and which had always been attended with extreme confusion. By this commission, which was ratified by parliament, a council of fourteen persons was appointed, all of Gloucester's faction, except Nevil archbishop of York: the sovereign power was transferred to these men for a twelvemonth: the king, who had now reached the twenty-first year of his age, was in reality dethroned: the aristocracy was rendered supreme: and though the term of the commission was limited, it was easy to foresee that the intentions of the party were to render it perpetual, and that power would with great difficulty be wrested from those grasping hands to which it was once committed. Richard, however, was obliged to submit: he signed the commission, which violence had extorted from him: he took an oath never to infringe it; and though at the end of the session he publicly entered a protest, that the prerogatives of the crown, notwithstanding his late concession, should still be deemed entire and unimpaired, the new commissioners, without regarding this declaration, proceeded to the exercise of their authority.

The king, thus dispossessed of royal power, was soon sensible of the contempt into which he was fallen. His favourites and ministers, who were as yet allowed to remain about his person, failed not to aggravate the injury, which, without any demerit on his part, had been offered to him. And his eager temper was of itself sufficiently inclined to seek the means, both of recovering his authority, and of revenging himself on those who had invaded it. As the house of commons appeared now of weight in the constitution, he secretly tried some expedients for procuring a favourable election: he sounded some of the sheriffs, who being at that time both the returning officers and magistrates of great power in the counties, had naturally considerable influence in elections. But, as most of them had been appointed by his uncles, either during his minority, or during the course of the present commission, he found them, in general, averse to his enterprise. The sentiments and inclinations of the judges were more favourable to him. He met, at Nottingham, Sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of the King's Bench, Sir Robert Belknappe, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Cary, chief baron of the Exchequer, Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourg, inferior justices, and Lockton, serjeant at law; and he proposed to them some queries; which these lawyers, either from the influence of his authority, or of reason, made no scruple of answering in the way he desired. They declared that the late commission was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king; that those who procured it, or advised the king to consent to it, were punishable with death; that those who necessitated and compelled him were

guilty of treason; that those were equally criminal who should persevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of dissolving parliaments at pleasure; that the parliament, while it sits, must first proceed upon the king's business; and that this assembly cannot, without his consent, impeach any of his ministers and judges. Even according to our present strict maxims with regard to law and the royal prerogative, all these determinations, except the two last, appear justifiable; and as the great privileges of the commons, particularly that of impeachment, were hitherto new, and supported by few precedents, there want not plausible reasons to justify these opinions of the judges. They signed, therefore, their answer to the king's queries before the archbishops of York and Dublin, the bishops of Durham, Chichester, and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and two other counsellors of inferior quality.

The duke of Gloucester and his adherents soon got intelligence of this secret consultation, and were naturally very much alarmed at it. They saw the king's intentions; and they determined to prevent the execution of them. As soon as he came to London, which they knew was well disposed to their party, they secretly assembled their forces, and appeared in arms at Haringay-park, near Highgate, with a power which Richard and his ministers were not able to resist. They sent him a message by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lords Lovel, Cobham, and Devereux, and demanded that the persons who had seduced him by their pernicious counsel, and were traitors both to him and to the kingdom, should be delivered up to them. A few days after, they appeared in his presence, armed and attended with armed followers: and they accused, by name, the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, as public and dangerous enemies to the state. They threw down their gauntlets before the king, and fiercely offered to maintain the truth of their charge by duel. The persons accused, and all the other obnoxious ministers, had withdrawn or had concealed themselves.

The duke of Ireland fled to Cheshire, and levied some forces, with which he advanced to relieve the king from the violence of the nobles. Gloucester encountered him in Oxfordshire with much superior forces; routed him, dispersed his followers, and obliged him to fly into the Low Countries, where he died in exile a few years after. The lords then appeared at London with an army of forty thousand men; and having obliged the king to summon a parliament, which was entirely at their devotion, they had full power, by observing a few legal forms, to take vengeance on all their enemies. Five great peers, men whose combined power was able at any time to shake the throne, the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle; the earl of Derby, son of the duke of Lancaster; the earl of Arundel; the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Nottingham, marshal of England, entered before the parliament an accusation or appeal, as it was called, against the five counsellors whom they had already accused before the king. The parliament, who ought to have been judges, were not ashamed to impose an oath on all their members, by which they bound themselves to live and die with the lords appellants, and to defend them against all opposition with their lives and fortunes.

The other proceedings were well suited to the violence and iniquity of the times. A charge, con-

sisting of thirty-nine articles, was delivered in by the appellants; and, as none of the accused counsellors, except Sir Nicholas Brembre, was in custody, the rest were cited to appear; and, upon their absenting themselves, the house of peers, after a very short interval, without hearing a witness, without examining a fact, or deliberating on one point of law, declared them guilty of high treason. Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was produced in court, had the appearance, and but the appearance, of a trial: the peers, though they were not by law his proper judges, pronounced, in a very summary manner, sentence of death upon him; and he was executed, together with Sir Robert Tresilian, who had been discovered and taken in the interval.

It would be tedious to recite the whole charge delivered in against the five counsellors; which is to be met with in several collections. It is sufficient to observe, in general, that if we reason upon the supposition, which is the true one, that the royal prerogative was invaded by the commission extorted by the duke of Gloucester and his associates, and that the king's person was afterwards detained in custody by rebels, many of the articles will appear, not only to imply no crime in the duke of Ireland and the ministers, but to ascribe to them actions which were laudable, and which they were bound by their allegiance to perform. The few articles impeaching the conduct of these ministers before that commission, which subverted the hereditary principle of the constitution, and annihilated all kingly authority, are vague and general; such as their engrossing the king's favour, keeping his barons at a distance from him, obtaining unreasonable grants for themselves or their creatures, and dissipating the public treasure by useless expenses. No violence is objected to them; no particular illegal act; no breach of any statute; and their administration may therefore be concluded to have been so far innocent and inoffensive. All the disorders indeed seem to have proceeded, not from any violation of the laws, or any ministerial tyranny, but merely from a rivalry of power, which the duke of Gloucester and the great nobility, agreeably to the genius of the times, carried to the utmost extremity against their opponents, without any regard to reason, justice, or humanity.

But these were not the only deeds of violence committed during the triumph of the party. All the other judges, who had signed the extrajudicial opinions at Nottingham, were condemned to death, and were, as a grace or favour, banished to Ireland; though they pleaded the fear of their lives, and the menaces of the king's ministers, as their excuse. Lord Beauchamp of Holt, Sir James Berners, and John Salisbury, were also tried and condemned for high treason: merely because they had attempted to defeat the late commission: but the life of the latter was spared. The fate of Sir Simon Burley was more severe: this gentleman was much beloved for his personal merit, had distinguished himself by many honourable actions, was created knight of the garter, and had been appointed governor to Richard, by the choice of the late king and of the Black Prince; he had attended his master from the earliest infancy of that prince, and had ever remained extremely attached to him: yet all these considerations could not save him from falling a victim to Gloucester's vengeance. This execution, more than all the others, made a deep impression on the mind of Richard: his queen too (for he was already married to the sister of the emperor Wincellaus, king



Bohemia) interested herself in behalf of Burley: she remained three hours on her knees before the duke of Gloucester, pleading for that gentleman's life; but though she was become extremely popular by her amiable qualities, which had acquired her the appellation of "the good queen Ann," her petition was sternly rejected by the inexorable duke.

The parliament concluded this violent scene, by a declaration that none of the articles, decided on these trials to be treason, should ever afterwards be drawn into precedent by the judges, who were still to consider the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward as the rule of their decisions. The house of lords seem not, at that time, to have known or acknowledged the principle, that they themselves were bound, in their judicial capacity, to follow the rules which they, in conjunction with the king and commons, had established in their legislature. It was also enacted, that every one should swear to the perpetual maintenance and support of the forfeitures and attainders, and of all the other acts passed during this parliament. The archbishop of Canterbury added the penalty of excommunication, as a farther security to these violent transactions.

It might naturally be expected, that the king, being reduced to such slavery by the combination of the princes and chief nobility, and having appeared so unable to defend his servants from the cruel effects of their resentment, would long remain in subjection to them; and never would recover the royal power, without the most violent struggles and convulsions: but the event proved contrary. In less than a twelvemonth, Richard, who was in his twenty-third year, declared in council, that, as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority his kingdom and household, he resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty; and when no one ventured to contradict so reasonable an intention, he deprived Fitz-Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, of the dignity of chancellor, and bestowed that high office on William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester; the bishop of Hereford was displaced from the office of treasurer, the earl of Arundel from that of admiral; even the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Warwick were removed for a time from the council: and no opposition was made to these great changes. The history of this reign is imperfect, and little to be depended on; except where it is supported by public records: and it is not easy for us to assign the reason of this unexpected event. Perhaps some secret animosities, naturally to be expected in that situation, had crept in among the great men, and had enabled the king to recover his authority. Perhaps the violence of their former proceedings had lost them the affections of the people, who soon repent of any cruel extremities to which they are carried by their leaders. However this may be, Richard exercised with moderation the authority which he had resumed. He seemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncles and the other great men, of whom he had so much reason to complain: he never attempted to recal from banishment the duke of Ireland, whom he found so obnoxious to them; he confirmed, by proclamation, the general pardon which the parliament had passed for all offences: and he courted the affections of the people, by voluntarily remitting some subsidies which had been granted to him; a remarkable and almost singular instance of such generosity.

After this composure of domestic differences, and this restoration of the government to its natural state,

there passes an interval of eight years, which affords not many remarkable events. The duke of Lancaster returned from Spain; having resigned to his rival all pretensions to the crown of Castile upon payment of a large sum of money, and having married his daughter, Philippa, to the king of Portugal. The authority of this prince served to counterbalance that of the duke of Gloucester, and secured the power of Richard, who paid great court to his eldest uncle, by whom he had never been offended, and whom he found more moderate in his temper than the younger. He made a cession to him for life of the duchy of Guienne, which the inclinations and changeable humour of the Gascons had restored to the English government; but as they remonstrated loudly against this deed, it was finally, with the duke's consent, revoked by Richard. There happened an incident which produced a dissension between Lancaster and his two brothers. After the death of the Spanish princess, he espoused Catherine Swineford, daughter of a private knight of Hainault, by whose alliance York and Gloucester thought the dignity of their family much injured: but the king gratified his uncle, by passing in parliament a charter of legitimation to the children whom that lady had borne him before marriage, and by creating the eldest earl of Somerset.

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard had inherited with his crown, still continued; though interrupted by frequent truces, according to the practice of that age, and conducted with little vigour, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalry between the two martial families of Percy and Douglas, than from any national quarrel: a fierce battle or skirmish was fought at Otterborne, in which young Percy, surnamed "Hotspur," from his impetuous valour, was taken prisoner, and Douglas slain; and the victory remained undecided. Some insurrections of the Irish obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience; and he recovered, in some degree, by this enterprise, his character of courage, which had suffered a little by the inactivity of his reign. At last, the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace; but found it so difficult to adjust their opposite pretensions, that they were content to establish a truce of twenty-five years: Brest and Cherbourg were restored, the former to the duke of Brittany, the latter to the king of Navarre: both parties were left in possession of all the other places which they held at the time of concluding the truce: and to render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to Isabella, the daughter of Charles. This princess was only seven years of age; but the king agreed to so unequal a match, chiefly that he might fortify himself by this alliance against the enterprises of his uncles, and the incurable turbulence as well as inconstancy of his barons.

The administration of the king, though it was not, in this interval, sullied by any unpopular act, except the seizing of the charter of London, which was soon after restored, tended not much to corroborate his authority; and his personal character brought him into contempt, even while his public government appeared, in a good measure, unexceptionable. Indolent, profuse, addicted to low pleasures; he spent his whole time in feasting and jollity, and dissipated, in idle show or in bounties to

favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to see him employ in enterprises directed to public honour and advantage. He forgot his rank by admitting all men to his familiarity; and he was not sensible, that their acquaintance with the qualities of his mind was not able to impress them with the respect which he neglected to preserve from his birth and station. The earls of Kent and Huntingdon, his half brothers, were his chief confidants and favourites, and though he never devoted himself to them with so profuse an affection as that with which he had formerly been attached to the duke of Ireland, it was easy for men to see, that every grace passed through their hands, and that the king had rendered himself a mere cypher in the government. The small regard which the public bore to his person, disposed them to murmur against his administration, and to receive, with greedy ears, every complaint which the discontented or ambitious grandees suggested to them.

Gloucester soon perceived the advantages which this dissolute conduct gave him; and finding, that both resentment and jealousy on the part of his nephew still prevented him from acquiring any ascendancy over that prince, he determined to cultivate his popularity with the nation, and to revenge himself on those who eclipsed him in favour and authority. He seldom appeared at court or in council: he never declared his opinion but in order to disapprove of the measures embraced by the king and his favourites; and he courted the friendship of every man, whom disappointment or private resentment had rendered an enemy to the administration. The long truce with France was unpopular with the English, who breathed nothing but war against that hostile nation; and Gloucester took care to encourage all the vulgar prejudices which prevailed on this subject. Forgetting the misfortunes which attended the English arms during the later years of Edward, he made an invidious comparison between the glories of that reign and the inactivity of the present, and he lamented that Richard should have degenerated so much from the heroic virtues by which his father and his grandfather were distinguished. The military men were inflamed with a desire of war, when they heard him talk of the signal victories formerly obtained, and of the easy prey which might be made of French riches by the superior valour of the English: the populace readily embraced the same sentiments: and all men exclaimed that this prince, whose counsels were so much neglected, was the true support of English honour, and alone able to raise the nation to its former power and splendour. His great abilities, his popular manners, his princely extraction, his immense riches, his high office of constable, all these advantages, not a little assisted by his want of court favour, gave him a mighty authority in the kingdom, and rendered him formidable to Richard and his ministers.

Froissard, a contemporary writer and very impartial, but whose credit is somewhat impaired by his want of exactness in material facts, ascribes to the duke of Gloucester more desperate views, and such as were totally incompatible with the government and domestic tranquillity of the nation. According to that historian, he proposed to his nephew, Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, whom Richard had declared his successor, to give him immediate possession of the throne, by the deposition of a prince so unworthy of power and authority: and when Mortimer declined the project, he resolved to make a

partition of the kingdom between himself, his two brothers, and the earl of Arundel; and entirely to dispossess Richard of the crown. The king, it is said, being informed of these designs, saw that either his own ruin or that of Gloucester was inevitable; and he resolved, by a hasty blow, to prevent the execution of such destructive projects. This is certain, that Gloucester, by his own confession, had often affected to speak contemptuously of the king's person and government; had deliberated concerning the lawfulness of throwing off allegiance to him; and had even borne part in a secret conference, where his deposition was proposed and talked of, and determined; but it is reasonable to think, that his schemes were not so far advanced as to make him resolve on putting them immediately in execution. The danger, probably, was still too distant to render a desperate remedy entirely necessary for the security of government.

But whatever opinion we may form of the danger arising from Gloucester's conspiracies, his aversion to the French truce and alliance was public and avowed; and that court, which had now a great influence over the king, pushed him to provide for his own safety, by punishing the traitorous designs of his uncle. The resentment against his former acts of violence revived; the sense of his refractory and uncompliant behaviour was still recent; and a man, whose ambition had once usurped royal authority, and who had murdered all the faithful servants of the king, was thought capable, on a favourable opportunity, of renewing the same criminal enterprises. The king's precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation: he ordered Gloucester to be unexpectedly arrested; to be hurried on board a ship which was lying in the river; and to be carried over to Calais, where alone, by reason of his numerous partisans, he could safely be detained in custody. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time: the malecontents, so suddenly deprived of their leaders, were astonished and overawed: and the concurrence of the dukes of Lancaster and York in those measures, together with the earls of Derby and Rutland, the eldest sons of these princes, bereaved them of all possibility of resistance.

A parliament was immediately summoned at Westminster, and the king doubted not to find the peers, and still more the commons, very compliant with his will. In the preceding parliament the commons had shewn a disposition very complaisant to the king; yet there happened an incident in their proceedings which is curious, and shews us the state of the house during that period. The members were either country gentlemen or merchants, who were assembled for a few days, and were entirely unacquainted with business; so that it was easy to lead them astray, and draw them into votes and resolutions very different from their intention. Some petitions concerning the state of the nation were voted; in which, among other things, the house recommended frugality to the king; and for that purpose desired that the court should not be so much frequented as formerly by bishops and ladies. The king was displeased with this freedom: the commons very humbly craved pardon: he was not satisfied unless they would name the mover of the petitions. It happened to be one Haxey, whom the parliament, in order to make atonement, condemned for this offence to die the death of a traitor. But the king, at the desire of the archbishop of Canterbury and the prelates, pardoned him. The suppression of Gloucester's party made the king more assured



a favourable election. As a farther expedient for that purpose, he is also said to have employed the influence of the sheriffs; a practice which, though not unusual, gave umbrage, but which the established authority of that assembly rendered afterwards still more familiar to the nation. Accordingly the parliament passed whatever acts the king was pleased to dictate to them: they annulled for ever the commission which usurped upon the royal authority, and they declared it treasonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any similar commission: they abrogated all the acts which attained the king's ministers, and which that parliament, who passed them, and the whole nation, had sworn inviolably to maintain: and they declared the general pardon then granted to be invalid, as extorted by force, and never ratified by the free consent of the king. Though Richard, after he resumed the government, and lay no longer under constraint, had voluntarily, by proclamation, confirmed that general indemnity; this circumstance seemed not, in their eyes, to merit any consideration. Even a particular pardon, granted six years after to the earl of Arundel, was annulled by parliament; on pretence that it had been procured by surprise, and that the king was not then fully apprised of the degree of guilt incurred by that nobleman.

The commons then preferred an impeachment against Fitz-Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, and brother to Arundel, and accused him for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attaining the king's ministers. The primate pleaded guilty; but as he was protected by the ecclesiastical privileges, the king was satisfied with a sentence, which banished him the kingdom, and sequestered his temporalities. An appeal or accusation was presented against the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Somerset, Salisbury, and Nottingham, together with the Lords Spencer and Scrope, and they were accused of the same crimes which had been imputed to the archbishop, as well as of their appearance against the king in a hostile manner at Haringay-park. The earl of Arundel, who was brought to the bar, wisely confined all his defence to the pleading of both the general and particular pardon of the king; but his plea being overruled, he was condemned and executed. The earl of Warwick, who was also convicted of high treason, was, on account of his submissive behaviour, pardoned as to his life, but doomed to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man. No new acts of treason were imputed to either of these noblemen. The only crimes for which they were condemned, were the old attempts against the crown, which seemed to be obliterated, both by the distance of time and by repeated pardons. The reasons of this method of proceeding, it is difficult to conjecture. The recent conspiracies of Gloucester seem certain from his own confession: but, perhaps, the king and ministry had not at that time in their hands any satisfactory proof of their reality; perhaps it was difficult to convict Arundel and Warwick of any participation in them; perhaps, an inquiry into these conspiracies would have involved in the guilt some of those great noblemen who now concurred with the crown, and whom it was necessary to cover from all imputation: or perhaps the king, according to the genius of the age, was indifferent about maintaining even the appearance of law and equity, and was only solicitous by any

means to ensure success in these prosecutions. This point, like many others in ancient history, we are obliged to leave altogether undetermined.

A warrant was issued to the earl mareschal, governor of Calais, to bring over the duke of Gloucester, in order to his trial; but the governor returned for answer, that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy in that fortress. Nothing could be more suspicious, from the time, than the circumstances of that prince's death: it became immediately the general opinion, that he was murdered by orders from his nephew: in the subsequent reign undoubted proofs were produced in parliament, that he had been suffocated with pillows by his keepers. And it appeared that the king, apprehensive lest the public trial and execution of so popular a prince, and so near a relation, might prove both dangerous and invidious, had taken this base method of gratifying, and, as he fancied, concealing his revenge upon him. Both parties, in their successive triumphs, seem to have had no farther concern than that of retaliating upon their adversaries; and neither of them were aware, that, by imitating, they indirectly justified, as far as it lay in their power, all the illegal violence of the opposite party.

This session concluded with the creation or advancement of several peers: the earl of Derby was made duke of Hereford; the earl of Rutland, duke of Albemarle; the earl of Kent, duke of Surrey; the earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter; the earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; the earl of Somerset, marquis of Dorset; Lord Spencer, earl of Gloucester; Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland; Thomas Piercy, earl of Worcester; William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire. The parliament, after a session of twelve days, was adjourned to Shrewsbury. The king, before the departure of the members, exacted from them an oath for the perpetual maintenance and establishment of all their acts; an oath similar to that which had formerly been required by the duke of Gloucester and his party, and which had already proved so vain and fruitless.

Both king and parliament met in the same dispositions at Shrewsbury. So anxious was Richard for the security of these acts, that he obliged the lords and commons to swear anew to them on the cross of Canterbury; and he soon after procured a bull from the pope, by which they were, as he imagined, perpetually secured and established. The parliament, on the other hand, conferred on him for life the duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather, and granted him, besides, a subsidy of one tenth and a half, and one fifteenth and a half. They also reversed the attainder of Tresilian and the other judges, and, with the approbation of the present judges, declared the answers, for which these magistrates had been impeached, to be just and legal: and they carried so far their retrospect, as to reverse, on the petition of Lord Spencer, earl of Gloucester, the attainder pronounced against the two Spencers in the reign of Edward II. The ancient history of England is nothing but a catalogue of reversals: every thing is in fluctuation and movement: one faction is continually undoing what was established by another: and the multiplied oaths, which each party exacted for the security of their present acts, betray a perpetual consciousness of their instability.

The parliament, before they were dissolved, elected a committee, of twelve lords and six commons, whom they invested with the whole power both of lords and commons, and endowed with full

authority to finish all business which had been laid before the houses, and which they had not had leisure to bring to a conclusion. This was an unusual concession; and though it was limited in the object, might, either immediately or as a precedent, have proved dangerous to the constitution: but the cause of that extraordinary measure was an event singular and unexpected, which engaged the attention of the parliament.

After the destruction of the duke of Gloucester, and the heads of that party, a misunderstanding broke out among those noblemen who had joined in the prosecution; and the king waited either authority sufficient to appease it, or foresight to prevent it. The duke of Hereford appeared in parliament, and accused the duke of Norfolk of having spoken to him, in private, many slanderous words of the king, and of having imputed to that prince an intention of subverting and destroying many of his principal nobility. Norfolk denied the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his own innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted, the time and place of combat were appointed, and as the event of this important trial by arms might require the interposition of legislative authority, the parliament thought it more suitable to delegate their power to a committee, than to prolong the session beyond the usual time which custom and general convenience had prescribed to it.

The duke of Hereford was certainly very little delicate in the point of honour, when he revealed a private conversation to the ruin of the person who had entrusted him; and we may thence be more inclined to believe the duke of Norfolk's denial, than the other's asseveration. But Norfolk had in these transactions betrayed an equal neglect of honour, which brings him entirely on a level with his antagonist. Though he had publicly joined with the duke of Gloucester and his party in all the former acts of violence against the king; and his name stands among the appellants who accused the duke of Ireland and the other ministers; yet was he not ashamed publicly to impeach his former associates for the very crimes which he had concurred with them in committing; and his name increases the list of those appellants who brought them to trial. Such were the principles and practices of those ancient knights and barons during the prevalence of the aristocratical government, and the reign of chivalry.

The lists for this decision of truth and right were appointed at Coventry before the king: all the nobility of England banded into parties, and adhered either to the one duke or the other: the whole nation was held in suspense with regard to the event: but when the two champions appeared in the field, accounted for the combat, the king interposed to prevent both the present effusion of such noble blood, and the future consequences of the quarrel. By the advice and authority of the parliamentary commissioners, he stopped the duel; and to shew his impartiality, he ordered, by the same authority, both the combatants to leave the kingdom; assigning one country for the place of Norfolk's exile, which he declared perpetual; another for that of Hereford, which he limited to ten years.

Hereford was a man of great prudence and command of temper; and he behaved himself with so much submission in these delicate circumstances, that the king, before his departure, promised to shorten the term of his exile four years; and he also granted him letters patent, by which he was em-

powered, in case any inheritance should in the interval accrue to him, to enter immediately in possession, and to postpone the doing of homage till his return.

The weakness and fluctuation of Richard's counsels appear no where more evident than in the conduct of this affair. No sooner had Hereford left the kingdom, than the king's jealousy of the power and riches of that prince's family revived; and he was sensible, that, by Gloucester's death, he had only removed a counterpoise to the Lancastrian interest, which was now become formidable to his crown and kingdom. Being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the French king, he determined to prevent the finishing of an alliance which would so much extend the interest of his cousin in foreign countries; and he sent over the earl of Salisbury to Paris with a commission for that purpose. The death of the duke of Lancaster, which happened soon after, called upon him to take new resolutions with regard to that opulent succession. The present duke, in consequence of the king's patent, desired to be put in possession of the estate and jurisdictions of his father: but Richard, afraid of strengthening the hands of a man whom he had already so much offended, applied to the parliamentary commissioners, and persuaded them, that this affair was but an appendage to that business which the parliament had delegated to them. By their authority he revoked his letters patent, and retained possession of the estate of Lancaster: and by the same authority he seized and tried the duke's attorney, who had procured and insisted on the letters, and he had him condemned as a traitor, for faithfully executing that trust. An extravagant act of power even though the king changed, in favour of the attorney, the penalty of death into that of banishment.

Henry, the new duke of Lancaster, had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the public; and having served with distinction against the infidels in Lithuania, he had joined to his other praises those of piety and valour, virtues which have at all times a great influence over mankind, and were, during those ages, the qualities chiefly held in estimation. He was connected with most of the principal nobility, by blood, alliance, or friendship; and as the injury done him by the king might in its consequences affect all of them, he easily brought them, by a sense of common interest, to take part in his resentment. The people, who must have an object of affection, who found nothing in the king's person which they could love or revere, and who were even disgusted with many parts of his conduct, easily transferred to Henry that attachment, which the death of the duke of Gloucester had left without any fixed direction. His misfortunes were lamented; the injustice which he had suffered was complained of; and all men turned their eyes towards him, as the only person that could retrieve the lost honour of the nation, or redress the supposed abuses of the government.

While such were the dispositions of the people, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland, in order to revenge the death of his cousin, Roger, earl of Marche, the presumptive heir of the crown, who had lately been slain in a skirmish by the natives; and he thereby left the kingdom of England open to the attempts of his provoked and ambitious enemy. Henry embarked at Antwerp with a retinue of sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop



of Canterbury and the young earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire; and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent barons in England. Here he took a solemn oath, that he had no other purpose in this invasion, than to recover the dutchy of Lancaster, unjustly detained from him; and he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of their country, to second him in this reasonable and moderate pretension. Every place was in commotion: the malecontents in all quarters flew to arms; London discovered the strongest symptoms of its disposition to mutiny and rebellion: and Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to the number of 60,000 combatants.

The duke of York was left guardian of the realm; a place to which his birth entitled him, but which both his slender abilities, and his natural connexions with the duke of Lancaster, rendered him utterly incapable of filling in such a dangerous emergency. Such of the chief nobility as were attached to the crown, and could either have seconded the guardian's good intention, or have overawed his infidelity, had attended the king into Ireland; and the efforts of Richard's friends were every where more feeble than those of his enemies. The duke of York, however, appointed the rendezvous of his forces at St. Alban's, and soon assembled an army of 40,000 men; but found them entirely destitute of zeal and attachment to the royal cause, and more inclined to join the party of the rebels. He hearkened therefore very readily to a message from Henry, who entreated him not to oppose a loyal and humble supplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony; and the guardian even declared publicly that he would second his nephew in so reasonable a request. His army embraced with acclamations the same measures; and the duke of Lancaster, reinforced by them, was now entirely master of the kingdom. He hastened to Bristol, into which some of the king's ministers had thrown themselves; and soon obliging that place to surrender, he yielded to the popular wishes, and without giving them a trial, ordered the earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussy, and Sir Henry Green, whom he there took prisoners, to be led to immediate execution.

The king, receiving intelligence of this invasion and insurrection, hastened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford Haven with a body of 20,000 men: but even this army, so much inferior to the enemy, was either overawed by the general combination of the kingdom, or seized with the same spirit of disaffection; and they gradually deserted him, till he found that he had not above 6000 men who followed his standard.

The details of the capture of Richard are so illustrative of the manners and characteristics of the period, and are so agreeably related by Lingard, that we cannot refrain from substituting them for the more general and less correct narration of Hume.

"A council was immediately summoned, and a proposal made that the king should flee by sea to Bourdeaux; but the duke of Exeter objected that to quit the kingdom in such circumstances would be to abdicate the throne. 'Let them proceed to the army at Conway: there they might bid defiance to the enemy, or, at all events, as the sea would still be open, might thence sail to Guienne.' His opinion prevailed; and at midnight the king, in the disguise of a priest, his two brothers of Exeter and Surrey, the earl of Gloucester, the bishop of Carlisle, Sir

Stephen Scroop, and Sir William Feriby, with eight others, stole away from the army, and directed their route towards Conway. In the morning the duke of Albemarle, and Sir Thomas Percy, steward of the household, hastened to join Henry: the common men dispersed, and were stripped and beaten by the Welsh.

"The royal party with some difficulty, but without any accident, reached Conway, where, to their utter disappointment, instead of a numerous force, they found only the earl of Salisbury, with 100 men. In this emergency the king's brothers undertook to visit Henry at Chester, and to sound his intentions; and during their absence Richard, with the earl of Salisbury, examined the castles of Beaumaris and Carnarvon; but, finding them without garrisons or provisions, the disconsolate wanderers returned to their former quarters.

"When the two dukes were admitted into the presence of Henry, they bent the knee, and acquainted him with their message from the king. He took little notice of Surrey, whom he afterwards confined in the castle; but, leading Exeter aside, spoke with him in private, and gave him, instead of the hart, the king's livery, his own badge of the rose. But no entreaties could induce him to allow them to return. Exeter was observed to drop a tear; when the duke of Albemarle said to him, tauntingly, 'Fair cousin, be not angry; if it please God, things shall go well.'

"The immediate object of Henry was to secure the royal person. He was pleased to learn from the envoys the place of Richard's retreat, and detained them at Chester, that the king, instead of making his escape, might await their return. The earl of Northumberland was instantly despatched, at the head of 400 men at arms and 1000 archers, with instructions not to display his force, lest the king should put to sea, but, by artful speeches and promises to draw him out of the fortress, and then make him prisoner. The earl took possession, in his journey, of the castles of Flint and Rhuddlaw; and, a few miles beyond the latter, placing his men in concealment under a rock, rode forward with only five attendants to Conway. He was readily admitted; and, to the king's anxious enquiries about his brothers, replied, that he had left them well at Chester, and had brought a letter from the duke of Exeter. In it that nobleman said, or rather was made to say, that full credit might be given to the offers of the bearer. These offers were, that Richard should promise to govern and judge his people by law; that the dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the earl of Salisbury, and the bishop of Carlisle, should submit to a trial in parliament, on the charge of having advised the assassination of Gloucester; that Henry should be made grand justiciary of the kingdom, as his ancestors had been for one hundred years; and that on the concession of these terms the duke should come to Flint, ask the king's pardon on his knees, and accompany or follow him to London. Richard consulted his friends apart. He expressed his approbation of the articles, but bade them secretly be assured that no consideration should induce him to abandon them on their trial, and that he would grasp the first opportunity of being revenged on his and their enemies. The bishop proposed that Northumberland should be sworn to the observance of the conditions. Mass was accordingly performed; the earl took his oath on the host; and, 'like Judas,' says a writer, who was present, 'perjured himself on the body of our Lord.'

"As Northumberland departed to make arrangements for the interview at Flint, the king said to him, 'I rely, my Lord, on your faith. Remember your oath, and the God who heard it.' After dinner he followed, with his friends, to the number of twenty-two. They came to a steep declivity, to the left of which was the sea, and on the right a lofty rock, overhanging the road. The king dismounted, and was descending on foot, when he suddenly exclaimed, 'I am betrayed. God of Paradise, assist me! Do you not see banners and pennons in the valley?' Northumberland, with eleven others, met them at the moment, and affected to be ignorant of the circumstance. 'Earl of Northumberland,' said the king, 'if I thought you capable of betraying me, it is not too late to return.'—"You cannot return," the earl replied, seizing the king's bridle; 'I have promised to conduct you to the duke of Lancaster.' By this time he was joined by 100 lances and 200 archers on horseback; and Richard, seeing it impossible to escape, exclaimed, 'May the God on whom you laid your hand reward you and your accomplices at the last day;' and then to his friends added, 'We are betrayed; but remember that our Lord was also sold, and delivered into the hands of his enemies.'

"They reached Flint in the evening; and the king, as soon as he was left with his friends, abandoned himself to the reflections which his melancholy situation inspired. He frequently upbraided himself with his past indulgence to his present opponent. 'Fool that I was!' he exclaimed, 'thrice did I save the life of this Henry of Lancaster. Once my dear uncle, his father, on whom the Lord have mercy! would have put him to death for his treason and villany. God of Paradise! I rode all night to save him; and his father delivered him to me, to do with him as I pleased. How true is the saying, that we have no greater enemy than the man whom we have preserved from the gallows! Another time, he drew his sword on me in the chamber of the queen, on whom God have mercy. He was also the accomplice of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel: he consented to my murder, to that of his father, and of all my council. By St. John, I forgave him all; nor would I believe his father, who, more than once, pronounced him deserving of death.'

"The unfortunate king rose, after a sleepless night, heard mass, and ascended the tower, to watch the arrival of his opponent. At length he saw the army, amounting to 80,000, winding along the beach, till it reached the castle, and surrounded it from sea to sea. He shuddered and wept, but was aroused from his reflections by a summons to dinner. The earl of Salisbury, the bishop, and the two knights, Sir Stephen Scroop and Sir William Feriby, sat with him at the same table, by his order; for, since they were all companions in misfortune, he would allow no distinction among them. While he was eating, unknown persons entered the hall, insulting him with sarcasms and threats. As soon as he arose, he was summoned into the court to receive the duke of Lancaster. Henry came forward in complete armour, with the exception of his helmet. As soon as he saw the king he bent his knee, and, advancing a few paces, he repeated his obeisance. 'Fair cousin of Lancaster,' said Richard, uncovering himself, 'you are right welcome.'—"My Lord," answered the duke, 'I am come before my time; but I will shew you the reason. Your people complain, that, for the space of twenty or two-and-twenty years, you have ruled them rigorously: but,

if it please God, I will help you to govern better.' The king replied, 'Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well.' Henry then addressed himself successively to the bishop and the knights, but refused to notice the earl. The king's horses were immediately ordered, and two lean and miserable animals were brought out, on which Richard and Salisbury mounted, and, amidst the sound of trumpets and shouts of triumph, followed the duke into Chester."

He was subsequently conducted to London by the duke of Lancaster, who was there received with the acclamations of the mutinous populace. It is pretended that the recorder met him on the road, and in the name of the city, entreated him, for the public safety, to put Richard to death, with all his adherents who were prisoners; but the duke prudently determined to make many others participate in his guilt, before he would proceed to those extremities. For this purpose, he issued writs of election, in the king's name, and appointed the immediate meeting of parliament at Westminster.

Such of the peers as were most devoted to the king, were either fled or imprisoned; and no opponents, even among the barons, dared to appear against Henry, amidst that scene of outrage and violence, which commonly attends revolutions, especially in England, during those turbulent ages. It is also easy to imagine, that a house of commons, elected during this universal ferment, and this triumph of the Lancastrian party, would be extremely attached to that cause, and ready to second every suggestion of their leaders. That order, being as yet of too little weight to stem the torrent, was always carried along with it, and served only to increase the violence which the public interest required it should endeavour to control. The duke of Lancaster, therefore, sensible that he should be entirely master, began to carry his views to the crown itself; and he deliberated with his partisans concerning the most proper means of effecting his daring purpose. He first extorted a resignation from Richard; but, as he knew that this deed would plainly appear the result of force and fear, he also purposed, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent to himself and his posterity, to have him solemnly deposed in parliament, for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. A charge, consisting of thirty-three articles, was accordingly drawn up against him, and presented to that assembly.

If we examine these articles, which are expressed with extreme acrimony against Richard, we shall find that, except some rash speeches which are imputed to him, and of whose reality, as they are said to have passed in private conversation, we may reasonably entertain some doubt; the chief amount of the charge is contained in his violent conduct during the two last years of his reign, and naturally divides itself into two principal heads. The first and most considerable is the revenge which he took on the princes and great barons, who had formerly usurped, and still persevered in controlling and threatening, his authority; the second is the violation of the laws and general privileges of his people. But the former, however irregular in many of its circumstances, was fully supported by authority of parliament, and was but a copy of the violence which the princes and barons themselves, during their former triumph, had exercised against him and his party. The detention of Lancaster's estate was, properly speaking, a revocation, by parliamentary authority, of a grace, which the king himself had for



merly granted him. The murder of Gloucester (for the secret execution, however merited, of that prince, certainly deserves this appellation) was a private deed, formed not any precedent, and implied not any usurped or arbitrary power of the crown, which could justly give umbrage to the people. It really proceeded from a defect of power in the king, rather than from his ambition; and proves, that instead of being dangerous to the constitution, he possessed not even the authority necessary for the execution of the laws.

Concerning the second head of accusation, as it mostly consists of general facts, was framed by Richard's inveterate enemies, and was never allowed to be answered by him or his friends, it is more difficult to form a judgment. The greater part of these grievances, imputed to Richard, seems to be the exertion of arbitrary prerogatives; such as the dispensing power, levying purveyance, employing the marshal's court, extorting loans, granting protections from law-suits; prerogatives which, though often complained of, had often been exercised by his predecessors, and still continued to be so by his successors. But whether his irregular acts of this kind were more frequent, and injudicious, and violent than usual, or were only laid hold of and exaggerated by the factions to which the weakness of his reign had given birth, we are not able, at this distance, to determine with certainty. There is, however, one circumstance in which his conduct is visibly different from that of his grandfather: he is not accused of having imposed one arbitrary tax, without consent of parliament, during his whole reign: scarcely a year passed during the reign of Edward, which was free from complaints with regard to this dangerous exertion of authority. But, perhaps, the descendant which Edward had acquired over the people, together with his great prudence, enabled him to make a use very advantageous to his subjects of this and other arbitrary prerogatives, and rendered them a smaller grievance in his hands, than a less absolute authority in those of his grandson. This is a point which it would be rash for us to decide positively on either side; but it is certain, that a charge drawn up by the duke of Lancaster, and assented to by a parliament situated in those circumstances, forms no manner of presumption with regard to the unusual irregularity or violence of the king's conduct in this particular.

When the charge against Richard was presented to the parliament, though it was liable, almost in every article, to objections, it was not canvassed, nor examined, nor disputed in either house, and seemed to be received with universal approbation. One man alone, the bishop of Carlisle, had the courage, amidst this general disloyalty and violence, to appear in defence of his unhappy master, and to plead his cause against all the power of the prevailing party. Though some topics, employed by that virtuous prelate, may seem to favour too much the doctrine of passive obedience, and to make too large a sacrifice of the rights of mankind; he was naturally pushed into that extreme by his abhorrence of the present licentious factions; and such intrepidity, as well as disinterestedness of behaviour, proves, that whatever his speculative principles were, his heart was elevated far above the meaness and abject submission of a slave. He represented to the parliament, that all the abuses of government which could justly be imputed to Richard, instead of amounting to tyranny, were merely the result of error, youth, or misguided counsel, and admitted of a remedy,

more easy and salutary than a total subversion of the constitution. That even had they been much more violent and dangerous than they really were, they had chiefly proceeded from former examples of resistance, which, making the prince sensible of his precarious situation, had obliged him to establish his throne by irregular and arbitrary expedients. That a rebellious disposition in subjects was the principal cause of tyranny in kings: laws could never secure the subject, which did not give security to the sovereign; and if the maxim of inviolable loyalty, which formed the basis of the English government, were once rejected, the privileges belonging to the several orders of the state, instead of being fortified by that licentiousness, would thereby lose the surest foundation of their force and stability. That the parliamentary deposition of Edward II. far from making a precedent which could control this maxim, was only an example of successful violence; and it was sufficiently to be lamented, that crimes were so often committed in the world, without establishing principles which might justify and authorise them. That even that precedent, false and dangerous as it was, could never warrant the present excesses, which were so much greater, and which would entail distraction and misery on the nation, to the latest posterity. That the succession, at least of the crown, was then preserved inviolate: the lineal heir was placed on the throne; and the people had an opportunity, by their legal obedience to him, of making atonement for the violence which they had committed against his predecessor. That a descendant of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late duke of Lancaster, had been declared in parliament successor to the crown: he had left posterity; and their title, however it might be overpowered by present force and faction, could never be obliterated from the minds of the people. That if the turbulent disposition alone of the nation had overturned the well-established throne of so good a prince as Richard; what bloody commotions must ensue, when the same cause was united to the motive of restoring the legal and undoubted heir to his authority? That the new government, intended to be established, would stand on no principle: and would scarcely retain any pretence, by which it could challenge the obedience of men of sense and virtue. That the claim of lineal descent was so gross as scarcely to deceive the most ignorant of the populace: conquest could never be pleaded by a rebel against his sovereign: the consent of the people had no authority in a monarchy not derived from consent, but established by hereditary right; and however the nation might be justified in deposing the misguided Richard, it could never have any reason for setting aside his lawful heir and successor, who was plainly innocent. And that the duke of Lancaster would give them but a bad specimen of the legal moderation which might be expected from his future government, if he added to the crime of his past rebellion, the guilt of excluding the family, which, both by right of blood, and by declaration of parliament, would, in case of Richard's demise, or voluntary resignation, have been received as the undoubted heirs of the monarchy.

All the circumstances of this event, compared to those which attended the revolution in 1688, show the difference between a great and civilized nation, deliberately vindicating its established privileges, and a turbulent and barbarous aristocracy, plunging headlong from the extremes of one faction into

those of another. This noble freedom of the bishop of Carlisle, instead of being applauded, was not so much as tolerated: he was immediately arrested, by order of the duke of Lancaster, and sent a prisoner to the abbey of St. Albans. No farther debate was attempted: thirty-three long articles of charge were, in one meeting, voted against Richard; and voted unanimously by the same peers and prelates who a little before had voluntarily and unanimously authorised those very acts of violence of which they now complained. That prince was deposed by the suffrages of both houses; and the throne being now vacant, the duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having crossed himself on the forehead and on the breast, and called upon the name of Christ, he pronounced these words, which we shall give in the original language, because of their singularity:

"In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge this rewme of Ynglande, and the croun, with all the membres, and the appurtenances; als I that am descendit by right line of the blode, coming fro the gude king Henry therde and throge that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of kyn, and of my frendes to recover it: the which rewme was in poynt to be ondony by defaut of governance, and ondoying of the gude lawes."

In order to understand this speech, it must be observed, that there was a silly story, received among some of the lowest vulgar, that Edmond earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III. was really the elder brother of Edward I.; but that, by reason of some deformity in his person, he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed on the nation in his stead. As the present duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmond by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy; and it is therefore insinuated in Henry's speech: but the absurdity was too gross to be openly avowed either by him or by the parliament. The case is the same with regard to his right of conquest: he was a subject who rebelled against his sovereign: he entered the kingdom with a retinue of no more than sixty persons: he could not therefore be the conqueror of England; and this right is accordingly insinuated, not avowed. Still there is a third claim derived from his merits in saving the nation from tyranny and oppression; and this claim is also insinuated: but as it seemed, by its nature, better calculated as a reason for his being elected king by a free choice, than for giving him an immediate right of possession, he durst not speak openly even on this head; and to obviate any notion of election, he challenges the crown as his due, either by acquisition or inheritance. The whole forms such a piece of jargon and nonsense, as is almost without example: no objection, however, was made to it in parliament: the unanimous voice of lords and commons placed Henry on the throne: he became king, nobody could tell how or wherefore: the title of the house of Marche, formerly recognized by parliament, was neither invalidated nor repealed, but passed over in total silence: and as a concern for the liberties of the people seems to have had no hand in this revolution, their right to dispose of the government, as well as all their other privileges, was left precisely on the same footing as before. But Henry having, when he claimed the crown, dropped some obscure hint concerning conquest, which, it was thought, might endanger these privileges, he soon after made a public declaration, that he did not thereby intend to deprive any one of his franchises

or liberties; which was the only circumstance, where we shall find meaning or common sense, in all these transactions.

The subsequent events discover the same headlong violence of conduct, and the same rude notions of civil government. The deposition of Richard dissolved the parliament: it was necessary to summon a new one: and Henry, in six days after, called together, without any new election, the same members; and this assembly he denominated a new parliament. They were employed in the usual task of reversing every deed of the opposite party. All the acts of the last parliament of Richard, which had been confirmed by their oaths, and by a papal bull, were abrogated: all the acts which had passed in the parliament where Gloucester prevailed, which had also been confirmed by their oaths, but which had been abrogated by Richard, were anew established. The answers of Tresilian, and the other judges, which a parliament had annulled, but which a new parliament, and new judges, had approved, here received a second condemnation. The peers who had accused Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, and who had received higher titles for that piece of service, were all of them degraded from their new dignities: even the practice of prosecuting appeals in parliament, which bore the air of a violent confederacy against an individual, rather than of a legal indictment, was wholly abolished; and trials were restored to the course of common law. The natural effect of this conduct was to render the people giddy with such rapid and perpetual changes, and to make them lose all notions of right and wrong in the measures of government.

The earl of Northumberland made a motion, in the house of peers, with regard to the unhappy prince whom they had deposed. He asked them what advice they would give the king for the future treatment of him; since Henry was resolved to spare his life. They unanimously replied, that he should be imprisoned under a secure guard, in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with any of his friends or partisans. It was easy to foresee, that he would not long remain alive in the hands of such barbarous and sanguinary enemies. Historians differ with regard to the manner in which he was murdered. It was long the prevailing opinion, that Sir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him in the castle of Pomfret, where he was confined, and dispatched him with their halberds. But it is more probable, that he was starved to death in prison; and after all sustenance was denied him, he prolonged his unhappy life, it is said, for a fortnight, before he reached the end of his miseries. This account is more consistent with the story, that his body was exposed in public, and that no marks of violence were observed upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. He left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

All the writers, who have transmitted to us the history of Richard, lived during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes; and candour requires, that we should not give entire credit to the reproaches which they have thrown upon his memory. But, after making all proper allowances, he still appears to have been a weak prince, and unfit for government, less for want of natural parts and capacity, than of solid judgment and a good education. He was violent in his temper; profuse in his expense; fond of idle show and magnificence; devoted to favourites; and addicted to pleasure: passions, all of them, the



most inconsistent with a prudent economy, and consequently dangerous in a limited and mixed government. Had he possessed the talents of gaining, and still more those of overawing, his great barons, he might have escaped all the misfortunes of his reign, and been allowed to carry much farther his oppressions over the people, if he really was guilty of any, without their daring to rebel, or even to murmur against him. But when the *grandeues* were tempted, by his want of prudence and of vigour, to resist his authority, and execute the most violent enterprises against him, he was naturally led to seek an opportunity of retaliation; justice was neglected; the lives of the chief nobility were sacrificed; and all these enormities seem to have proceeded less from a settled design of establishing arbitrary power, than from the insolence of victory, and the necessities of the king's situation. The manners indeed of the age, were the chief source of such violence: laws, which were feebly executed in peaceable times, lost all their authority during public convulsions; both parties were alike guilty: or if any difference may be remarked between them, we shall find, that the authority of the crown, being more legal, was commonly carried, where it prevailed, to less desperate extremities than was that of the aristocracy.

On comparing the conduct and events of this reign, with those of the preceding, we shall find equal reason to admire Edward, and to blame Richard; but the circumstance of opposition, surely, will not lie in the strict regard paid by the former to national privileges, and the neglect of them by the latter. On the contrary, the prince of small abilities, as he felt his want of power, seems to have been more moderate in this respect than the other. Every parliament assembled during the reign of Edward, remonstrates against the exertion of some arbitrary prerogative or other: we hear not any complaints of that kind during the reign of Richard, till the assembling of his last parliament, which was summoned by his inveterate enemies, which de-throned him, which framed their complaints during the time of the most furious convulsions, and whose testimony must therefore have, on that account, much less authority with every equitable judge. Both these princes experienced the encroachments of the great upon their authority. Edward reduced to necessities, was obliged to make an express bargain with his parliament, and to sell some of his prerogatives for present supply; but as they were acquainted with his genius and capacity, they ventured not to demand any exorbitant concessions, or such as were incompatible with regal and sovereign power: the weakness of Richard tempted the parliament to extort a commission, which, in a manner, de-throned the prince, and transferred the sceptre into the hands of the nobility. The events of these encroachments were also suitable to the character of each. Edward had no sooner gotten the supply than he departed from the engagements which had induced the parliament to grant it; he openly told his people, that he had but dissembled with them when he seemed to make them these concessions; and he resumed and retained all his prerogatives. But Richard, because he was detected in consulting and deliberating with the judges on the lawfulness of restoring the constitution, found his barons immediately in arms against him; was deprived of his liberty; saw his favourites, his ministers, his tutor, butchered before his face, or banished and attainted; and was obliged to give way to all this violence. There cannot be a more remarkable contrast be-

tween the fortunes of two princes: it were happy for society, did this contrast always depend on the justice or injustice of the measures which men embrace; and not rather on the different degrees of prudence and vigour with which those measures are supported.

His character is thus given by Lingard:—"The features of Richard were handsome; his manners abrupt; his utterance embarrassed. He possessed some taste for literature, and occasionally gave indications of resolution and spirit. But he was passionately fond of parade and pleasure; and the loss of his crown has been attributed to his extravagance and pecuniary exactions. It would, however, be difficult to prove that his expenses were greater than those of his predecessors: it is certain that his demands on the purses of his subjects were considerably less. His misfortunes may be more correctly traced to the early age at which he mounted the throne, and to the precautions taken by his mother and her friends to defeat the supposed designs of his uncles. By these he was estranged from the princes of his blood, whose pride refused to pay court to a boy, and whose neglect compelled him to fix his affections on his ministers and companions. Jealousies and rivalries ensued, which ended in the celebrated commission of government, and the ruin, perhaps originally undeserved, of the royal favourites. When the king had recovered the exercise of his authority, he reigned in comparative tranquillity for a long period; but his conduct in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of his reign, betrayed such a thirst for revenge and habit of dissimulation, such despotic notions of government, and so fixed a purpose to rule without control, that no reader can be surprised at the catastrophe which followed. We may indeed abhor the wiles by which he was ensnared: may sympathise with him in his prison; and may condemn the policy which afterwards bereaved him of his life: but at the same time we must acknowledge that he deserved to be abandoned by the people on whose liberties he had trampled; and to forfeit the authority which he had sought to exact above the laws and constitution of his country."

There was a sensible decay of ecclesiastical authority during this period. The disgust which the laity had received from the numerous usurpations both of the court of Rome, and of their own clergy, had very much weaned the kingdom from superstition; and strong symptoms appeared, from time to time, of a general desire to shake off the bondage of the Romish church. In the committee of eighteen, to whom Richard's last parliament delegated their whole power, there is not the name of one ecclesiastic to be found; a neglect which is almost without example, while the Catholic religion subsisted in England.

The aversion entertained against the established church soon found principles, and tenets, and reasonings, by which it could justify and support itself. John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, began in the latter end of Edward III. to spread the doctrine of reformation by his discourses, sermons, and writings; and he made many disciples among men of all ranks and stations. He seems to have been a man of parts and learning; and has the honour of being the first person in Europe, that publicly called in question those principles, which had universally passed for certain and undisputed during so many ages: Wickliffe himself, as well as his disciples, who received the name of Wickliffites,

or Lollards, was distinguished by a great austerity of life and manners; a circumstance common to almost all those who dogmatize in any new way; both because men, who draw to them the attention of the public, and expose themselves to the odium of great multitudes, are obliged to be very guarded in their conduct, and because few, who have a strong propensity to pleasure or business, will enter upon so difficult and laborious an undertaking. The doctrines of Wickliffe, being derived from his search into the scriptures, and into ecclesiastical antiquity, were nearly the same with those which were propagated by the reformers in the sixteenth century: he only carried some of them farther than was done by the more sober part of these reformers. He denied the doctrine of the real presence, the supremacy of the church of Rome, the merit of monastic vows: he maintained, that the scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependant on the state, and should be reformed by it; that the clergy ought to possess no estates; that the begging friars were a nuisance, and ought not to be supported; that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety: he asserted, that oaths were unlawful, that dominion was founded in grace, that every thing was subject to fate and destiny, and that all men were preordained either to eternal salvation or reprobation. From the whole of his doctrines, Wickliffe appears to have been strongly tinged with enthusiasm, and to have been thereby the better qualified to oppose a church, whose chief characteristic is superstition.

The propagation of these principles gave great alarm to the clergy; and a bull was issued by Pope Gregory XI. for taking Wickliffe into custody, and examining into the scope of his opinions. Courteney, bishop of London, cited him before his tribunal; but the reformer had now acquired powerful protectors, who screened him from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The duke of Lancaster, who then governed this kingdom, encouraged the principles of Wickliffe; and he made no scruple, as well as Lord Piercy, the marshal, to appear openly in court with him, in order to give him countenance upon his trial: he even insisted that Wickliffe should sit in the bishop's presence, while his principles were examined: Courteney exclaimed against the insult: the Londoners, thinking their prelate affronted, attacked the duke and marshal, who escaped from their hands with some difficulty. And the populace, soon after, broke into the houses of both these noblemen, threatened their persons, and plundered their goods. The bishop of London had the merit of appeasing their fury and resentment.

The duke of Lancaster, however, still continued his protection to Wickliffe during the minority of Richard; and the principles of that reformer had so far propagated themselves, that, when the pope sent to Oxford a new bull against these doctrines, the university deliberated for some time whether they should receive the bull; and they never took any vigorous measures in consequence of the papal orders. Even the populace of London were at length brought to entertain favourable sentiments of this reformer: when he was cited before a synod at Lambeth, they broke into the assembly, and so overawed the prelates, who found both the people and the court against them, that they dismissed him without any further censure.

The clergy, we may well believe, were more wanting in power than in inclination to punish this new heresy, which struck at all their credit, posses-

sions, and authority. But there was hitherto no law in England, by which the secular arm was authorised to support orthodoxy; and the ecclesiastics endeavoured to supply the defect by an extraordinary and unwarrantable artifice. In the year 1381, there was an act passed, requiring sheriffs to apprehend the preachers of heresy and their abettors; but this statute had been surreptitiously obtained by the clergy, and had the formality of an enrolment without the consent of the commons. In the subsequent session the lower house complained of the fraud; affirmed, that they had no intention to bind themselves to the prelates farther than their ancestors had done before them; and required that the pretended statute should be repealed; which was done accordingly. But it is remarkable that, notwithstanding this vigilance of the commons, the clergy had so much art and influence, that the repeal was suppressed; and the act, which never had any legal authority, remained long upon the statute book: though the clergy still thought proper to keep it in reserve, and not proceed to the immediate execution of it.

But besides this defect of power in the church, which saved Wickliffe, that reformer himself, notwithstanding his enthusiasm, seems not to have been actuated by the spirit of martyrdom; and, in all subsequent trials before the prelates, he so explained away his doctrine by tortured meanings, as to render it quite innocent and inoffensive. Most of his followers imitated his cautious disposition, and saved themselves either by recantations or explanations. He died of a palsy, in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester; and the clergy, mortified that he should have escaped their vengeance, took care, besides assuring the people of his eternal damnation, to represent his last distemper as a visible judgment of heaven upon him for his multiplied heresies and impieties.

The proselytes, however, of Wickliffe's opinions, still increased in England: some monkish writers represent one half of the kingdom as infected by those principles: they were carried over to Bohemia by some youth of that nation, who studied at Oxford: but though the age seemed strongly disposed to receive them, affairs were not yet fully ripe for this great revolution; and the finishing blow to ecclesiastical power was reserved to a period of more curiosity, literature, and inclination for novelties.

Meanwhile the English parliament continued to check the clergy and the court of Rome, by more sober and more legal expedients. They enacted anew the statute of provisors, and affixed higher penalties to the transgression of it, which, in some instances, was even made capital. The court of Rome had fallen upon a new device, which increased their authority over the prelates: the pope, who found that the expedient of arbitrarily depriving them was violent and liable to opposition, attained the same end, by transferring such of them as were obnoxious to poorer sees, and even to nominal sees, in *partibus infidelium*. It was thus that the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Durham and Chichester, the king's ministers, had been treated after the prevalence of Gloucester's faction: the bishop of Carlisle met with the same fate after the accession of Henry IV. For the pope always joined with the prevailing powers when they did not thwart his pretensions. The parliament, in the reign of Richard, enacted a law against this abuse: and the king made a general remonstrance to the court of Rome against all



those usurpations which he calls horrible excesses of that court.

It was usual for the church, that they might elude the mortmain act, to make their votaries leave lands in trust to certain persons, under whose name the clergy enjoyed the benefit of the bequest: the parliament also stopped the progress of this abuse. In the 17th of the king, the commons prayed, "that remedy might be had against such religious persons as cause their villains to marry free women inheeritable, whereby the estate comes to those religious hands by collusion." This was a new device of the clergy.

The papacy was, at this time, somewhat weakened by a schism, which lasted during forty years, and gave great scandal to the devoted partisans of the holy see. After the pope had resided many years at Avignon, Gregory XI. was persuaded to return to Rome; and upon his death, which happened in 1380, the Romans, resolute to fix, for the future, the seat of the papacy in Italy, besieged the cardinals in the conclave, and compelled them, though they were mostly Frenchmen, to elect Urban VI., an Italian, into that dignity. The French cardinals, as soon as they recovered their liberty, fled from Rome, and protesting against the forced election, chose Robert, son of the count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII., and resided at Avignon. All the kingdoms of Christendom, according to the several interests and inclinations, were divided between these two pontiffs. The court of France adhered to Clement, and was followed by its allies, the king of Castile, and the king of Scotland: England of course, was thrown into the other party, and declared for Urban. Thus the appellation of "Clementines" and "Urbanists" distracted Europe for several years; and each party damned the other as schismatics, and as rebels to the true vicar of Christ. But this circumstance, though it weakened the papal authority, had not so great an effect as might naturally be imagined. Though any king could easily at first make his kingdom embrace the party of one pope or the other, or even keep it some time in suspense between them, he could not so easily transfer his obedience at pleasure: the people attached themselves to their own party, as to a religious opinion; and conceived an extreme abhorrence to the opposite party, whom they regarded as little better than Saracens or infidels. Crusades were even undertaken in this quarrel; and the zealous bishop of Norwich in particular led over, in 1383, near 60,000 bigots into Flanders against the Clementines; but, after losing a great part of his followers, he returned with disgrace into England. Each pope, sensible, from this prevailing spirit among the people, that the kingdom which once embraced his cause would always adhere to him, boldly maintained all the pretensions of his see, and stood not much more in awe of the temporal sovereigns, than if his authority had not been endangered by a rival.

We meet with this preamble to a law enacted at the very beginning of this reign: "Whereas divers persons of small garrison of land or other possessions, do make great retinue of people, as well of esquires as of others, in many parts of the realm, giving to them hats and other livery of one suit by year, taking again towards them the value of the same livery, or purchase the double value, by such covenant and assurance, that every of them shall maintain other in all quarrels, be they reasonable or unreasonable, to the great mischief and oppres-

sion of the people, &c." This preamble contains a true picture of the state of the kingdom. The laws had been so feebly executed, even during the long, active, and vigilant reign of Edward III. that no subject could trust to their protection. Men openly associated themselves under the patronage of some great baron, for their mutual defence. They wore public badges, by which their confederacy was distinguished. They supported each other in all quarrels, iniquities, extortions, murders, robberies, and other crimes. Their chief was more their sovereign than the king himself; and their own band was more connected with them than their country. Hence the perpetual turbulence, disorders, factions, and civil wars of those times: hence the small regard paid to a character or the opinion of the public: hence the large discretionary prerogatives of the crown, and the danger which might have ensued from the too great limitation of them. If the king had possessed no arbitrary powers, while all the nobles assumed and exercised them, there must have ensued an absolute anarchy in the state.

One great mischief attending their confederacies, was the extorting from the king pardons for the most enormous crimes. The parliament often endeavoured in the last reign to deprive the prince of this prerogative; but in the present they were content with an abridgment of it. They enacted, that no pardon for rapes or for murder from malice pre-pense should be valid, unless the crime were particularly specified in it. There were also some other circumstances required for passing any pardon of this kind: an excellent law; but ill observed, like most laws that thwart the manners of the people, and the prevailing customs of the times.

It is easy to observe, from these voluntary associations among the people, that the whole force of the feudal system was in a manner dissolved, and that the English had nearly returned, in that particular, to the same situation in which they stood before the Norman conquest. It was, indeed, impossible that that system could long subsist under the perpetual revolutions to which landed property is every where subject. When the great feudal baronies were first erected, the lord lived in opulence in the midst of his vassals: he was in a situation to protect and cherish and defend them; the quality of patron naturally united itself to that of superior; and these two principles of authority mutually supported each other. But when, by the various divisions and mixtures of property, a man's superior came to live at a distance from him, and could no longer give him shelter or countenance; the tie gradually became more fictitious than real; new connections, from vicinity or other causes, were formed; protection was sought by voluntary services and attachment; the appearance of valour, spirit, abilities in any great man, extended his interest very far; and if the sovereign were deficient in these qualities, he was no less, if not more exposed to the usurpations of the aristocracy, than even during the vigour of the feudal system.

The greatest novelty introduced into the civil government during this reign was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was the first peer that was advanced to the house of lords in this manner. The practice of levying benevolences is also first mentioned in the present reign.

This prince lived in a more magnificent manner than perhaps any of his predecessors or successors. His household consisted of 10,000 persons: he had

300 in his kitchen; and all the other offices were furnished in proportion. It must be remarked, that this enormous train had tables supplied them at the king's expense, according to the mode of that age. Such prodigality was probably the source of many exactions by purveyors, and was one chief reason of public discontents.

## APPENDIX.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CONSTITUTION, LEARNING, THE ARTS, MANNERS, &c. FROM THE YEAR 1216 TO 1399.

### SECTION I.

#### *Changes in the Constitution, and Laws of Britain, from 1216 to 1399.*

THE Great Charter granted by King John towards the conclusion of the former period, contains a very distinct and authentic plan of the English constitution at it stood at that time; at least in speculation. As soon as this Great Charter was obtained, it became the idol of the people of England, who esteemed it the great security of their most valuable rights and liberties. But it was not viewed with the same favourable eyes by those who had the administration of government in their hands, who were very backward in executing its most important articles. This produced frequent and earnest cries for the execution and confirmation of that famous charter; and these cries were effectual when the king and his ministers stood in particular need of the favour and assistance of the people, who commonly paid for these confirmations by liberal grants of money. Accordingly, the Great Charter was confirmed (with some variations occasioned by the change of circumstances), no less than seven times in the reign of Henry III., and some of these confirmations were attended with very great solemnities. In the second year of this reign, 1217, the articles respecting the royal forests were left out of the Great Charter, which was then confirmed, and formed into a separate charter, called *charta de foresta*; and these two charters after this were always separated. It would be tedious to give a minute detail of all the variations of the great charters of Henry III. from that of King John.

Some changes were made in the ranks and orders of men in society, in the reign of Henry III. Those in the lowest rank were still in the same wretched state of servitude as formerly. Of this we have sufficient evidence in the great charters of that prince, in which those who had the custody of the estates of minors are prohibited from destroying or wasting the men or cattle upon the estates, placing both on the same footing. According to Bracton the famous lawyer, who flourished in this reign, all the goods a slave required belonged to his master, who might take them from him whenever he pleased. Slaves were still an article of commerce, even in the next reign. "In the same year, 1283," say the annals of Dunstable, "we sold our slave by birth, William Pyke, and all his family, and received one mark from the buyer." But there were different orders of slaves, and different degrees of servitude, in this, as well as in the preceding period. The next rank in society consisted of farmers, mechanics, and traders who were free men, but were either not proprietors of land, or only of small parcels. The yeomanry and capital burgesses in great towns, considered themselves as of a rank superior to the

former. The distinction between the nobility and gentry began to be conspicuous in this reign. Anciently, all who held of the crown *in capite* were esteemed noble, and formed one order; but the great inequality of the power and wealth among the members of this order, laid the foundation of a division of them into the greater and smaller barons. This division became plain, when they began to be summoned to parliament in different ways, the greater barons by a particular summons directed to each of them, and the smaller by a general summons to those in each county. But even after this, they for some time formed only one assembly, and mingled together as persons of the same rank, when they appeared in parliament. The division became more conspicuous after the establishment of the house of commons, when the smaller barons and freeholders no longer mingled with the greater, and were no longer their peers, nor appeared in parliament each in his own right, but only as representatives.

Nothing can be better ascertained, or more clearly defined, than the constitution of the parliament of England when the Great Charter was granted by King John at the end of our last period. The members who composed that assembly, the manner in which they were summoned, with several other particulars, are thus described in that charter:—"To have a common council in the kingdom, to assess and aid, otherwise than in the three foresaid cases, or to assess a scutage, we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons, personally, by our letters; and besides, we will cause to be summoned in general, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who hold of us in chief, to a certain day, at the distance of forty days at least, and to a certain place; and in all the letters of summons, we will express the cause of the summons; and the summons being thus made, the business shall go on at the day appointed, according to the advice of those who shall be present, although all who had been summoned have not come."

No change seems to have been made in the constitution of the parliament of England in the former part of the reign of Henry III., as appears from the descriptions given of these assemblies by Matthew Paris, the best contemporary historian. It would be tedious to introduce all these descriptions which (though they differ a little in words, some of them being more general, others more particular), are all to the same import. When the members are described in general, it is commonly in such words as these: *Magnates Anglie, tam laici quam prelati*. "The king immediately sent his royal writs into all parts of England, summoning all concerned in the kingdom of England, viz. all archbishops, bishops, abbots, installed priors, earls, barons, and all others without omission." By this last expression, "all others without omission," we are certainly to understand those who are thus described in the Great Charter, "all those who hold of us in chief;" who were summoned in general by the sheriffs. For all the members of this parliament are afterwards called *magnates et nobiles*, "great men and nobles," of whom the historian says, "an infinite multitude came to London." The members of a parliament which met at Westminster in 1244, are thus described: "The archbishop of York, and all the bishops, abbots, and priors of England, by themselves, or their procurators, and also all the earls and almost all the barons of England."

The great councils of the kingdom seem to have



been constituted according to the plan in the Great Charter, till the mad parliament, as it was called, which met at Oxford, June 11, 1268, made a violent change of this, as well as in every other part of the constitution. That party of the barons, headed by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, which had long opposed the court, came to this parliament armed, and attended by such numerous retinues, that they were completely masters of the field, and compelled the king to consent to every thing they proposed. Twenty-four great men were invested with authority, to name the king's council, the great officers of the crown, and the governors of the royal castles, to regulate the king's household, to manage his revenue, to make laws, and in a word, to do almost whatever they pleased. One of the first acts of these twenty-four dictators was a decree, that there should be three parliaments every year, one in February, one in June, and one in October. But these parliaments were to be constituted in a very extraordinary manner, and were to consist only of the members of the king's council, fifteen in number, and twelve barons, chosen to represent the whole community. These twelve barons were accordingly chosen by the parliament at Oxford to represent the community in future parliaments: and the record of their election may be thus translated:—"These are the twelve which are chosen by the barons to treat at the three parliaments in a year, with the king's council, for all the community of land, on public business; the bishop of London, the earl of Winchester, the earl of Hereford, Philip Basset, John de Baliol, John de Verdun, John de Gray, Roger de Sumery, Roger de Montalt, Hugh Despenser, Thomas de Gresley, Egidius de Argenton." Whether there were parliaments on this plan in October 1258, and in February and June in the year following, is uncertain; but it appears that there was one in October 1259, by which the famous provisions of Oxford, made by the twenty-four barons, were confirmed; for to these provisions or decrees the following confirmation is subjoined:—"These are the provisions and decrees made at Westminster after Michaelmas, by the king and his council, and the twelve chosen by the assent of the whole community of England, which were then at Westminster, in the year of the reign of Henry the son of John the fortieth and third." The ostensible reason of this great innovation was to relieve the community or body of those who had formerly been bound to come to parliaments, from the expense and trouble of personal attendance; but the real object of it unquestionably was, to perpetuate the power of the earl of Leicester and his party.

The above plan of a parliament could not fail to be unpopular, as it excluded all the small and many of the great barons from the public councils, under the specious pretence of relieving them from expense and trouble. It was therefore soon laid aside, and another of a more comprehensive nature, and nearer to the ancient model, substituted in its place, by the same party. After the earl of Leicester and his partisans had obtained the victory in the battle of Lewes, May 14, 1264, and had got the king, Prince Edward, Richard, king of the Romans, and his son Henry, into their hands, they were at great pains to obtain the public approbation of their schemes for establishing their own power on the ruins of the royal authority. With this view they obliged the king to call a parliament, constituted in a different manner from that prescribed in the Great Charter, or in their own former plan. To this famous par-

liament, which was to meet at London, January 20, 1265, only eleven bishops, five earls, and eighteen great barons, all of the predominant party, were summoned by particular writs. But to supply the places of the prelates, earls, and barons, of the royal party, who were summoned, particular writs were directed to sixty-four abbots, thirty-seven priors, and five deans. This very remarkable circumstance was probably owing to the high degree of favour in which the earl of Leicester stood with the clergy, who considered him as a saint and champion of the church. Writs were also sent to all the sheriffs in England, commanding them to cause two of the most discreet knights of each county to come to this parliament. Similar writs were directed to the citizens of several cities, and burgesses of several burghs, requiring each city to send two of its most discreet and honest citizens, and each burgh two of its most wise and upright burgesses. Each of the cinque-ports was commanded to send two of its barons. In what manner these knights, citizens, burgesses, and barons of the cinque-ports, were chosen, we have no account. But as they appeared as the representatives of those by whom they were sent, their expenses were to be borne by their constituents. We have no hint in any of our historians, that this parliament was divided into two houses. With whatever views this plan was formed, it was a near and happy approach to that system which has been established in England above five hundred years: a degree of antiquity to which few political arrangements can pretend.

We give the following most luminous account of this momentous period of our history from Sir James Mackintosh. Lingard does not vary materially in his view of this important point.

"Montfort died unconscious of the imperishable name which he acquired by an act which he probably considered as of very small importance,—the summoning a parliament, of which the lower house was composed, as it has ever since been formed, of knights of the shires, and members for cities and boroughs. He thus unknowingly determined that England was to be a free country; and he was the blind instrument of disclosing to the world that great institution of representation which was to introduce into popular governments a regularity and order far more perfect than had hitherto been purchased by submission to absolute power, and to draw forth liberty from confinement in single cities to a fitness for being spread over territories which, experience does not forbid us to hope, may be as vast as have ever been grasped by the iron gripe of a despotic conqueror. The origin of so happy an innovation is one of the most interesting objects of inquiry which occurs in human affairs; but we have scarcely any positive information on the subject: for our ancient historians, though they are not wanting in diligently recording the number and the acts of national assemblies, describe their composition in a manner too general to be instructive, and take little note of novelty or peculiarity in the constitution of that which was called by the earl of Leicester.

"That assembly met at London on the 22nd of January, 1265, according to writs still extant, and the earliest of their kind known to us, directing 'the sheriffs to elect and return two knights for each county; two citizens for each city; and two burgesses for every burgh in the county.' If this assembly be supposed to be the same which is vested with the power of granting supply by the Great

Charter of John, the constitution must be thought to have undergone an extensive, though unrecorded, revolution in the somewhat inadequate space of only fifty years, which had elapsed since the capitulation of Runnymede: for in the Great Charter we find the tenants of the crown in chief alone expressly mentioned as forming with the prelates and peers the common council for purposes of taxation; and even they seem to have been required to give their personal attendance, the important circumstances of election and representation not being mentioned in the treaty with John. Neither does it contain any stipulation of sufficient distinctness applicable to cities and boroughs, for which the charter provides no more than the maintenance of their ancient liberties.

"Probable conjecture is all that can now be expected respecting the rise and progress of these changes. It is, indeed, beyond all doubt, that by the constitution, even as subsisting under the early Normans, the great council shared the legislative power with the king, as clearly as the parliament have since done. But these great councils do not seem to have contained members of popular choice; and the king who was supported by the revenue of his demesnes, and by dues from his military tenants, does not appear at first to have imposed, by legislative authority, general taxes to provide for the security and good government of the community. These were abstract notions, not prevalent in ages when the monarch was a lord paramount rather than a supreme magistrate. Many of the feudal perquisites had been arbitrarily augmented, and oppressively levied. These the Great Charter, in some cases, reduced to a certain sum; while it limited the period of military service itself. With respect to scutages and aids, which were not capable of being reduced to a fixed rate, the security adopted was, that they should never be legal, unless they were assented to at least by the majority of those who were to pay them. Now these were not the people at large, but the military tenants of the crown, who are accordingly the only persons entitled to be present at the great council to be holden for taxation. Very early, however, talliages had been exacted by the crown from those who were not military tenants; and this imposition daily grew in importance with the relaxation of the feudal tenures, and the increasing opulence of towns. The attempt of the barons to include talliage, and even the vague mention of the privileges of burghs, are decisive symptoms of this silent revolution. But the generally feudal character of the charter and the main objects of its framers prevailed over that premature but very honest effort of the barons.

"The following general observations may, perhaps, throw some light on the transition by which the national assembly passed from an aristocratical legislature, representing, perhaps not inadequately, the opinions of all who could have exercised political rights if they had then possessed them; through the stage of a great council, of which the popular portion consisted of all tenants in chief who had the power and the desire to attend such meetings; and at last terminated in a parliament, of which members chosen by the lesser nobility, by the landholders, and by the industrious inhabitants of towns, were a component part. With respect to the elections for counties, the necessary steps are few and simple. The appointment of certain knights to examine and redress the grievances in their respective counties, was likely to be the first advance. The instances of

such nomination in the thirteenth century were probably, in some measure, copied from more ancient precedents, overlooked by the monkish historians. It is scarcely to be doubted that, before the Great Charter of John, the king had employed commissioners to persuade the gentry of the provinces to pay the scutages and aids, which, though their general legality was unquestionable, were sure to be often in arrear. They were, doubtless, armed with power to compromise and to facilitate payment by an equitable distribution of the burden among the military tenants. It is a short step from this state of things to direct the inferior military tenants of the whole kingdom to send deputies to the capital, empowered to treat with the crown respecting these contributions on general and uniform principles. The distinction made by the charter between the greater barons, who were personally summoned, and the smaller barons, who were only warned to attend by general proclamation, pointed out very obviously the application to the latter of the principle of representation, by which alone they could retain any influence over the public councils.

"The other great change, namely, the admission of all who held land from any lord mesne or paramount, not by a base tenure, to vote in the election of knights of the shire, has been generally regarded as inexplicable. Considerable light has lately been thrown upon it by Hallam in his history of the middle ages. It is universally agreed, and, indeed, demonstrated by the most early writs, that the suitors at the county court became afterwards the voters at county elections. It is now proved that numerous free tenants of mesne lords, in every county of England, did suit and service in county courts, certainly in the reigns of Henry III. and of Edward I.; probably in times so ancient, that we can see no light beyond them. As soon, therefore, as the suitors acquired votes, the whole body of the freeholders became the constituents in counties.

"Some part of the same process may be traced in the share of representation conferred on towns. In all the countries which had been provinces of the Roman empire, these communities retained some vestiges of those elective forms, and of that local administration which had been bestowed on them by the civilising policy of the Roman conquerors, and which, though too humble to excite the jealousy, or even to attract the observation, of the petty tyrants in whose territory they were situated, yet undoubtedly contributed to fit them for more valuable privileges in better times. The splendid victory of the Lombard republics over the empire, and the greatness of the maritime states of Venice and Genoa, Pisa and Florence, rendered Italy the chief seat of European civilisation. In Germany, some towns on the Rhine, and on the northern shore, slowly acquired a republican constitution, imperfectly dependant on the imperial authority.

"In Switzerland, towns became substantially independent, like those of Italy, and, as in the ancient world, reduced the surrounding territories under their rule. In these countries, the government of the towns was either retained by the people, or by degrees confined to a few, exhibiting, like the cities of Greece, many of the shades between these extreme points, and most of the combinations of which such elements are capable. In France, in the Spanish peninsula, and in the British islands, their deputies became component members of the legislative assemblies. Those of Spain were present at the cortes of 1169, forty-six years before the Great



Charter, the most early infusion of a representative principle into an European legislature; which has been ascribed to the necessity of bribing men by political privileges to garrison as well as inhabit towns exposed to the perpetual attacks of the Mahometans, from whom they had been recently conquered. In France, the exemption of towns from the jurisdiction of the tyrannical lords of their neighbourhood, which has been falsely attributed to the policy of Louis le Gros, desirous of raising up rivals to the imperious barons, in truth extended at the same time to a territory twice or thrice as extensive as his principality between the Somme and the Loire, and appears to have been extorted from him, as well as from other lords, by a simultaneous movement originating in the inhabitants of some cities in Flanders and northern France.

"In England, the charters were early granted which exempted towns from baronial tyranny, and sanctioned the usages and by-laws which regulated their internal government. Those burghs, which were part of the ancient demesne of the crown, were subject to the payment of the feudal incidents. Talliage was exacted from them all, an impost founded on a conjectural and very uncertain estimate of the fortunes of individuals. The nature of this very arbitrary imposition made it difficult to settle the amount, and to procure the payment of it without intercourse between the king's agents and the burgesses, or their authorised proxies. These negotiations were generally committed to the judges of assize. Special commissioners often supplied their place. Nothing was more natural than to simplify these dealings by convoking a general meeting of delegates from burghs in London, to negotiate the talliaiges of the towns with the king's plenipotentiaries. When the consent of parliament was made necessary to the levy of talliage, of subsidies, and, in effect, of all taxes, as well as of the feudal dues in the latter years of Edward I., the burgesses became integral and essential parts of the legislature. The union, so pregnant with momentous and beneficial consequences, of the deputies of the minor nobility in the same house with those of the industrious classes, was not systematically adopted till a somewhat later period; but the tendency of two bodies of elective members, whose chief concerns in legislation were of the same nature to form an united body, is too apparent to require more than the shortest allusion."

Though Henry III. was certainly neither a very great nor wise king, several good laws were made in his reign, which are still in force, and have a place in the statute book. By one of these statutes made at Merton in 1236, a controversy concerning bastardy, which had long subsisted between the ecclesiastical and civil courts, was finally determined. By the Roman and canon laws, the subsequent marriage of the parents legitimated the children which had been born before that marriage; but by the ancient customs and common laws of England, all children born out of wedlock were still reputed bastards, though their parents afterwards married. All the prelates in the parliament at Merton most earnestly insisted to have the regulation of the canon law, in this particular, adopted into the law of England; but all the temporal barons replied with one voice, 'We will not suffer the ancient and approved laws of England to be changed.' By another statute made in the parliament of Merton, it is enacted, 'That lords who married their wards, before they were fourteen years of age, to villains, or bur-

gesses, to their disparagement, should lose the wardship of their lands;' a proof of the contemptible light in which burgesses appeared to the haughty barons of those days, and even to their vassals. The statutes concerning the exchequer, which were made in 1266, are remarkable in several respects. They are the first of our statutes in the French language. This might perhaps be owing to the predilection of the persons who drew up those statutes for that language; which was much better and more generally understood in England at this time than the Latin, in which all the preceding statutes had been penned. By the first statute of the exchequer, several very humane and equitable regulations are made for preventing too great severities in collecting the royal revenues. In particular, it is provided, that no man's sheep, or his beasts, which are necessary for the cultivation of his lands, shall be distrained for the king's debt, or for the debt of any other man; a laudable attention in the legislature to the promoting of agriculture. The second statute of the exchequer contains several prudent regulations concerning the terms and methods of accounting at the exchequer, and for preventing the king from being defrauded of his revenues, or imposed upon in the prices of work done, or things provided for his use. The prices of the important articles of bread and ale had been settled by very ancient statutes, in proportion to the prices of grain, to prevent the impositions of bakers and brewers. These laws were confirmed and enforced by the statute of the pillory and tumbrel, which was made in a parliament at Winchester, 1266; by which, bakers who frequently offended were to be punished by the pillory, and brewers (who were all women) by the tumbrel, or ducking-stool. In the same statute, many wise regulations are made, for ascertaining the prices of grain, for examining weights and measures, for preventing the sale of unwholesome meats and liquors, and for restraining various arts of imposing upon the people, and raising the prices of provisions. The last statutes in this long reign were made in a parliament at Marlborough, in 1267, after the restoration of the royal authority by the victory at Evesham, and were intended to put a stop to many disorders which had prevailed in the late times of anarchy and confusion. These statutes consist of twenty-nine chapters, and contain several good laws for restraining the tyranny of the great barons, by facilitating appeals from their courts to those of the king, for preventing cruelty in taking distresses; and on some other subjects. By the twenty-third chapter, farmers are prohibited from making waste or sale of the woods or men upon their farms, without special licence in writing.

The common as well as the statute law of England received considerable improvements in the reign of Henry III. This will appear evident even from a cursory comparison of the treatise of Glanville, who wrote in the reign of Henry II. with that of Bracton, who wrote in this period. This, we are told by the best authority, is no less evident from the judicial records in the time of Henry III. which are still extant, and in which the pleadings appear more perfect and orderly than in those of the preceding period. Several circumstances occurred to promote those improvements in the common law at this time;—particularly, the settlement of the court of common pleas at Westminster; the retreat of the clergy, who were great enemies to the common law both from the bench and from the bar, in obedience to a canon made 1217; the establishment of the law

colleges, the inns of court for the education of common lawyers; the decline of trials by ordeals and single combat, which were now much discounted; and the statute subjecting pleaders to a fine for absurd and foolish pleading.

Henry III. was deprived of almost all the prerogatives of his crown by the parliament at Oxford, in 1258, which allowed him to retain little or nothing but the name of king. He even continued in that state of depression and insignificance for several years; during which the kingdom was a scene of the greatest misery, the barons of the different parties burning each others houses and desolating each others lands. But after the fall of the earl of Leicester in the battle of Evesham, in 1265, Henry was restored to all his former prerogatives and rights, and the country to its former tranquility and good order.

The revenues of the crown of England flowed from the same sources in this as in the former period, and, with prudent management, were abundantly sufficient for all necessary purposes. But Henry III. was a bad economist, and dissipated these revenues, by his expeditions into France, his vain expensive attempt to procure the kingdom of Sicily for his second son Edmund, and chiefly by his unbounded liberality to his favourites, which involved him in an incredible load of debt, and sunk him into a degree of poverty very unbecoming the royal dignity. This obliged him to make frequent applications to his people in parliament for grants of money that were not due to him by any legal title; which were often refused, and sometimes given. These grants commonly consisted of a tenth, a fifteenth, a twentieth, or some other proportion of the value of their moveable goods. When a tenth or fifteenth was granted by parliament, four knights in each hundred were chosen in the county court of each county, to act as commissioners for ascertaining the value of the moveables of the inhabitants of their respective hundreds; and according to their valuation the tax was to be levied. On these occasions, no value was set on the books of the clergy, the ornaments of churches, the horses and armour of knights, and the implements of husbandry. A fifteenth that was granted both by the clergy and laity, in 1225, produced (as we are told by a contemporary historian) 90,000 marks: a very great sum in those times. Henry III. obtained several grants of this kind from his parliaments; but they were commonly given as the price of certain privileges and immunities which they claimed. By this means the improvidence of our princes contributed not a little to improve the constitution, to secure the rights, and establish the liberties of their subjects. The Jews in England, who were very numerous and opulent, were frequently fleeced without mercy, and sometimes mortgaged for the payment of the king's debts. At one time a tallage of no less than sixty thousand marks was imposed upon the Jews, and exacted with great severity.

Upon the whole, though the long reign of Henry III. was unfortunate in several respects, it was not unfavourable to the interests of law and liberty. For in that reign the charters were confirmed; the statute and common law improved: the crown, by the great diminution of its hereditary funds, was made more dependent on the people, and the constitution of the parliament was brought nearer to its present model.

EDWARD I. was illustrious as a general, but more illustrious as a legislator. In the former capacity

he had many equals, and some superiors; in the latter he was equalled by few, and excelled by none of the kings of England. For this reason, the changes that were made in the constitution, government, and laws of his dominions, in his reign, merit our particular attention. To prevent confusion in our views of these important objects, we shall consider the most important changes that were made in this period, 1st, In the constitution of the parliament; 2dly, In the magistrates and courts of justice; 3dly, In the statute law; 4thly, In the common law; 5thly, In the prerogatives of the crown; and, 6thly, In the royal revenues.

As the parliaments of England have long been the chief guardians of its laws and liberties, its prosperity has very much depended on the right constitution and proper influence of these august assemblies. Whenever parliaments were discontinued, or deprived of their due degree of power, the people had reason to tremble for their liberties; and on the other hand, when they exceeded their bounds and deprived the crown of its just prerogatives, they had no less reason to dread the destruction of the constitution. It is therefore of importance to attend to the various forms and circumstances of these assemblies in every period of our history.

That excellent plan of a parliament which had been introduced by the earl of Leicester and his party, in the 49th of Henry III. seems to have been laid aside, and the ancient model in the Great Charter of King John restored, in the last years of that prince's reign, and in the first ten years of Edward I. This, at least, appears probable from the descriptions of these assemblies both in our histories and statutes. The fullest and most particular description of their constituent members is to be found in the preamble of the first statutes of Westminster, which were made in a general and full parliament, as it is called, in 1275: "These be the acts of King Edward, son to King Henry, made at Westminster, at his first parliament general after his coronation, on the Monday of Easter Utas, the third year of his reign, by his council, and by the assent of the archbishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and all the commonalty of the realm, being thither summoned." By all the commonalty of the realm we are probably to understand, all who held smaller portions of land than a whole barony of the king *in capite*, who were summoned to parliaments in general by the sheriffs of their respective counties.

Edward I. having completed the conquest of Wales, and taken David the last of its princes prisoner, called a parliament to meet at Shrewsbury, September 30, 1283, for the trial of the captive prince and the settlement of the conquered country. This parliament appears to have been constituted according to the plan of that which met at London, January 20, 1265, commonly called "Leicester's parliament." It consisted of all the great barons, spiritual and temporal, who were summoned by particular writs; of two commissioners chosen by the smaller barons or freeholders of each county, in obedience to precepts directed to the sheriffs for that purpose; and of two commissioners from each of the following twenty-one cities and boroughs, viz., London, Winchester, Newcastle, York, Bristol, Exeter, Lincoln, Canterbury, Carlisle, Norwich, Northampton, Nottingham, Scarborough, Gremesby, Linn, Gloucester, Yarmouth, Hereford, Chester, Shrewsbury, and Worcester. What motives determined Edward to adopt this form at this time cannot be discovered with certainty. It is most probable,



that the general summons of the smaller freeholders by the sheriff had of late been disregarded, and that few or none of them had attended parliaments, which was too expensive for persons in their circumstances; and that for this reason they were now indulged to appear by representatives, whose expenses they bore. This cause afterwards produced a similar regulation in Scotland. Soon after this form was introduced, great precautions were taken to secure the attendance of these representatives; and each of them, as soon as he was chosen, was obliged to find three or four persons of credit to be sureties for him that he would attend.

After the above form of parliament was revived, it was not strictly adhered to for some time, but several variations took place. The famous parliament which was held at Westminster in the 18th of Edward I. seems to have been differently constituted at different periods. It was composed on the 1st day of June, of prelates, earls, barons, and other nobles, who granted the king an aid of forty shillings on every knight's fee. On the fourteenth of the same month the king sent letters to all the sheriffs, acquainting them, that the earls, barons, and some other nobles, had made certain special requisitions, about which he desired to consult with others of the several counties; and desiring each sheriff to cause two or three of the most discreet knights of his county to be chosen and sent to parliament three weeks after Midsummer at farthest. We hear of no citizens or burgesses being in this parliament. While the elections of knights were making in the several counties, the parliament continued sitting, and the statutes called "Westminster the third" were made by it on July 8th. It does not appear with certainty, what the affair was about which the king desired to consult the representatives of the counties; but it seems most probable, that it was the banishment of the Jews, which was a great national concern, and took place at this time. Some parliaments in this period were called general, and some particular. In these last, the king consulted only with such of the great men of the clergy and laity as he thought proper to select. Several of our ancient statutes seem to have been made by these particular parliaments. In some of the parliaments of this reign, the smaller barons in each county were represented by two, in some by three, and in some by four commissioners; and the representation of cities and boroughs was still more unsettled. We even meet with one parliament in this reign in which there was not so much as one clergyman; and with another to which not only the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, but even the archdeacons, with a representative of every chapter, and two representatives of the inferior clergy of every diocese, were called. In a word, nothing can be more certain than this, that the constitution of the parliament of England was far from being fixed and uniform in the reign of Edward I. In general, however, we may observe with pleasure, that the frame of these assemblies gradually approached nearer and nearer to that admirable model which has been so long established, and has contributed so much to the preservation of our rights and liberties.

This unsettledness of the form of parliaments gave the crown too great an influence in these assemblies; and some other circumstances still further added to that influence. As the great barons, in the times we are now delineating, delighted to reside at their castles in the country, and had but little taste for tedious political investigations, the sessions of parlia-

ment were commonly short. This made it necessary to prepare business in such a manner, that it might be despatched in a little time, without much expense of thought. With this view, the laws which the king desired to have enacted, were drawn up by the council or the judges, in the form of statutes, read in parliament, and at once either passed or rejected. Several of our ancient statutes bear evident marks of their having been made in this manner.

As one great end of parliament was to redress both general and particular grievances, especially such as could not be redressed by any other means, many petitions were presented to every parliament for that purpose. To prevent their spending any time in reading and considering trifling or unreasonable petitions, certain persons were appointed by the king some time before the meeting of parliament, to be receivers and triers of petitions from the several parts of his dominions. On the first day of the parliament, proclamation was made at the door of the house, and other public places, that all persons who had any petitions to present, should give them in to those who had been appointed to receive them. As these receivers and triers of petitions were named by the king, they probably acted under his direction; and they seem to have borne a very great resemblance to the lords of the articles in the parliament of Scotland.

There is no evidence that the parliament of England was divided into the two houses of lords and commons in the reign of Edward I.; and it is most probable that it still continued to form one great assembly. But as this assembly consisted of several distinct orders of men, as bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, citizens, and burgesses; and as these different orders had different, and sometimes opposite interests, it is highly probable that one or more of these orders did retire into a separate room, on some occasions, and held consultations by themselves. This we know with certainty, that though the convocations of the clergy in this period made commonly only one assembly, and sat in one house, yet at some times they divided into four troops as they were called, of which the bishops made one troop, the deans and archdeacons another, the abbots and priors a third, and the proctors of the inferior clergy a fourth; and each troop deliberated by itself. The representatives of cities and burghs, who were summoned to the parliament at Shrewsbury, in 1283, appear to have met at the village of Acton-Burnel, while the rest of the parliament sat at Shrewsbury. A little before this (Jan. 20, in the same year), there were three distinct parliaments at the same time, in different cities, one at Northampton, one at York, and one at Durham, to each of which the king sent commissioners to represent his person, as he was then engaged in the conquest of Wales.

When the business of a session of parliament was finished, it was dismissed by proclamation; of which it may be proper to give one example, near the end of this reign (1305):—"All archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, earls and barons, knights of counties, citizens, burgesses, and other people of the commons, who have come at the commandment of our sovereign lord the king to this parliament; the king thanks them much for their coming; and wills, that when they please, they may return into their own counties, provided that they come back, immediately and without delay, when they are remanded; except the bishops, earls, barons, and justices, and others, who are of the council of our sovereign lord

the king, who shall not depart without the special license of the king. Those also who have business may stay, and prosecute their business. And the knights who have come for the counties, and the others who have come for the cities and boroughs, may apply to Sir John de Kirkeby, and he will cause them to have briefs to receive their wages in their own counties. And the said John de Kirkeby, in consequence of this proclamation, will deliver to the chancellor, the names of the knights who have come for the counties, and the names of others who have come for the cities and boroughs; and it is proclaimed, that all who desire to have briefs for their expenses, as is said above, shall apply there for these briefs." When a session of parliament had been terminated in this manner, the king, on the next occasion, might either call a new parliament, or command the sheriffs to send the members of the former parliament, causing others to be elected in the room of such as had died or were infirm. The first of these methods was most commonly pursued.

The sessions of parliament, in this period, were so short, and the members of them so impatient to return to their respective counties, that many petitions commonly remained unanswered, and many appeals undetermined. The king, with the bishops, earls, barons, justices, and others of his council, answered these petitions, and determined these appeals; which is the reason that they, together with those who had business depending, were commanded to stay till they received permission to depart. After that very session of parliament which was terminated by the above proclamation, when it had continued above three weeks, the king and his council gave answers to no fewer than one hundred and six petitions.

By the seventeenth article of the Great Charter of King John, it was declared, "Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some certain place." To carry this article into execution, a court was some time after erected, for the trial of common pleas and controversies among the subjects, called the Court of Common Bench or Common Pleas, and settled at Westminster, where it still continues. But as new institutions are not brought to perfection at once, many persons, for several years after the erection of this court, brought their common pleas into the exchequer, which gave occasion to the following statute, in 1300: "No common pleas shall be from henceforth holden in the exchequer, contrary to the form of the Great Charter." This court, at its first institution, consisted only of three judges.

About the same time the court of king's bench was erected for the trial of criminal actions and pleas of the crown, which, as well as common pleas, had formerly been held in the exchequer. Though the persons who were summoned to attend this court, were commanded to appear (*coram ipso rege*) before the king himself; the advantages of its remaining at a known and convenient place, were so many and obvious, that it continued to sit almost constantly at Westminster, except a few short occasional removes. A statute was indeed made, in 1300, that the justices of the king's bench should always follow him, that he might have some sages of the law near him at all times. It was the duty and prerogative of the judges of this high court, from its first institution, "to correct the injuries and errors of other courts and judges."

The most important institutions are sometimes

introduced by such slow and imperceptible degrees, that it is next to impossible to point out their origin. This seems to have been the case with respect to the court of chancery, as a supreme court of review and equity. When the *aula regis* or king's court flourished in its ancient undivided dignity, the chancellor sat as judge in it, with the high justiciary, and other great officers of the crown; and after the courts of king's bench and common pleas were erected, he continued to sit as one of the judges in the exchequer; but it does not appear, that in this reign he had any distinct court or jurisdiction of his own.

As the establishment of the courts of king's bench and common pleas very much diminished the business, it also impaired the power and dignity of the exchequer, which was very much confined, as a court of law, to the trial of such causes as respected the revenues of the crown, or its own officers and dependents.

Though the courts of exchequer, king's bench, and common pleas, were for the most part settled at Westminster in this reign; they were sometimes removed to other places, that they might be near the king, when he was engaged in the wars of Wales and Scotland. In the 6th and 11th years of Edward I., they were removed to Shrewsbury; in the 26th to York; and in the 21st the court of king's bench sat at Roxburgh in Scotland. But the inconveniences which attended these removes were so sensibly felt that they became gradually less frequent.

By the statute, commonly called Westminster the second, chapter 30, in 1285, justices of assize and nisi prius were appointed to go into every shire, two or three times a year, for the more speedy administration of justice. As these justices of assize were also judges in the courts at Westminster, they performed their circuits into the country in the times of the vacations of these courts. By another statute, in 1299, the justices of assize are appointed to be justices of jail-delivery in all places on their circuits.

But all these courts and judges were not sufficient to prevent the commission of many atrocious crimes, and to keep his subjects in that peace and good order which Edward I. desired. With a view to put a stop to the perpetration of such crimes, by the severe and speedy punishment of those who were guilty of them, he appointed a kind of civil inquisitors, and sent them into different parts of the kingdom, with commissions to try and punish all murderers, incendiaries, robbers, and thieves, all who beat and wounded jurers or others out of malice, with all who hired, assisted, and protected them, &c. &c. These commissioners, who were commonly called "justices of traile-baston," executed their commission with much spirit, put many of those audacious criminals to death, and obliged others to abandon their country to avoid the same fate.

To suppress riots and tumults, to punish small offences, and determine lesser controversies, and particularly to execute the decrees of the parliament of Winchester, this wise prince appointed conservators or justices of the peace in every county; but at the same time he abolished the office of high justiciary as invested with too much power to be entrusted in the hands of any subject.

Edward I. not only made these salutary changes in the courts and magistrates, but he watched over them with great attention, and punished them when they were guilty of flagrant injustice or oppression.



At his return from France, where he had resided three years, great complaints were made to him of the rapacity and extortions of the judges. To examine these complaints, he called a parliament at Westminster, in 1290, at which all the judges being tried, were found guilty (except two) and severely fined. Sir Thomas Wayland, chief justice of the common pleas, appearing the greatest delinquent, was banished, and his whole estate confiscated. This transaction was exceedingly popular, and productive of the best effects.

Several excellent statutes were made in the reign of Edward I., which contributed not a little to the melioration of the constitution, and the more regular administration of justice. It was on account of these wise and good laws that Sir Edward Coke gave this prince the title of the English Justinian. Some of these statutes respected the church, and were intended to set bounds to the power of the pope, the riches of the clergy, and the encroachments of the spiritual courts. Others of them were calculated for explaining, confirming, and enlarging the liberties which had been granted by the Great Charter, and the charter of the forests; and particularly for restraining the crown from imposing taxes without the consent of parliament. Very prudent regulations were made by the statute of Winchester, for ordering the internal police of the country, and preventing thefts and robberies; and the statutes of Acton-burnel, and *De Mercatoribus*, contain regulations no less prudent for the encouragement of trade. But for a more perfect knowledge of the many excellent laws that were made in this reign, the reader must be referred to the statute book, and the words quoted below.

It is impossible to give a better description of the great improvements that were made in the common law of England, in the reign of Edward I. than in the following words of Sir Matthew Hale: "Upon the whole matter it appears, that the very scheme, mould, and model of the common law, especially in relation to the administration of the common justice between party and party, as it was highly rectified, and set in a much better light and order by this king, than his predecessors left it to him, so in a very great measure it has continued the same in all succeeding ages to this day; so that the mark or epocha we are to take for the true stating of the law of England, what it is, is to be considered, stated, and estimated, from what it was when this king left it. Before his time it was in a great measure rude and unpolished, in comparison of what it was after this reduction thereof; and on the other side, as it was thus polished and ordered by him, so hath it stood hitherto, without any great or considerable alteration."

The prerogatives of the crown were so unsettled in the times we are now considering, that they depended very much on the character and capacity of the prince who wore it. Henry III. being a weak prince, was at some times deprived almost of all authority by his too powerful barons; but his son and successor, Edward I., supported the dignity and prerogatives of his crown with greater vigour, and repelled the attacks that were made upon them with spirit. Of this it will be sufficient to give one example. When the barons demanded, in 1301, that the great officers of the crown should be named by parliament, the king returned such a fierce denial as struck terror into those haughty chieftains, and brought them to beg his pardon for their presumption. The truth is, this prince was too fond of

power, and pushed his prerogatives beyond the limits which had been prescribed by the charters. For example, it was stipulated by the 12th article of the Great Charter. "That no scutage or aid shall be imposed, except by the common council of the kingdom." But Edward paid little regard to this article, and extorted money from his subjects on many occasions, by his own authority. By the 39th article of the same charter, no freeman was to be imprisoned but by the regular course of law. But there is the clearest evidence that Edward and his ministry imprisoned many persons, and detained them long in prison, on mere suspicion or ill-will. Of this the archbishop of Canterbury made the following complaint in parliament in 1220: "That very many freemen of the kingdom had, without any guilt on their part, been committed by the king's ministers to divers prisons, as if they had been slaves of the meanest degree, therein to be kept; of whom some died in prison, with hunger or grief, and the weight of their chains. From others they extorted, at their pleasure, infinite sums of money for their ransoms." In a word, it was declared publicly from the bench, by the ministers and judges of this prince, "That, for the common utility, the king was, in many cases, above the laws and established customs of the kingdom:" a dangerous maxim, hardly compatible with a free and legal government.

These observations sufficiently account for the extreme reluctance of Edward I. to confirm the Great Charter, and the charter of the forests. This reluctance appears to have been so great, that nothing but necessity could have overcome it. Nor was he involved in this necessity till the 25th year of his reign, 1297, when, being at war with France and Scotland, and in the greatest distress for money to carry on these wars, a powerful party of the English nobility, headed by the two great earls of Hereford and Norfolk, positively refused to follow him into Flanders, complaining bitterly of his illegal exactions, and loudly demanded the confirmation of the charters, which had been so long neglected. Edward used every art to allay this rising storm, but finding this impossible, and dreading a rebellion in England while he was in Flanders, he gave a commission to his son Prince Edward to call a parliament, for the redress of grievances, and confirmation of the charters; which were accordingly confirmed with great solemnity, October 10, in full parliament at London. The statute of confirmation being transmitted to the king, he gave his assent to it under the great seal, at Ghent, November 5. After his return into England he confirmed these famous instruments, March 8, 1299, in a parliament at London; and again in another parliament at the same place, March 16, 1300: and finally in a parliament at Lincoln, February 14, 1301. At each of these confirmations new devices were invented to render these admired inestimable charters (which contributed so much to establish and ascertain the liberties of England) more public, sacred, and inviolable.

Though Edward I. was an excellent economist, the almost incessant wars in which he was engaged involved him in expenses which his stated revenues could not support. To supply this deficiency, he made frequent and commonly successful applications to his people in parliament. But on some occasions he had recourse to more unjustifiable methods of replenishing his coffers. From the Jews he extorted prodigious sums of money at different times; and

at last he seized the whole possessions of that devoted people, banishing the owners out of the kingdom. Though he was really a friend to trade, yet, when his want of money was great and urgent, he sometimes made too free with the cash and goods of merchants. Before his departure on his expedition into Flanders, in 1297, he seized great quantities of wool and leather belonging to the merchants, for no other reason but that it was the most speedy and effectual means of procuring money. At the same time, he took, by mere force, without any other plea but that he had need of them, immense quantities of corn, and great multitudes of cattle, for the use of his army. Nor did this prince abstain from laying violent hands on the property of the church, however sacred it was then esteemed. At one time he seized all the money and plate in the monasteries and churches; and at another, all the possessions of the clergy, for refusing to grant him a subsidy. These acts of tyranny and oppression will hardly appear credible in the present age. But nothing was more difficult than to teach even the best and wisest of our ancient kings this plain fundamental principle of the constitution, "That they had no right to the property of their subjects, unless it was granted to them by parliament."

Edward I. made great efforts to reduce the whole island into one kingdom, governed by the same sovereign, and subject to the same laws. With respect to Wales, he succeeded in his design. After he had accomplished the conquest of that country by the force of arms, he was at great pains to gain a perfect knowledge of its ancient constitution and laws, and of the manner of its inhabitants. With this view, he gave a commission to the bishop of St. David's and others, to investigate these matters in the most careful and authentic manner. No fewer than one hundred and seventy-two of the most respectable and intelligent persons were examined upon oath by these commissioners, who, upon their evidence, formed a report. Having obtained this necessary information, he held a parliament at Rhuydland in Flintshire, on May 24, 1282, and in it united Wales to the kingdom of England, introduced into it as many of the English laws, and customs, courts, and magistrates, as he thought convenient at that time.

EDWARD II. The last of these princes being a weak, indolent voluptuary, without talents for war, politics, or legislation, was the property of worthless, greedy favourites, to whom he abandoned both the treasures and government of his kingdom. In this reign we cannot expect to meet with great improvements in the constitution, government, and laws; and therefore on these heads it merits very little attention.

The constitution of parliament became gradually more settled and uniform in the course of this reign; though its meetings were sometimes very tumultuous, occasioned by the violent animosities of the contending parties. When a parliament was most full and general in this period, it consisted of the following classes or orders of men,—all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, two representatives from the chapter of each cathedral, and two representatives of the inferior clergy of each diocese, all the earls and greater barons, with the judges, and all the members of the king's council both of the clergy and laity, two knights from each county, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each burgh. The first parliament in this reign, which met at Northampton, Oc-

tober 13, 1307, was constituted in this manner. The expenses of all who were called to this parliament as representatives of the clergy, as well as of the laity, were borne by their constituents. The clerical representatives possessed the singular privilege of substituting others in their room, when it was not convenient for them to attend. But all the parliaments of this reign were not so full and general as the first; for we find that to some of them the deans, archdeacons, and the representatives of chapters, and of the inferior clergy, were not summoned. In a word, the two first Edwards, and their ministers, seem to have modelled their parliaments as best suited their particular views. When they designed to ask the advice, or demand the pecuniary assistance of all the different orders of their subjects, they called a general parliament; but when they wanted only the counsel and contributions of their prelates and barons, who possessed the far greatest share both of the power and riches of the kingdom, they called only a particular parliament, consisting of these prelates and barons. This not only appears probable, from an attentive consideration of the circumstances in which these different kinds of parliaments were called; but is directly asserted to have been the case by an archbishop of Canterbury, who flourished in those times, in a letter to the pope: "It is the custom of the kingdom of England, that in those public contingencies which affect the state of that kingdom, the counsel of all who are particularly concerned is required." The inferior clergy, and the inhabitants of cities and towns were so poor, and contributed so little to tenths and fifteenths, that sometimes no demand was put upon them, and then they were not required to send representatives to parliament. The twentieth for example that was granted in the first parliament of Edward II. by the earls, barons, and knights, amounted, in the county of Bedford, to 720*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*; while the fifteenth, granted by the citizens and burgesses, produced in all the towns of the same county, only 31*l.* 18*s.* 4½*d.* Nor did the towns bear a much higher proportion to the counties in other parts of England. But as cities and towns increased in wealth, their contributions to the public expenses, and their importance in other respects, became more considerable; and then they were constantly called upon to send their representatives to parliament, in which they soon acquired a much greater influence than the counties, by their superior numbers.

The parliament of England does not appear to have been stately divided into two houses in this reign; though each of the several orders of which it consisted, occasionally retired and consulted apart about its own particular concerns. In these separate consultations, the knights of shires commonly, if not constantly, sat with the earls and barons, as having been originally of the same order; and always granted the same proportion of their goods with the earls and barons. The representatives of cities and burghs, who were really citizens and burgesses, inhabitants of the places which they represented, formed one body, and held consultations about the affairs of trade, and about granting aids to the crown; and they commonly granted a greater proportion of their moveables, than the earls, barons, and knights, because they owed their establishment and franchises to the crown, and depended upon it for further immunities.

The clergy were nearly equal to the laity in number, as well as in wealth and dignity, in the parliaments of England in this period. The bishops,



abbots, and priors, corresponded to the earls and barons, and were also summoned in the same manner, by a particular writ directed to each of them; the deans and archdeacons corresponded to the knights of shires, and were summoned by the bishop, as the knights were by the sheriff of the county; and the representatives of the chapters of cathedrals, and of the inferior clergy, who were called the "spiritual commons," corresponded to the representatives of cities and burghs. The clergy also granted their own money in parliament, and sometimes in a different proportion from the laity. These circumstances, and some others, made the favour of the clergy an object of great importance to the prince, in the times we are now considering.

"It seems," says a learned historian of the law, "that the certain fixing of the court of common-pleas at Westminster, occasioned much more resort thereto than before; for, about the beginning of Edward II.'s reign, there were so many suits therein, as that the king was necessitated to increase the number of his justices, who were to sit there, unto six, which commonly were not above three before that time; and so to divide them that they might sit in two places." The judges in this court were afterwards increased to seven, and at last to nine; though they have long since been reduced to four, who sit all in one place. In proportion as the business of the court of common-pleas increased, that of the exchequer, in which these pleas had formerly been tried, declined. The members of the king's council still continued to possess great judicial powers, and acted as barons of the exchequer, as well as determined many causes in the last resort, which could not be overtaken by parliaments in their short sessions.

Few statutes of lasting utility or great importance were made in the turbulent unhappy reign of Edward II. By the ancient common law of England, breaking prison was a capital crime, even though the person had been committed for a slight offence. The unreasonable severity of this law or custom was corrected by a statute made in parliament at Northampton, 1st Edward II. in 1307, which decrees, "That, none from henceforth that breaketh prison shall have judgment of life or member, for breaking prison only, except the cause for which he was taken and imprisoned did require such judgment, if he had been convict thereupon according to the law and custom of the realm, albeit in times past it has been used otherwise." The prices of provisions of all kinds being very high in 1314, parliament attempted to reduce and fix them at a certain rate by law; but that law having increased the famine, was soon repealed.

The common law, when it could be exercised, continued in the same improved state to which it had attained in the preceding reign. But the regular administration of justice was frequently interrupted by civil broils; and the rage of party was sometimes so violent, that several noble persons were deprived of their fortunes, and even of their lives, without so much as the pretence or form of a trial.

The limits of the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the people, were in this period so unsettled, that they depended very much on the personal character of the king. As Edward II. was a weak prince, he was soon deprived of the most essential prerogatives of the crown, and in the third year of his reign, compelled, by a powerful faction of his barons, to give a commission to twelve great

men, named by parliament, to govern both his kingdom and his household with unbounded sway. By this commission the royal authority was almost annihilated, and a tyrannical aristocracy established. This, like every other violent breach in the constitution, produced much confusion and misery for several years; the barons labouring to preserve the power they had gained, and the king to recover the authority he had lost. In the mean time, the people suffered all the distresses arising from anarchy and civil discord, aggravated by famine, and the destructive incursions of the Scots. The king, after a struggle of twelve years, was restored to all the prerogatives of his crown, by his victory over the earl of Lancaster and his confederates at Boroughbridge, in 1322. For soon after that victory, a parliament was held at York, in which all the ordinances which had been made by the twelve commissioners, and for the support of which the confederated barons had taken arms, were repealed, "because by the things which were ordained, the king's power was restrained in many things, contrary to what was due to his seigniorial royal, and contrary to the state of the crown. But this weak unfortunate prince, about five years after this, was deprived, first of his crown, and afterwards of his life.

The hereditary revenues of the crown of England, which, at the accession of Edward II. were very great, were in a little time very much diminished by his unbounded liberality to his worthless insatiable favourite Piers Gaveston. By the same means all the money which had been provided by his father for the relief of the Holy Land, and for the expedition against Scotland, was consumed, and he was reduced to a state of indigence very unbecoming the royal dignity. In the course of his reign, particularly after the destruction of the earl of Lancaster and his party, many great estates came to the crown, and he also obtained several tenths and fifteenths from parliament. But all these estates and sums of money were lavished on his favourites, especially on the two Spencers. It must however be acknowledged, that this misguided prince never attempted to supply his wants, which were often very pressing, by imposing talliages or taxes of any kind without consent of parliament. But there is some reason to suspect, that this abstinence was rather owing to want of power, than to a conscientious regard to the constitution.

EDWARD III. made and was the cause of several important changes in the constitution, government, and laws of England, which merit our attentive consideration.

As the parliaments of England have been the guardians of its liberties, the framers of its laws, the imposers of its taxes, the great counsellors of its kings, and the supreme judges of the lives and properties of its people, in every age, the state of those illustrious assemblies, their constituent members, and other circumstances, claim the first and chief attention of all who wish to trace the history of the constitution with any degree of accuracy.

Edward III. was too prudent to neglect consulting the parliament on any affair of importance. By this means that wise prince obtained the concurrence and support of his subjects in his arduous undertakings; which were generally crowned with success. His writs of summons to no fewer than seventy parliaments and great councils, are still extant; and afford a sufficient proof of his respect for those assemblies.

The distinctions between parliaments and great

councils still subsisted; and Edward III. called sometimes the one and sometimes the other, as the state of his affairs required. When he desired only the advice and assistance of his great barons, who still possessed the far greatest part of the power and property of the kingdom, he called a great council consisting of all the great men, both of the clergy and laity, who held of the crown by barony, and were entitled to a particular summons. When he stood in need of the counsel and aid of all his subjects, he called a full parliament, which consisted, not only of the barons spiritual and temporal, but also of the representatives of the inferior clergy, of the smaller barons, or freeholders, and of the citizens and burgesses of the kingdom; and those representatives of the clergy and laity below the rank of barons, "were called "the spiritual and temporal commons." But as parliaments possessed greater authority in granting supplies, making laws, and in all other things, than great councils, they were more frequently called.

The number of representatives sent to parliament by each county, city, and borough, in this reign, was not invariably fixed. Only one representative from each city and borough was summoned to the parliament which met at Westminster 26th Edward III., and only one knight from each county was summoned to that which met the year after at the same place, though two representatives from each city and borough were called to this last. At length the general rule of sending two members from each county, city, and borough, was so uniformly observed, that by custom it became a law.

The number of towns and boroughs which sent members to parliament, in the times we are now considering, was still more unfixed and variable. This seems to have depended very much on the sheriffs of the several counties to whom the king's writ was directed, commanding them to cause a certain number of citizens (most commonly two) to be elected for each city, and of burgesses for each borough, within their counties. To these officers the people of small towns and boroughs who were unable or unwilling to pay the wages of their representatives, frequently applied; and many of them, by one means or other, were excused or overlooked. In general, the representatives of cities and boroughs were much fewer in this period than they are at present. It is obvious, that this unsettled state of parliaments added much to the authority and influence of the crown in those assemblies; and we learn from history, that this influence was sometimes employed in packing parliaments for the most pernicious purposes; particularly by the queen-mother and her favourite Mortimer in the beginning of this reign.

It is perhaps impossible to discover the precise time when the parliament of England was divided into the two houses of lords and commons, meeting stately in different places, and forming two great and distinct assemblies. None of our ancient historians give any account of this event, so remarkable in itself, and productive of so many important consequences; nor is there any law concerning it in the statute-book. It is highly probable, that this custom of meeting in two separate chambers was introduced almost insensibly, and established without much noise or observation. The several orders of men of which the parliament consisted, sometimes retired into separate rooms, and deliberated by themselves about affairs in which they were parti-

cularly concerned. This practice, we may presume, being found convenient in many respects, became gradually more and more frequent, till at length it settled into a custom. At first, the parliament commonly divided into three bodies for their separate deliberations; the clergy formed one of these bodies; the earls, barons, and knights of shires, another; and the citizens and burgesses a third. Of this, if it were necessary, many examples might be given. When Edward III. asked the advice of his parliament, which met at Westminster, March 12, 1332, about the most effectual means of suppressing certain audacious bands of robbers which infested several parts of the kingdom, the prelates and proctors of the clergy went apart to consult by themselves, the earls, barons, and knights of shires by themselves, and the citizens and burgesses by themselves. After some time had been spent in these separate consultations, the whole parliament reassembled, received the reports of these several bodies, and out of them, by common consent, one general advice was formed, and presented to the king. The same method of proceeding was followed when the crown demanded supplies. The demand was made in full parliament; on which each of these three bodies deliberated separately, and settled the proportion of their goods or money which they proposed to grant. This is the reason that the grants of these several bodies are not only in different proportions, but sometimes even of different kinds, one body granting a certain proportion of their corn and cattle, another a certain quantity of their wool, and a third a certain sum of money. While the separate consultations of these different bodies were only occasional, it does not appear that the citizens and burgesses (who may be said to have constituted the house of commons) had any common speaker, settled and chosen for the whole session of parliament; but they probably chose one at each consultation.

As the above plan of parliament was not agreeable to many of its members, it was not of long duration. The inferior clergy, in particular, were much displeased with this system, because they knew that they were compelled to send their proctors to parliament, with no other view than that they might be prevailed upon, by the presence and authority of the laity, to make more liberal grants of money to the crown than they would have done in convocation. They laboured, therefore, with the greatest earnestness, to procure exemption from sending their representatives to parliament; and at length succeeded. For it plainly appears, from the records of the parliament which met at Westminster, April 23, 1341, that none of the clergy were members but such as held of the king by barony, that is, archbishops and bishops, and some of the richest abbots and priors. The crown, it is true, did not then, or even for several reigns after, formally renounce the right of calling the proctors of the inferior clergy to parliament, but only connived at their absence, and permitted them to grant their money in their convocations without mingling with the laity. These convocations were commonly held at the same time, and in the same city with parliaments; and so strict an intercourse was kept up between these assemblies, that many things done by the clergy in convocation were reported in parliament.

The union between the great barons and the knights of shires in their private consultations, was not very natural, as the former sat in their own right, and were accountable to none for their con-



duct, and the latter sat by election, and were certainly bound to have a particular concern for the interests, and even some respect for the sentiments, of their constituents. The inconvenience of this appeared in the parliament which met at Westminster, October 13, 1339, and no doubt on other occasions. When the barons and knights of shires in that parliament consulted together about an aid to be granted to the king, the barons were willing to give their tenth sheaf, fleece, and lamb; but the knights declined giving so large a grant till they had consulted their constituents; which occasioned a delay very fatal to the king's affairs. This union between the barons and knights seems to have been dissolved about that time. For the king having called a parliament to meet at Westminster, April 23, 1343, sent Sir Bartholomew Burghersh to ask their advice, whether he should make a peace with the king of France under the mediation of the pope, or not? And Sir Bartholomew having proposed this question to the whole parliament, desired the prelates and barons to deliberate upon it among themselves, and also desired the knights of counties and commons to assemble in the painted chamber, and consult about the same matter; and both to meet in full parliament on Thursday May 1, and report their advice. On this occasion we find the two houses of lords and commons completely formed; the first composed of all the clergy and laity who held of the crown by barony, and were summoned by particular writs directed to each member; the second, of the representatives of all the smaller barons, citizens, and burgesses; an excellent institution, which has continued, with some short interruptions and small variations, through nearly five centuries.

This permanent division of the parliament into the two houses of lords and commons was attended with many advantages, and contributed more than any other event to the improvement of the constitution. Each of these houses, consisting of much fewer members than the whole parliament, and these members being nearly of the same rank in society, their deliberations were conducted with great calmness and regularity. The commons being no longer under the eye of potent and haughty barons, in whose presence they hardly dared to speak, took courage, and gradually acquired greater weight and influence. Every law underwent the examination of two distinct assemblies, jealous of each others power, and watchful over each others conduct, before it was presented to the king for his assent. Each of the two houses was a check upon the other; by which neither of them was permitted to encroach on the privileges of the other, or on the prerogatives of the crown.

It required a considerable time to bring the union of the knights of shires with the citizens and burgesses to perfection. Many years after they were united, the members of the lower house of parliament were constantly denominated, "the knights of the shires and commons," and the former were reputed of a higher order in society than the latter, who were really inhabitants of the cities and boroughs they represented. On some occasions, the knights of shires, having finished their business, were dismissed, when the citizens and burgesses were detained in order to lay imposts upon certain goods, and to regulate the affairs of trade, which was considered as their peculiar province. That they might be properly qualified for doing this, this king in his writs of summons, sometimes directed

cities and boroughs to elect such of their members to represent them as were the most expert mariners, or most intelligent merchants. But by degrees all these distinctions vanished, and cities and boroughs were represented by gentlemen of the best families and greatest fortunes in the kingdom.

After the knights, citizens, and burgesses were united into one assembly, and formed the lower house of parliament, they treated the prelates and great barons, who formed the other house, with the greatest respect and deference on all occasions, and seemed to entertain very humble thoughts of their own power and political abilities. When matters of great moment, or of great difficulty, came before them, they commonly applied to the lords, and petitioned that certain prelates and barons might be allowed to come to them, and assist them with their advice. In these meetings of the commons with a committee of the lords, the nature and quantity of the supplies to be granted to the crown were ordinarily settled, and afterwards reported in full parliament.

The parliaments of this period, in regulating the supplies, sometimes betrayed a degree of ignorance of the state of their country, which would be perfectly incredible, if it were not so well attested as to preclude all doubt. The parliament which met at Westminster, February 24, 1371, granted the king an aid of 50,000*l.* and in order to raise it, imposed a tax of 2*s.* 3*d.* upon every parish, supposing the number of parishes to be about forty-five thousand. But it was soon found, that they did not amount to a fifth part of that number; and consequently that the tax imposed would have raised only a fifth part of the sum granted.

The method which was taken to rectify the mistake above mentioned was also very singular. Instead of reassembling the former parliament, or calling a new one, the king summoned a certain number of prelates and lords, together with one half of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, who had been members of the last parliament, all named by himself in his writs of summons, to meet at Winchester, June the 8th. This very remarkable assembly assumed the authority of a parliament, and raised the tax on each parish to 5*l.* 10*s.* Such a measure would not have been thought of in a more mature and settled state of government.

In the days of chivalry and superstition, when disputes were more frequently determined by the sword or by ordeals, than by law, the profession of a lawyer was neither very lucrative nor very honourable, and consequently was embraced by few men of probity and credit. This brought the profession into such disgrace, that practising lawyers were declared incapable of being chosen members of parliament by a statute, 46th Edward III. in 1372.

When the house of commons was completely formed, a new mode of making statutes was introduced. The commons, towards the conclusion of each session, presented, in the presence of the lords, certain petitions for the redress of grievances to the king; which he either granted, denied, or delayed. Those petitions that were granted were afterwards put into the form of statutes by the judges and other members of the king's council, inserted in the statute roll, and transmitted to sheriffs to be promulgated in their county courts. But this inaccurate manner of making laws was attended with many inconveniences; and the commons had too often reason to complain of Edward III. for repealing a

statute by his proclamation, which had been made in consequence of their petitions which he had granted, on this very strange pretence, that he had dissembled when he granted their petitions, to avoid the mischiefs which a denial would have produced. In a word, though the constitution and form of the parliament of England was much improved, and its authority much increased, in the course of this long and glorious reign, it was still very far from that degree of perfection in both these respects to which it has since attained.

Many statutes were made in this period, which contributed not a little to the improvement of the common law, and to the security of the rights and privileges of the people. The great charter was confirmed by no fewer than ten acts of parliament; and some articles of it were explained and enlarged. Several good laws were made for the speedy and impartial administration of justice, and against those dangerous associations which were then common, for supporting each other in their lawsuits; the king's prerogative of pardoning convicts, particularly murderers, which had been very improperly exercised, was limited by various statutes; the institution of justices of the peace was confirmed and improved, and their powers enlarged; the intolerable grievance of purveyance for the king's household was mitigated. The statute of 25th Edward III. chap. 2. entitled, "A declaration which offences shall be adjudged treason," is certainly a wise and good law. The same may be said of 4th Edward III. chap. 14. "That a parliament shall be holden every year once;" and of 36th Edward III. chap. 15. "That pleas shall be pleaded in the English tongue;" and of several others, for the knowledge of which the reader must be referred to the statute-book.

Many of the laws made in the reign of Edward III. and which till lately stood in the statute-book, are become impracticable, and may be said to have been repealed by those changes in the state and circumstances of the kingdom, which four centuries have produced. Such are the laws relating to the staple of wool and other goods, the sumptuary laws prescribing the dress and diet of persons of different ranks, the statutes which settle the wages of labourers, and the prices of provisions; and many others. These obsolete impracticable statutes are valuable monuments of antiquity, and ought, as such only, to be preserved.

It seems to be impossible to give a better or shorter account of the state of the common law in this period, than in the words of its learned historian, Hale: "King Edward III. succeeded his father. His reign was long, and under it the law was improved to its greatest height. The judges and pleaders were very learned. The pleadings are somewhat more polished than those in the time of Edward II. yet they have neither uncertainty, prolixity, nor obscurity. They were plain and skilful; and in the rules of law, especially in relation to real actions, and titles of inheritance, very learned, and excellently polished, and exceeded those of the time of Edward I. So that at the latter end of this king's reign, the law seemed to be near its meridian."

Few attempts were made to deprive the crown of its just prerogatives in the reign of Edward III. The power of pardoning was indeed confined within reasonable limits by law, which it is probable, was not disagreeable to the king; as it relieved him from importunate petitions, that were not fit to be granted. Parliament in the fifteenth year of his reign, taking advantage of his necessities, made a bold attack on

the prerogative, by demanding that on the third day of every session all the great officers of the crown should be divested of their offices, and called to account for their conduct by parliament, and that if any of them were found culpable, they should be finally deprived of their offices, and others substituted in their room. With this demand Edward found it necessary to comply, in order to obtain a large supply of money, of which he stood in the greatest need. But he soon recovered the power he had lost, by boldly repealing this act of parliament, to which he had given assent, declaring in a proclamation, that his assent had been involuntary, and that the act in question was inconsistent with the prerogatives of the crown, which he was bound by his coronation oath to maintain. Nor was this the only arbitrary unconstitutional action in the administration of Edward III. In spite of the Great Charter, which he had often confirmed, and of several other laws, he frequently extorted money from his subjects without the consent of parliament, by his own authority. All the remonstrances and petitions of the house of commons could never prevail upon him, clearly and explicitly, to relinquish that prerogative; for in the very last year of his reign, he affirmed, in the face of his parliament, that he had a right to impose taxes on his subjects, when it was necessary for the defence of the realm.

The hereditary revenues of the crown of England during the whole of that period which is the subject of this book, were derived from those sources which have been described already, in the pious appendix of this work. Edward III. it is said received no less than 30,000*l.* a year from Ireland; and, in time of peace, it is probable he received also considerable sums from his dominions on the continent. These settled hereditary revenues were abundantly sufficient for defraying all the expenses of the civil government, and for maintaining the royal family in affluence and splendour; but they were far from being sufficient for supporting those long expensive wars which he carried on in France and Scotland. Those wars involved him in great debts and difficulties, and obliged him to make frequent importunate applications to parliament for pecuniary aids, as well as to employ several other methods neither so just nor honourable. The lustre of Edward's personal accomplishments, and great victories, rendered him so popular, that his applications to parliament for money were seldom unsuccessful; and he obtained far more frequent and liberal grants than any of his predecessors. To enable us to form some idea of the value of these parliamentary grants, and of the sums of money which he extorted from his subjects by other methods, it may be proper to give a very brief account of them for one year. The parliament which met February 2, 1338, granted him one half of next summer's wool, which was collected and sold for 400,000*l.* About the same time he seized all the money, jewels, and other goods, of the Lombard merchants in London; and took into his own hands all the revenues of the alien priories, and retained them twenty years; and borrowed great sums of money from several abbies. That parliament granted also an additional duty of two shillings on every tun of wine imported, over and above all former customs. Another parliament met that same year in October, at Northampton, and granted a fifteenth. besides the pre-emption of all the wool in the kingdom at a very low price; and the clergy in convocation granted a tenth for two years. The people of England never had greater reason to com-



plain of taxes than in this memorable year in which their king assumed the title of "King of France;" an event that proved fatal to the peace and prosperity of both kingdoms, and, amongst many evils of which it was productive, contributed not a little to multiply and perpetuate taxes.

About a year before Edward III. assumed the title of "King of France," he introduced a new order of nobility, to inflame the military ardour and ambition of his earls and barons, by creating his eldest son Prince Edward, Duke of Cornwall. This was done with great solemnity, in full parliament, at Westminster, March 17, 1337, by girding the young prince with the sword, and giving him a patent, containing a grant of the name, title, and dignity of a duke, and of several large estates, to enable him to support that dignity. This high title was also conferred by Edward on his cousin Henry earl of Lancaster, and on two of his own younger sons, the princes Lionel and John, at different times, but with the same solemnities.

The constitution and government of England may not improperly be compared to a ship that has been long at sea, exposed to many violent storms, and in frequent danger of being beat to pieces. Few of those storms were more violent than that which was raised by the villains or common people in the country in 1381, and threatened the subversion of all order, law, and government. But as the history of that dangerous commotion has been already given, it is sufficient to observe in this place, that it made no change in the constitution, and that the peasants engaged in it were reduced to the same state of depression and servitude under which they had formerly groaned.

The parliament of England having undergone many changes, and assumed various forms, about the beginning of the reign of Richard II. approached very near to that form in which it has almost ever since continued. It then consisted, as it does at present, of the two houses of lords and commons, which regularly met, and held their deliberations in two distinct apartments.

The house of lords consisted of all the great men, both of the clergy and laity, who held immediately of the crown by barony, which comprehended all the archbishops and bishops, many abbots and a few priors, who were the lords spiritual; all the dukes, earls, and barons, who were the lords temporal. Every spiritual and temporal lord received a particular summons to every parliament. The justices of the king's bench and common pleas, and the king's privy council, who were neither prelates nor barons, were also summoned in the same manner. According to this scheme, the house of lords in the first parliament of Richard II. consisted of the archbishops and bishops, twenty-two abbots, and two priors, one duke, thirteen earls, forty-seven barons, and twelve judges and privy counsellors. A greater number of abbots and priors were summoned to some parliaments than to others. To that of 19th Henry III. no fewer than sixty-three abbots and thirty-six priors were summoned; whereas not a fourth part of that number were called to several subsequent parliaments in this period. The chief reason of this great variation seems to have been this, that these prelates, in order to be relieved from the expense and trouble attending parliaments, laboured earnestly to procure exemptions from that service, in which many of them succeeded. Those of them who could plead that they did not hold their lands *per baroniam* (by barony) of the crown, were immediately exempted. The king

claimed and exercised the prerogative of calling up to the house of lords, by a particular summons to each of them, some of the most opulent and illustrious knights, though they did not hold their lands of the crown by barony; and such of these knights as were regularly summoned for a considerable time, became lords of parliament, and barons, by virtue of these writs of summons. This honour was commonly continued to their heirs, who were summoned to parliament in the same manner. In this reign the custom of creating barons by patent was introduced, conferring upon the person so created, and his heirs male, the honour and dignity of a baron, by a certain title, with all the other privileges of the peerage. Sir John Beauchamp of Holt, steward of the household to Richard II. was the first baron in England of this kind, who was created Lord Beauchamp, baron of Kidderminster, by patent, in 1388. At the conclusion, therefore, of this period, the house of Lords consisted of barons of three different kinds, viz. barons by tenure, barons by writs of summons, and barons by patent.

The house of commons, consisting of the knights of shires, with the representatives of cities and boroughs, was now so completely formed, that it was found necessary to chuse one of their own members, at the beginning of every parliament, to preside in their debates, and communicate what they thought proper, in their name, to the king and the house of lords. The member who was chosen to perform these offices was very properly called "the speaker of the house of commons." Sir Peter de la More, knight of the shire for the county of Hereford, was chosen speaker by the commons in the first parliament of Richard II. in 1377, and is the first upon record who bore that honourable office. At his first appearance before the king in the house of lords, at the head of the commons, he made the following protestation: "That what he had to declare was from the whole body of the commons, and therefore required, that if he should happen to speak any thing without their consent, that it should be amended before his departure from the said place." Sir James Pickering, the second speaker on record, made this humble request in the name of the commons, "That if he should utter any thing to the prejudice, damage, slander, or disgrace of the king, or his crown, or in lessening the honour or estates of the great lords, it might not be taken notice of by the king, and that the lords would pass it by as if nothing had been said; for it was the most ardent desire of the commons to maintain the honour and estate of the king, and the rights of the crown, as also to preserve the reverence due to the lords in all points." The king, by his chancellor, or some other great officer, made a speech at the opening of every parliament, representing the reasons of calling it, the greatest of which commonly was, to obtain a grant of money; and this, it was insisted, should be made before they entered on any other business. The sum to be granted, and the ways and means of raising it, were commonly settled in a committee of lords and commons, and sometimes even by the lords, at the request of the commons. The clergy still continued to grant their own money in convocation, and treated every attempt of the parliament to tax them as illegal and unconstitutional. When the parliament at Northampton, in 1389, proposed to raise 100,000*l.* by a capitation tax upon the laity, provided the clergy raised 50,000*l.*, which was their just proportion, since they possessed a third part of the kingdom; the clergy

who were then met in convocation at the same place, made this haughty reply, "That their grants were never made in parliament, nor ought to be; and that laymen neither could nor should constrain them in that case." When the supplies were settled, the commons were permitted to present their petitions to the king in the house of lords, and such of them as were granted were formed into statutes.

The sessions of parliament in this, as well as in former periods, were commonly very short, which was attended with many inconveniences. Laws were made in haste, without due deliberation; and affairs of great importance, which ought to have been discussed in parliament, were left to be determined by the king and his council. To remedy these inconveniences, certain expedients were sometimes employed, which were productive of still greater evils. In the tenth year of this reign, 1386, the two houses invested a committee of eleven prelates and peers with parliamentary powers, and compelled the king to grant them a commission to exercise all the prerogatives of the crown, in order to regulate certain affairs which the parliament could not overtake. By this measure the constitution was quite subverted for a season, and, before it was restored, almost all who had been concerned either in opposing or promoting the above expedient, were involved in ruin. About ten years after, a similar method was adopted by the parliament that met at Shrewsbury, January 27, 1398. On the last day of a session that had lasted only four days, the commons presented a petition to the king in the house of lords, to this purpose, "That whereas they had before them divers petitions, as well for special persons and others not read and answered, and also many other matters and things had been moved in presence of the king, which for shortness of time could not be well determined, that it would please his majesty to commit full power to certain lords and others, to examine, answer, and dispatch the petitions, matters, and things, above said, and all dependencies, on them." As this parliament was entirely devoted to the court, this petition was readily granted by the king; and twelve lords and six commons were invested with parliamentary powers; which they abused in such a manner, that they brought destruction both on themselves and on their misguided sovereign, who trusted too much to their authority. So dangerous is it for a predominant party to grasp at unconstitutional powers, which they seldom fail to abuse to their own ruin, as well as to the hurt of their country.

Some laws that were made in the reign of Richard II. have still a place in our statute-book; but the far greatest part of them have been repealed, having become obsolete by length of time and change of circumstances. Of this kind are all the laws for regulating the prices of labour and provisions, as well as many others. Some very wise and good laws were made in this reign for the encouragement of navigation, trade, and commerce. By one of these laws it was enacted, that the merchants of England should neither export nor import any goods in any but English ships; which may be considered as our first navigation act. Some good laws were also made in this reign for increasing the number, and regulating the proceedings, of justices of the peace. Such as desire a more particular knowledge of the statutes made in this period, may have recourse to the statute-book.

The common law declined rather than improved in this period. "Richard II. (says Hale) succeed

ing his grandfather, the dignity of the law, together with the honour of the kingdom, by reason of the weakness of this prince, and the difficulties occurring in his government, seemed somewhat to decline, as may appear by comparing the twelve last years of Edward III., commonly called *quadragesima*, with the reports of King Richard II. wherein appears a visible declination of the learning and depth of the judges and pleaders."

The barbarous disorderly custom of maintenance, as it was called, contributed not a little to disturb the peace of the country, and prevent the impartial administration of justice. Maintenance, which prevailed very much through the whole of this reign, is thus defined in a statute made in a parliament at Westminster, in 1377: "Divers people, of small revenue of land, rent, or other possessions, do make great retinue of people, as well of esquires as of others, in many parts of the realm, giving to them hats and other liveries, of one suit by year, taking from them the value of the same livery, or percase the double value, by such covenant and assurance, that every of them shall maintain other in all quarrels, be they reasonable or unreasonable, to the great mischief and oppression of the people."

The prerogatives of the crown, and the liberties of the people, were both in a very fluctuating unsettled state in the reign of Richard II. In the hurling times, as they were called, towards the beginning of this reign, the insurrections of the commons threatened the dissolution of all government; about the middle of it, a powerful combination of the nobles annihilated the prerogatives of the crown, and engrossed the whole power of the state; and towards the end of it, the court party gained the ascendant; and the weak unhappy Richard, supported by a junto of his favourites, invested with unconstitutional powers by an obsequious parliament, acted in a manner so arbitrary and imprudent, that he lost the affections of his subjects, and gave an opportunity to a bold usurper to deprive him of his crown and life. It is difficult to determine in which of the above situations the people were most oppressed, and the greatest acts of tyranny were perpetrated.

The hereditary revenues of the crown were now become quite inadequate to the expenses of the government, especially when the nation was engaged in war. This obliged Richard II., who was uncommonly expensive in his household, to make frequent applications to parliaments and convocations for supplies, which were granted almost every year, and consisted, either in additional impositions on merchandise, or in tenths and fifteenths. A tax of a new and singular nature was imposed by parliament in 1378. This was a capitation tax, proportioned to the different ranks and degrees of men in society; and on that account merits our attention. The proportions were as follow:—

A duke, 10 marks; an earl, 4*l.*; a countess-dowager, 4*l.*; a baron, banneret, or knight who had an estate as a baron, 2*l.*; every bachelor and esquire, who by estate ought to be made knight, 20*s.*; widows of such bachelors and esquires, 20*s.*; esquires of less estate, 4*s.* 7*d.*; widows of such esquires, 6*s.* 8*d.*; esquires without lands, that bear arms, 3*s.* 3*d.*; chief prior of the hospital of St. John, 40*s.*; every commander of the order, 20*s.*; every knight of the order, 13*s.* 4*d.*; every brother of the order, 3*s.* 4*d.*; judges of the king's bench and common pleas, and chief baron of the exchequer, each 100*s.*; every serjeant and great apprentice of the law, 40*s.*; other



apprentices of the law, 20s.; attorneys, 6s. 8d.; mayor of London, 4l.; aldermen of London, 40s.; mayors of great towns, 40s.; mayors of smaller towns, 20s., 10s., or 6s. 8d.; jurors of good towns, and great merchants, 20s.; sufficient merchants, 8s. 4d.; lesser merchants, artificers, and husbandmen, according to the value of their estate, 4s. 8d., 3s. 4d., 2s., 1s. 6d.; every serjeant and freeman of the country, 6s. 8d., or 40d.; the farmers of manors, parsonages, and granges, dealers in cattle, and other tradesmen, according to their estate, 6s. 8d., 40d., 2s., or 1s.; advocates, notaries, and proctors, who are married, shall pay as serjeants of the law; apprentices of the law, or attorneys, according to their estate, 40s., 20s., or 6s. 8d.; apparitors that are married, according to their estate, 3s. 4d., 2s., 1s.; innkeepers, according to their estates, 40d., 2s., 1s.; every married man above the age of sixteen, for himself and wife, 4d.; every man or woman above sixteen, and unmarried, 4d.; every strange merchant, according to his abilities.

## SECTION II.

HISTORY OF LEARNING IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE DEATH OF KING JOHN, IN 1216, TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. IN 1399.

1. Of the sciences that were cultivated: 2. Of the most learned men who flourished: 3. And of the most considerable seminaries of learning that were established in Britain in the present period.

*An account of the Sciences that were cultivated in Britain, from 1216 to 1399.*

ALL the following sciences were cultivated in the present period, as many of them had been in the former, viz. grammar, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, physics, ethics, scholastic divinity, the canon law, the civil law, the common law, arithmetic, geography, geometry, astronomy, astrology, optics, mechanics, chymistry, alchymy, medicine, and surgery. And as an account has been given in the last appendix of many of them, it will not be necessary to dwell long upon them in this place.

The grammar of the Latin language was not studied with so much diligence and success in this, as it had been in the former period. We know of no British writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries who wrote such pure and classical Latin as John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, Joseph of Exeter, and several others, who flourished in the twelfth. The improvement of the English language, and the more frequent use of it even by scholars, both in conversation and writing, might be one reason that the Latin was not studied with so much ardour as formerly. The impatience of the youth of those times to engage in the study of the canon law, which was then the high way to wealth and honour, was probably another reason that they did not employ a sufficient portion of their time in the study of the languages. But whatever might be the reason of it, the fact is certain, that the Latin used in the most celebrated seats of learning in the thirteenth century was exceedingly barbarous and ungrammatical. Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, visited the university of Oxford in 1276, and with great solemnity pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the following phrases, which were commonly used, and even defended in that university: "*Ego currit;—tu currit;—currentes est*

*ego*," &c. Nor was this sentence of the primate, though enforced by very severe sanctions, sufficient to banish those barbarisms, or silence their defenders; for when his successor, archbishop Peckham, visited Oxford, in 1284, he found it necessary to pronounce a similar sentence against the same phrases, and others equally ungrammatical.

When the Latin language, which was so much used in churches, colleges, and courts of justice, and in compositions of all kinds, was cultivated with so little care, we cannot suppose that much application was given to the Greek, Hebrew, and Oriental languages. The truth is, they were totally neglected, except by very few; and those few were strongly suspected of being magicians, who studied these unknown languages in order to converse more secretly with the devil. The famous Roger Bacon, who was unquestionably the most learned man of the thirteenth century, and the best acquainted with the state of learning, assures us, that there were not more than three or four persons among the Latins in his time who had any knowledge of the Oriental languages. That excellent person most pathetically lamented this neglect of the languages, and warmly recommended the study of them by the strongest arguments.

When the knowledge of the languages was so defective, rhetoric, or the art of pleasing, affecting, and persuasive speaking, could not be cultivated to great advantage. That part of education, however, was not quite neglected. Lectures on rhetoric were read in every considerable seat of learning; and such as excelled in it, were advanced to the degree of masters or doctors in that art. The Dominicans, Franciscans, and other mendicant friars, studied the arts of declamation with no little diligence; because the success of their begging depended very much on the popularity of their preaching. Bederic de Bury, who was provincial of the Augustinians in England in the fourteenth century, was greatly admired by his contemporaries, and is celebrated by several authors for the eloquence of his preaching.

Logic was one of the fashionable and favourite studies of the times we are now delineating; but unfortunately it was that quibbling contentious kind of logic which contributes little or nothing to the detection of error, the discovery of truth, or the improvement of right reasoning. It is impossible to give an English reader any distinct ideas of this wrangling art in a few words; and it would certainly be improper to employ many on such a subject. It is sufficient to say that the logic of this period was the art of disputing without end and without meaning, of perplexing the plainest truths, and giving plausible colours to the greatest absurdities. A logical disputant of this period was not ashamed to argue, with as much earnestness as if his life had depended on the issue of the debate, "That two contradictory propositions might both be true." These frivolous unintelligible disputes were conducted with so much eagerness, that from angry words the disputants sometimes proceeded to blows, and raised dangerous tumults in the seats of learning.

This trifling contentious kind of logic flourished first in the university of Paris, and was brought from thence to the English universities, where it was cultivated with too much ardour, particularly at Oxford, which became very famous in the thirteenth century for the number and subtlety of her logical disputants. The decay of this admired art of wrangling was thus pathetically lamented by an

affectionate son of that university towards the end of the fourteenth century: "That subtle logic and beautiful philosophy, which rendered our mother, the university of Oxford, so famous over all the world, is now almost extinguished in our schools. As India anciently gloried in her precious stones, and Arabia gloried in her gold, so the university of Oxford then gloried in the multitude of her subtle logicians, and in her prodigious treasures of profound philosophy. But, alas! alas! with grief I speak it, she is now hardly able to wipe away the dust of error and ignorance from her countenance."

The metaphysics and natural philosophy of this period, like the logic above described, were more verbose, contentious, and subtle than useful. Instead of investigating the laws of nature, and the properties of things, by sagacious and well-conducted experiments, the natural philosophers of those times invented a thousand abstract questions, on which they disputed with great vehemence, and wrote many tedious and useless volumes. We may form some idea of the subjects of the disputes and writings of those philosophers from the propositions in these sciences which were solemnly condemned by Archbishop Peckham, in his visitation of the university of Oxford, in 1284. These, and some other philosophical tenets of the same kind, particularly this one, "*Quod in homine tantummodo existit una forma*," "That in man there is only one form," appeared so dangerous to the good archbishop, that he not only condemned them with much solemnity, and subjected such as presumed to teach them to very severe penalties; but he also wrote an account of this important transaction to the pope and cardinals.

The very learned and ingenious Friar Bacon laboured with great earnestness, both by his example and writings, to give a different turn to the enquiries of his contemporaries into nature, and to persuade them to have recourse to experiments; which, he observed, were far more convincing and satisfactory than abstract reasonings. This he illustrated by a very familiar example;—"Though it were proved," said he, "by sufficient arguments to a man who had never seen fire before, that it burnt and destroyed things that were put into it, he would not be fully convinced of this truth by any arguments, till he had put his hand, or some combustible thing into the fire; which experiment would at once remove all doubt, and bring full conviction." This excellent person, as he assures us, spent no less than 2000*l.* (a great sum in those times) in constructing instruments, and making experiments, in the course of twenty years; and it is well known that by those experiments he made many discoveries which have excited the admiration of all succeeding ages. But the example and the arguments of this extraordinary man were little regarded by his contemporaries.

Moral philosophy was taught and studied in the schools, in this period, with no little diligence; in the same dry, contentious, and sophistical manner with the other sciences. Many sums, (as they were then called) or systems of morality were composed by the most learned schoolmen, consisting of various subtle distinctions and divisions on the several virtues and vices, and of a prodigious number of curious unnecessary questions of each of these divisions. For as the logicians of those times too frequently displayed their acuteness, by perplexing the plainest truths, and giving plausible colours to the grossest errors; so the moral philosophers often employed all their art in explaining away the obligations of the most an laudable virtues, and the turpitude of the most

odious vices. For example, Nicolas de Ultricuria, a famous professor in the university of Paris, in 1300, laboured, in his public lectures, to convince his scholars that in some cases theft was lawful and pleasing to God. "Suppose," said he, "that a young gentleman of a good family, meets with a very learned professor (meaning himself), who is able in a short time to teach him all the speculative sciences, but will not do it for less than one hundred pounds, which the young gentleman cannot procure but by theft, in that case theft is lawful. Which is thus proved: Whatever is pleasing to God is lawful; it is pleasing to God that a young gentleman learn all the sciences;—he cannot do this without theft: therefore theft is lawful and pleasing to God." Some still more curious examples of this kind of sophistry might be produced, but they are too indelicate.

That species of theology known by the name of "school-divinity," which had been introduced in the former period, was cultivated with uncommon ardour in the thirteenth century, which on that account is called the scholastic age. In that century, many of the most celebrated schoolmen flourished, who were universally admired as prodigies of learning; and honoured with the pompous titles of profound, sublime, wonderful, seraphic, angelic doctors.

The schoolmen of the former period made the scriptures the chief subject of their studies, and the text of their lectures, as some of them still continued to do, who for that reason were called "bible-divines." But in the course of the thirteenth century, the holy scriptures, together with those who studied and explained them, fell into great neglect, not to say contempt. The "bible-doctors" were slighted as men of little learning or acuteness; they had few scholars, and were not allowed an apartment or a servant to attend them, or even a stated hour for reading their lectures, in any of the famous universities of Europe. The illustrious Roger Bacon inveighed very bitterly against this abuse; and his excellent friend, Robert Greathead, bishop of Lincoln, wrote a pathetic letter to the regents in theology in the university of Oxford on this subject; earnestly intreating them to lay the foundation of theological learning in the study of the scriptures, and to devote the morning-hours to lectures on the Old and New Testaments. But all these remonstrances and exhortations had little or no effect.

The far greatest number, and the most famous of the school-divines of this period, were called "sententiaries;" because they studied, read lectures, and wrote commentaries on that ancient system of divinity called "the sentences," written by Peter Lombard, archbishop of Paris. Some of the most celebrated of these sententiaries, as John Duns Scotus, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, &c wrote voluminous sums or systems of divinity, consisting of an incredible number of questions and answers on a great variety of subjects. Many of the school-divines applied to the study of letters with uncommon ardour; not a few of them appear to have been men of genius possessed of great fertility of invention, and of still greater subtlety and acuteness; but want of true taste, and a right direction in their studies, rendered both their genius and application in a great measure useless, if not pernicious. They indulged themselves in a bold, or rather presumptuous freedom of enquiry, into subjects which are beyond the reach of human investigation; which betrayed them into so many errors, that all the singular, whimsical, and pernicious opinions, which



have been propagated by modern freethinkers, are to be found in the writings of the school-divines of this period.

The spirit of the school-divinity, which now reigned in all the famous universities of Europe, also took possession of the pulpit in this period, and a new method of preaching was introduced, much more artificial than those methods of public instruction which had been used in former times.

The clergy, before this period, chiefly used two ways of preaching. The first of those was called "postillating;" and those who used it were called "postillators." This consisted in explaining a large portion of scripture, sentence after sentence, in the regular order in which the words lay, making short practical reflections on each sentence. In this age, when it was usual to give every doctor a name expressive of his peculiar excellence, Cardinal Hugo excelled so much in this way of preaching, that he got the name of the "authentic postillator." This ancient method of public instruction is still used in some foreign churches, and in the church of Scotland, under the name of "lecturing."

The other ancient way of preaching was declared "declaring;" because the preacher, without naming any particular text, declared what subject he designed to preach upon; beginning his sermon with words to this purpose: "In my present sermon, I design, by the grace of God, to discourse on such or such a subject—on the fear of God, for example; and on this subject, I design to lay down some true and certain conclusions," &c. This last way of preaching was most common and most popular, and was not entirely laid aside for more than a century after this period.

The new method of preaching, which was introduced about the beginning of the thirteenth century, differed from both those methods in several respects. The preacher, at the beginning of his discourse, read a text out of some book and chapter of the Old or New Testament (which had lately been divided into chapters and verses by Cardinal Langton) as the theme or subject of his sermon. This text he divided into several parts, by the help of that subtle logic and divinity which were then so much in vogue; and the greater dexterity he discovered in splitting his text into many parts, he was esteemed the greater divine and the better preacher. Having thus divided his text, he formed several heads of discourse on each of these divisions; on which heads he descended, one after another, subdividing them into many particulars. This new and artificial method of preaching was greatly admired, and generally practised, by the younger clergy of those times. But it was no less warmly opposed and condemned by some of the most learned men of this period, who represented it to be a childish playing upon words, destructive of true eloquence, tedious and unaffecting to the hearers, and cramping the imagination of the preacher. Roger Bacon, in particular, speaks of it with great contempt and aversion, and assigns a very singular reason for its gaining ground in his time: "The greatest part of our prelates," says he, "having but little knowledge in divinity, and having been little used to preaching in their youth, when they become bishops, and are sometimes obliged to preach, are under a necessity of begging and borrowing the sermons of certain novices, who have invented a new way of preaching, by endless divisions and quibblings; in which there is neither sublimity of style nor depth of wisdom, but much childish trifling and folly, unsuitable to

the dignity of the pulpit. May God (adds the zealous Bacon) banish this conceited and artificial way of preaching out of his church; for it will never do any good, nor elevate the hearts of the hearers to any thing that is great or excellent." The opposition to this new method of preaching continued through the whole of the fourteenth and part of the fifteenth century. Dr. Thomas Gascoigne, chancellor of the university of Oxford, tells us, that he preached a sermon in St. Martin's church, in 1450, without a text, and without divisions, declaring such things as he thought would be useful to the people. Amongst other things, he told them, in vindication of this ancient mode of preaching, "That Dr. Augustine had preached four hundred sermons to the clergy and the people, without reading a text at the beginning of his discourse; and that the way of preaching by a text, and by divisions, was invented only about the year 1200, as appeared from the authors of the first sermons of that kind." But this new method of preaching by a text and divisions, which met with such violent opposition, and was introduced by such slow degrees, at length prevailed universally.

The supreme authority which Aristotle obtained in the schools of theology, as well as of philosophy, in the course of the thirteenth century; had considerable influence on the state of learning, and even of religion, in this period. The name, and some parts of the writings, of Aristotle, were known in England, and other countries of Europe, long before this time. But it was not till about the middle of the thirteenth century that he obtained the dictatorial authority among learned men, and in the most famous seats of learning, which he so long maintained. About that time he began to be called "the philosopher," by way of eminence. "He is preferred," says Bacon, "before all other philosophers, in the opinion of all men of learning; what ever he has affirmed is received by them as true and sound philosophy; and, in a word, he has the same authority in philosophy that the Apostle Paul has in divinity." To such an extravagant height was this veneration for Aristotle carried before the middle of the fourteenth century, in some of the most famous universities, particularly in that of Paris, that students were obliged to take a solemn oath to defend the opinions of Aristotle, of his commentator Averrois, and of his other ancient commentators.

Several causes conspired about this time to exalt Aristotle to the supreme dominion of the ideal world. Latin translations of different parts of his writings were published, soon after the beginning of the thirteenth century, by Michael Scot, Alured English, William Fleming, and others; which made them better known, and more generally read than they had formerly been. His logic had long been studied and admired, which procured a favourable reception to his other works, especially from the scholastic divines, to whose taste and genius they were admirably suited. Accordingly we find, that Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, John Duns Scotus, and all the most famous schoolmen who flourished in this period, devoted much of their time and thoughts to the study and illustration of the works of Aristotle; and that by the authority of these works they chiefly supported their several systems and opinions. The court of Rome had formerly discouraged the study of Aristotle's works, because they had given rise to certain unprofitable absurdities, which disturbed the peace of the church, without adding to the honours or riches of the

clergy. Such, for example, were the errors of Amaury of Chartres, which were condemned by Pope Innocent III. and by the council of Paris, in 1209, the council at the same time condemning the metaphysics of Aristotle to the flames, "because they had not only given rise to the heresies of Amaury, by their subtilities, but might give rise to other heresies not yet invented." But the court of Rome having soon after discovered, that the same writings which had served to give plausible colours to idle unprofitable errors, might do the same friendly office to more beneficial and lucrative absurdities, changed its conduct, and recommended the study of Aristotle's works in the warmest manner.

It must be obvious, that this extravagant veneration for Aristotle, and blind submission to his opinions, could not but obstruct the progress of real knowledge; especially when it is considered, that very few of his admirers, in this period, were capable of reading his works in their original language, but became acquainted with them only in very faulty incorrect translations. We are assured by the illustrious Roger Bacon, that there were not above four persons among the Latins in his time who understood Greek; and we have good reason to believe that even Thomas Aquinas, the most admired of all Aristotle's commentators, did not understand that language. The very translators of Aristotle's works appear to have been a kind of impostors. Bacon affirms, that Michael Scot borrowed all that he published in his own name from one Andrew a Jew; "and as for William Fleming (says he), everybody at Paris knows, that he does not understand the Greek language, though he pretends to it; and therefore he translates every thing falsely, and corrupts the learning of the Latins." It is no wonder, therefore, that the same learned person declared, "that the time and labour employed in reading these wretched translations were lost; and that if he could have got all the Latin translations of Aristotle's works into his hands, he would have thrown them all into the fire, as they were the great cause of the increase of ignorance and error."

The civil and canon laws were studied in this period by many of the clergy, with uncommon ardour; because the knowledge of these laws not only qualified them for the lucrative employment of advocates or pleaders, but also procured them preferment in the church. "The civil and canon laws," says a contemporary writer, "are in our days so exceedingly profitable, procuring both riches and honours, that almost the whole multitude of scholars apply to the study of them." Several other authors of that period complain, that young scholars were so impatient to engage in the study of those laws, that they neglected the study of languages, philosophy, and divinity. To remedy this abuse, Pope Innocent IV. directed a bull on this subject to all the prelates of France, England, Scotland, Wales, Spain, and Hungary, in which he says, "That his ears had been stunned with reports, that great multitudes of the clergy, neglecting philosophy and theology, crowded to hear lectures on secular laws; and, which was still more abominable, that bishops advanced none to benefices, dignities, and prebends, in the church, but such as were either advocates or professors of law. To put a stop (adds he) to this intolerable evil, I strictly command, by this irrefragable constitution, that no advocate, or professor of laws, shall enjoy any pre-eminence on that account, or be advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity, prebend, parsonage, or benefice, unless he be compe-

tently skilled in other sciences." To this bull his holiness added the following very remarkable clause: "As in France, England, Scotland, Wales, Spain, and Hungary, the causes of the laity are not determined by the imperial laws, but by certain secular customs; and as they might be as well determined by the canons of the most holy fathers; and as a mixture of those customs with the canons does more hurt than good: by the advice and at the request of our brethren, and other religious men, we command, that in the aforesaid kingdoms those secular laws or customs be no longer taught or studied, provided the consent of their kings and princes can be obtained." A modest attempt of his holiness to abolish the municipal law of all those countries, and substitute his own canon law in their room.

Geometry and other branches of mathematical learning, were much neglected in the period we are now examining, especially in the former part of it. Of this the famous Roger Bacon frequently complains. "The neglect of mathematics (says he) for these thirty or forty years past, has done great harm to learning among the Latins." This neglect was so great (as he assures us), that very few students proceeded further than to the fifth proposition of the first book of Euclid's Elements; and that there were not above five or six persons then alive, who had made any considerable progress in mathematical learning. The truth is, that mathematical studies, in those times, brought neither honour nor profit to those who engaged in them. On the contrary, those few who prosecuted them with ardour and success, were strongly suspected of holding a criminal correspondence with infernal spirits, and on that account were hated and persecuted as magicians.

Arithmetic is so useful and necessary in the common affairs of life, as well as in all other arts and sciences, that the attention paid to it is generally proportioned to the necessities of society, and the state of the other sciences. The Arabian numerals were known and used in Britain in this period, and the use of them contributed very much to improve and facilitate arithmetical operations. These operations are thus described by Roger Bacon: "It is necessary that a theologian excel in the knowledge of numbers, and understand all arithmetical operations, viz. numeration, addition, subtraction, mediation, multiplication, division, extraction of the roots, both integers and fractions. He must not only understand vulgar fractions, as halves, thirds, fourths, fifths, &c. &c. but he must also understand astronomical fractions, as minutes, seconds, thirds, fourths, fifths, &c. &c., because in chronological calculations he must have recourse to the motion of the sun and moon, in which such fractions are of capital consideration. He must not only understand the fractions of the Latins and Arabians, but also of the Hebrews, who divide an hour into one thousand and eighty parts. Besides, it is necessary for him to understand the reduction of fractions of different kinds into those of one kind. For if it happens that among integers there are fractions of different kinds, as seven-fifths, ten sevenths, two-eighths, &c. &c. he will not be able to manage these numbers properly, unless he understand how to reduce these different fractions into one kind of fraction, and so into integers." The above description, it is probable, contains a system of the arithmetic of the thirteenth century, when Bacon flourished: to which very many valuable additions have since been made. John de Basingstoke, archdeacon of Leicester, who had studied several years at



Athens, brought the numeral figures of the Greeks into England, and taught the use of them, in the former part of this period. These figures may be seen, together with a description of the manner of using them, *apud variantes lectiones*, in Mat. Paris, edit. 1644.

Greater attention was given to geography in the present than in the preceding period, both by princes and men of learning and curiosity. Lewis IX., King of France, sent a friar named William into Tartary, in 1253, to explore that and other countries, of which he wrote a description. Pope Innocent IV. had, about seven years before, sent Friar John de Plano Carpini into the same countries, who also wrote a description of Tartary, and of the manners and customs of its inhabitants. From conversing with those and many other travellers, and from reading every thing that had been written on the subject, the indefatigable Friar Bacon composed a description of all the countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, that were known in the thirteenth century; and whoever will give himself the trouble to peruse that description, will find it both more extensive and more correct than he could have imagined. It appears that this extraordinary person had adorned and illustrated his description by a map, in which the latitude and longitude of places were ascertained by meridian and parallel lines, as in our present maps. But unfortunately this map is not to be found in any of the copies of our author's *Opus Majus* yet discovered. It is still more remarkable, that Bacon laboured with great earnestness to prove, that a much greater proportion of our teraqueous globe was dry land, and habitable, especially in the southern hemisphere, than was commonly believed; and that he endeavoured to prove this by the very same arguments which determined Columbus, two centuries after, to go in quest of the new world.

The following description of the state of astronomy in England in the thirteenth century, drawn by the greatest astronomer of that age and country, will be more satisfactory than any thing that can be said on that subject by a modern writer. "Astronomy is the study of the heavenly bodies, by which their dimensions, distances, motions, &c. are investigated. It is either speculative or practical. Speculative astronomy ascertains the number of the heavens and stars, whose dimensions can be comprehended by instruments, and discovers their figures, magnitudes, altitudes, densities, risings, settings, and motions, together with all the varieties and degrees of their eclipses. It even condescends to speculate concerning the figure and dimensions of this earth which we inhabit, and of its larger divisions, which are called climates, and shews the diversity of the horizons, and of days and nights, in each of these climates. By speculative astronomy all these things, and many others connected with them, are determined. Practical astronomy teaches us to discover the places, aspects, influences, and changes of the stars and planets, at any particular time. It attends also to those bodies which occasionally appear in the air, as comets and rainbows, in order to discover their places, altitudes, magnitudes, figures, and many other things which it is necessary to know. These things are done by proper instruments, by astronomical tables, and by certain rules and canons invented for that purpose. All these investigations are intended to enable the astronomer to pronounce a judgment on what things can be done by the power of philosophy, not only on matter, but on all beings connected with matter,

and guided by the influences of the heavenly bodies; as also to pronounce a judgment on future events, as well as on those that are past and present; and to advance wonderful works for promoting the prosperity, and preventing the misery, of mankind, in the most beneficent and illustrious manner." To the above description a development or elucidation of its several parts, of no less than two hundred folio pages, is subjoined.

The learned reader will perceive, that what is called "practical astronomy" in the above description, is no other than judicial astrology; which was more highly admired, and more ardently cultivated, in the middle ages, than any other part of learning. In this vain fallacious science Friar Bacon was a great adept, and so great a believer, that he imputed all the wars and other calamities which afflicted England, Spain, Italy, and other countries, in 1264, to the neglect of astrology. "O how happy had it been for the church of God, and how many mischiefs would it have prevented, if the aspect and qualities of the heavenly bodies had been predicted by learned men, and known to the princes and prelates of those times! There would not then have been so great a slaughter of Christians, nor would so many miserable souls have been sent to hell." But it should be remembered, that this was the foible of the age rather than of the man; and that though astrology was fallacious, the study of it contributed not a little to preserve and improve astronomy.

Astronomical instruments, particularly the quadrant, the astrolabe, and specula or spying-glasses, are frequently mentioned by the writers of this period. The quadrant is well known, and in daily use. The construction and various uses of the astrolabe are fully described by the famous poet Geoffrey Chaucer, in a treatise composed in 1391. The construction of the specula or spying-glasses used by the astronomers of this period is not so well known. There is, however, sufficient evidence that they were applied to the same purposes, and answered the same ends, with our telescopes, which are thought to be of much later invention. "Specula, or spying-glasses (says Roger Bacon), may be erected on a rising ground, opposite to cities or armies, in such a manner, that all things done by the enemy may be discovered; and this may be done at any distance we please. For, according to the laws of optics, an object may be viewed through as many glasses as we think fit, if they are properly placed; and they may be placed, some nearer and some more remote, so that the object may be seen at any distance we desire. Spying-glasses may be so formed, and so placed, that we shall be able to read the smallest letters at an incredible distance, to number even the dust and sands, and to make the sun, moon, and stars to descend, or at least seem to descend, from heaven." From these passages, to which several others might be added, it appears to be undeniable, that this learned friar was in possession of an instrument of similar use and construction with our telescope, though not, perhaps, so neat and portable.

The science of optics was not known or taught in England till about the middle of the thirteenth century. We learn, from the best authority, that no lectures had been read on that subject at Paris, or at any other place among the Latins, except twice at Oxford, before 1267; and that there were only three persons then in England who had made any considerable proficiency in that science. Friar Bacon was one of those three; and that he had made

great proficiency in it, we have the clearest evidence still remaining, in his admirable treatise (*De Scientia Perspectiva*) of the science of perspective. In this treatise he has explained at great length, and with wonderful perspicuity, the theories of reflected vision or catoptrics, and of refracted vision or dioptrics, as well as of direct vision or optics; and from these theories he has deduced many useful inventions; and, amongst others, that of reading-glasses, which are thus plainly described: "If a man view letters, or other small objects, through the medium of a chrystal or glass, which is the lesser portion of a sphere, whose convexity is towards the eye, he will see the letters much better, and they will appear to him larger. This instrument is useful to old men, and to those who are weak-sighted, because by it they may see the smallest letters of sufficient magnitude." By his skill in catoptrics, he rivalled Archimedes in the constructing of burning-glasses. "I have caused many burning-glasses (says he) to be made, in which, as in a mirror, the goodness of nature may be displayed. Nor are they to be accounted too expensive, when we consider the wonderful and useful things they can perform. The first I got made cost me sixty pounds of Parisian money, equal to about twenty pounds sterling; and since I have become more expert, I have discovered that better ones may be made for two marks, nay, for twenty shillings, or even cheaper. But in this great attention and dexterity are required." In a word, there is the clearest evidence in the works of this wonderful man, that he was acquainted with the construction of all the different kinds of instruments for viewing objects to advantage, which have been so much admired as modern inventions.

The study of mechanics as a science was introduced into England about the same time with the study of optics, and probably by the same persons. This much, at least, is certain, that Friar Bacon had acquired so extensive a knowledge of the mechanical powers, and their various combinations, and had thereby performed so many surprising things, that he was suspected of being a magician. To remove that suspicion, he wrote his famous epistle concerning the secret operations of Art and Nature, and the nullity of magic. In that epistle he reprobates the use of magical characters, verses, incantations, invocation of spirits, and various other tricks, as criminal impositions on the credulity of mankind; and affirms, that more wonderful works may be performed by the combined powers of Art and Nature than ever were pretended to be performed by the power of magic. "I will now (says he) mention some of the wonderful works of Art and Nature, in which there is nothing of magic, and which magic could not perform. Instruments may be made by which the largest ships, with only one man guiding them, will be carried with greater velocity than if they were full of sailors; chariots may be constructed that will move with incredible rapidity, without the help of animals; instruments of flying may be formed, in which a man sitting at his ease, and meditating on any subject, may beat the air with his artificial wings, after the manner of birds; a small instrument may be made to raise or depress the greatest weights: an instrument may be fabricated, by which one man may draw a thousand men to him by force, and against their wills; as also machines which will enable men to walk at the bottom of seas or rivers without danger: that all those instruments

are made in our times, is most certain, and I have seen them all, but that for flying, which I have never seen, though I am well acquainted with the wise man who invented it."

Another science which was introduced into England in the course of the thirteenth century, was chymistry, or, more properly, alchymy; for it plainly appears from their writings, that the great object which the chymists of this period had in view was to obtain these two things: 1. An universal medicine for the cure of all diseases, and for prolonging life beyond its usual limits; 2. The philosopher's stone, the powder of projection or grand elixir, for transmuting baser metals into gold and silver. That both these things were attainable, they seem to have been fully persuaded; and as they are evidently very desirable, they were most ardent and indefatigable in their efforts to obtain them; and to this must be ascribed the rapid progress of chymistry, and the prodigious number of chymists who flourished in that period. The famous friar Bacon, who was one of the most active and intelligent, as well as one of the most honest and communicative, of those ancient chymists, speaks with great confidence of the reality of a medicine which would answer both the purposes of prolonging life and transmuting metals: "That medicine (says he) which could remove all the impurities of baser metals, and change them into the finest gold and silver, could also remove all the corruptions of the human body, to such a degree that life might be prolonged through many ages." The two greatest princes who filled the throne of England in this period, Edward I. and Edward III. were great believers in the art of alchymy, and courted or pressed the most famous alchymists into their service. The celebrated Raymond Lully came into England on the pressing invitation of Edward I. and is said to have furnished that prince with a very great quantity of gold for defraying the expense of an intended expedition into the holy land. Of this last circumstance Lully himself is silent; though he mentions several of his transactions in England, particularly the following very remarkable one: "You saw, O king! in thy secret chamber of St. Katherine, in the tower of London, that wonderful projection which I made in thy presence on chrystal, which I changed into a mass of the purest adamant (diamond), more precious than that which is natural, of which thou causedst to be made some little pillars for the tabernacle of God." The following curious proclamation was published by Edward III. in 1329, which is a sufficient evidence of his belief in the art of alchymy: "Know all men, that we have been assured, that John Rows and Mr. William de Dalby know how to make silver by the art of alchymy; that they have made it in former times, and still continue to make it; and considering that these men, by their art, and by making that precious metal, may be profitable to us, and to our kingdom, we have commanded our well-beloved Thomas Cary to apprehend the aforesaid John and William, wherever they can be found, within liberties or without, and bring them to us, together with all the instruments of their art, under safe and sure custody."

It is more than probable that these two great princes, and the other believers in alchymy, were deceived, and in the end disappointed. But it cannot be denied, that some of the alchymists of the 13th century, as Albert the Great, Raymond Lully, and Friar Bacon, were men of great sagacity as well as industry; and that, when they were engaged



in the ardent pursuit of the grand elixir and universal medicine, they made many useful and curious discoveries, which would have excited the admiration of a more enlightened age. This is acknowledged by the most capable judges: "To speak my mind (says Boerhaave) freely, I have not met with any writers on natural philosophy, who treat of the nature of bodies so profoundly, and explain the manner of changing them so clearly, as those called "alchymists." To be convinced of this, read carefully their genuine writings; for instance, the piece of Raymond Lully, which he entitles "experiments;" you will find him with the utmost clearness and simplicity, relating experiments which explain the nature and actions of animals, vegetables, and fossils; after this you will hardly be able to name any author wherein physical things are treated of to so much advantage."

It will be sufficient to mention one out of many of their discoveries. Nothing can be more certain than that Friar Bacon had discovered the composition of gunpowder, and the terrible effects it was capable of producing, both which he has described in several parts of his works, though these things are generally supposed to have been first discovered almost a century after his death. In one place, he says, "Sounds like thunder, and coruscations, may be made in the air, and even with greater horror than those which are made by nature. For a little matter, properly prepared, about the bigness of a man's thumb, makes a horrible noise, and produces a dreadful coruscation; and by this a city or an army may be destroyed in several different ways." In the last chapter in the same treatise, concerning the secret operations of art and nature, he discovers the ingredients of which this terrible thundering composition is made: "By saltpetre, sulphur, and the powder of wood-coal, you may make this thunder and coruscation, if you understand the art of compounding them." It is true, that in the original the letters which compose the words *carbonum pulvere* (powder of wood coal) are not placed in proper order. But this is evidently done to prevent the art of making this dangerous composition from being commonly known and practised, because he knew that it might be employed to very pernicious purposes.

Medicine was considerably improved in the period we are now examining, which seems to have been owing to the following causes. Much greater attention was given to the education of physicians than formerly, and stricter rules prescribed for regulating the time and manner of their studies. By the laws of the famous medical school of Salernum, made in 1237, and afterwards adopted in other seats of learning, the scholars were obliged to spend three years in the study of philosophy, and five years in the study of medicine, and then to be strictly examined by two doctors of physic, before they could receive a licence to practise. The distinctions between physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, was now well understood and much regarded; which could not but contribute to render them all more expert and skilful in their professions. The works of the most famous Arabian physicians were now translated into Latin, and read with great avidity; by which the knowledge which these physicians had derived from the Greeks, as well as the discoveries they had made themselves, came to be more generally known. And finally, the introduction of chymistry must have contributed to the improvement of medicine, by furnishing physicians with tinctures,

elixirs, and other chymical preparations, unknown to their predecessors.

The clergy still continued to teach and practise medicine; and the greatest number of physicians were of that order in this period. But some of the laity now began to make a figure in this profession and a few of them even commenced authors. Gilbert English, who flourished in the thirteenth century, is the most ancient medical writer of England whose works have been printed. His learning and skill in medicine are greatly extolled by Leland and bishop Bale; but Dr. Friend, who was a much better judge in matters of this kind, is more moderate in his commendations, and contents himself with saying, "That he wrote as well as any of his contemporaries in other nations; and did no more than they did, if he took the bulk of what he compiled from the writings of the Arabians."

John de Gaddesden was the next medical writer of England whose works have been preserved and printed. He flourished in the fourteenth century, and was educated in Merton College, Oxford. "Having acquired (says Leland), a thorough knowledge of philosophy, he applied with great ardour to the study of medicine, in which he made so great a proficiency, that he was justly esteemed the great luminary of his age. He wrote a large and learned work on medicine, to which, on account of its excellence, the illustrious title of the "Medical Rose" was given." Our author's "Medical Rose" is a very curious work, containing a comprehensive system of medicine as it was practised in England in the fourteenth century. In treating of each disease, he gives, 1st, The etymology of its name, and a general description of its nature; 2dly, The symptoms; 3dly, The prognostics; 4thly, The method of cure. From this last part, which abounds in receipts, it plainly appears, that the physicians of this period were not sparing of their drugs, and that their prescriptions were very complicated. It must also be confessed, that the methods of cure recommended by our author are some of them very whimsical, and others superstitious. What can be more whimsical than the following treatment of a patient in the small-pox, immediately after an eruption? "After this, cause the whole body of your patient to be wrapped in red scarlet cloth, or in any red cloth, and command every thing about the bed to be made red. This is an excellent cure. It was in this manner I treated the son of the noble King of England, when he had the small-pox; and I cured him without leaving any marks." The patient whom he treated in this manner must have been either Edward III. or his brother prince John of Eltham. Can any thing be more superstitious than the following method of attempting to cure the epilepsy, which appears to have been recommended by all the most famous physicians of those times, as well as by our author? "Because there are many children and others afflicted with the epilepsy who cannot take medicines, let the following experiment be tried, which is recommended by Constantine, Walter, Bernard, Gilbert, and others, which I have found to be effectual, whether the patient was a demoniac, a lunatic, or an epileptic. When the patient and his parents have fasted three days, let them conduct him to a church. If he be of a proper age, and in his right senses, let him confess. Then let him hear mass on Friday, during the fast of *quatuor temporum*, and also on Saturday. On Sunday let a good and religious priest read over the head of the patient, in the church, the gospel which

is read in September, in the time of vintage, after the feast of the Holy Cross. After this let the priest write the same gospel devoutly, and let the patient wear it about his neck, and he shall be cured. The gospel is, 'This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.' The truth is, that though John de Gaddesden was at the head of his profession, consulted by the greatest princes, and celebrated by the greatest poets of his age, he appears to have been little better than an artful, interested quack, of some reading and furnished with a prodigious number of receipts, which he had collected from all hands, and applied often more to his advantage than to that of his patients. But it ought to be remembered, that the empirical superstitious practices of our author and his contemporaries were in a great measure owing to the general ignorance, credulity, and superstition of the times in which they flourished.

To the same causes we must impute the high reputation of the royal touch, at this time, for the cure of scrophula, of which archbishop Bradwardine, in 1349, wrote in these strong terms; "Whoever thou art O Christian! who leniest miracles, come and see with thine own eyes, come into England into the presence of the king, and bring with thee any Christian afflicted with king's evil; and though it be very ugly, deep, and inveterate, he will cure him in the name of Jesus Christ, by prayer, benediction, the sign of the cross, and the imposition of hands."

It seems to be impossible to give a better account in fewer words, of the state of surgery in this period, than that which is contained in the following passage of a system of surgery, composed by Guido de Cauliaco, in 1363: "The practitioners in surgery are divided into five sects. The first follow Roger and Rolland, and the four masters, and apply poultices to all wounds and abscesses; the second follow Brunus and Theoderic, and in the same cases use wine only; the third follow Saliceto and Lanfrac, and treat wounds with ointments and soft plaisters; the fourth are chiefly Germans, who attend the armies, and promiscuously use charms, potions, oil, and wool; the fifth are old women and ignorant people, who have recourse to the saints in all cases." John Arden, who removed from Newark to London in the time of the great plague, in 1349, was the most famous surgeon and writer on surgery who flourished in England in this period.

*History of the most learned men who flourished in Britain, from 1216 to 1399.*

The limits of this work will admit only of a very brief account of a few who were most eminent for their learning.

Robert Grouthead or Greathead, the very learned and famous bishop of Lincoln, was born at Stow, in Lincolnshire, or (according to others) at Stradbrook, in Suffolk, in the latter part of the twelfth century. His parents were so poor, that, when a boy, he was reduced to do the meanest offices, and even to beg his bread; till the mayor of Lincoln, struck with his appearance, and the quickness of his replies to certain questions, took him into his family, and put him to school. Here his ardent love of learning, and admirable capacity for acquiring it, soon appeared, and procured him many patrons, by whose assistance he was enabled to prosecute his studies, first at Cambridge, afterwards at Oxford, and at last at Paris. In these three famous seats of learning he spent many years in the most indefatigable pursuit of knowledge, and became one of the best and most universal scholars of the

age. He was a great master, not only of the French and Latin, but also of the Greek and Hebrew languages, which was a very rare accomplishment in those times. We are assured by Roger Bacon, who was intimately acquainted with him, that he spent much of his time, for almost forty years, in the study of geometry, astronomy, optics, and other branches of mathematical learning, in all which he very much excelled. Theology was his favourite study, in which he read lectures at Oxford, with great applause. In the mean time, he obtained several preferments in the church, and was at length elected and consecrated bishop of Lincoln, in 1235. In this station he soon became very famous by the purity of his manners, the popularity of his preaching, the rigour of his discipline, and the boldness with which he reprov'd the vices, and opposed the arbitrary mandates, of the court of Rome; of this last it may be proper to give one example. Pope Innocent IV. had granted to one of his own nephews named Frederick, who was but a child, a provision to the first canon's place in the church of Lincoln that should become vacant; and sent a bull to the archbishop of Canterbury, and Innocent, then papal legate in England, commanding them to see the provision made effectual, which they transmitted to the bishop of Lincoln. But that brave and virtuous prelate boldly refused to obey this unreasonable mandate, and sent an answer to the papal bull, containing the following severe reproaches against his holiness for abusing his power: "If we except the sins of Lucifer and Antichrist, there neither is, nor can be, a greater crime, nor any thing more contrary to the doctrine of the gospel, or more odious and abominable in the sight of Jesus Christ, than to ruin and destroy the souls of men, by depriving them of the spiritual aid and ministry of their pastors. This crime is committed by those who command the benefices intended for the support of able pastors, to be bestowed on those who are incapable of performing the duties of the pastoral office. It is impossible, therefore, that the holy apostolic see, which received its authority from the Lord Jesus Christ, for edification, and not for destruction, can be guilty of such a crime, or any thing approaching to such a crime, so hateful to God, and so hurtful to men. For this would be a most manifest corruption and abuse of its authority, which would forfeit all its glory, and plunge it into the pains of hell." Upon hearing this letter, his holiness became frantic with rage, poured forth a torrent of abuse against the good bishop, and threatened to make him an object of terror and astonishment to the whole world. "How dare (said he) this old deaf, doating fool, disobey my commands? Is not his master the king of England my subject, or rather my slave? Cannot he cast him into prison, and crush him in a moment?" But the cardinals by degrees brought the pope to think more calmly, and to take no notice of this letter. "Let us not (said they) raise a tumult in the church without necessity, and precipitate that revolt and separation from us, which we know must one day take place." Remarkable words, when we reflect when and by whom they were spoken!

Bishop Grouthead did not long survive this noble stand against the gross corruptions and tyranny of the church of Rome, for he fell sick at his castle of Bugden that same year; and when he became sensible that his death was drawing near, he called his clergy into his apartment, and made a long discourse to them, to prove that the reigning pope Innocent



was antichrist. With this exertion his strength and spirits were so much exhausted, that he expired soon after, October 9, 1253. A contemporary historian, who was perfectly well acquainted with him, has drawn his character in the following manner: "He was a free and bold reprimander of the pope and the king, an admonisher of the prelates, a corrector of the monks, an instructor of the clergy, a supporter of the studious, a censurer of the incontinent, a scourge and terror to the court of Rome, a diligent searcher of the scriptures, and a frequent preacher to the people. At his table he was hospitable, polite, and cheerful. In the church he was contrite, devout, and solemn; and in performing all the duties of his office, he was venerable, active, and indefatigable." The illustrious Roger Bacon, who was most capable, and had the best opportunities of forming a true judgment of the extent of his learning, by perusing his works, and by frequently conversing with him, has given this honourable testimony in his favour: "Robert Grouthead, bishop of Lincoln, and his friend Friar Adam de Marisco, are the two most learned men in the world, and excel all the rest of mankind both in divine and human knowledge."

This most excellent and learned prelate was a voluminous writer, and composed a great number of treatises on a great variety of subjects, in philosophy and divinity, a catalogue of which may be seen in the *Biogr. Britannica*.

Though Roger Bacon was too modest to except himself when he gave the above character for superiority in learning to his patron Robert Grouthead, and his friend Adam de Marisco, it is very certain that he was superior to them both, and to all his contemporaries, in genius, industry, and erudition. This extraordinary man was born near Ilchester, in 1214, and at a proper age was sent to Oxford, where he prosecuted his studies with so much ardour and success, that he gained the friendship and patronage of the greatest men in that university. Having spent some years at Oxford in the study of the languages, logic, and other branches of philosophy, he removed, according to the custom of those times, to Paris, where he soon became famous for his uncommon proficiency in all the sciences. Though he was much admired and caressed at that university, where many of the most ingenious men in Europe then resided, he returned into his native country in 1240, being then about twenty-six years of age. As the love of learning was his ruling passion, he settled at Oxford, and entered into the Franciscan order of monks in that city, that he might prosecute his studies in tranquillity and with advantage.

Our Bacon soon abandoned the beaten track which was pursued by the scholars of that period, who spent their time in the study of very faulty translations of the works of Aristotle, and in reading commentaries on those works which had been written by men who did not well understand the original language. That he might not misspend his time in the same manner, he made himself a perfect master of the Greek tongue. Not contented with this, he applied directly to the study of nature, and engaged in a course of laborious, expensive, and well-conducted experiments, as the only means of arriving at certainty, and of making useful discoveries. By the generosity of his friends and patrons he was enabled to expend on those experiments, in twenty years, no less a sum than two thousand pounds, equal in weight of silver to six thousand pounds, and in efficacy to thirty thousand pounds,

of our money at present. This was indeed a great sum; but no money was ever better employed: for in the course of those experiments he made a greater number of useful and surprising discoveries in geometry, astronomy, physics, optics, mechanics, and chymistry, than ever were made by one man in an equal space of time.

But the world was long deprived of the advantage, and Bacon of the honour, of those discoveries, by the ignorance, envy, and malice of the monks of his order. For, believing, or pretending to believe, that he was a magician, and held a criminal intercourse with infernal spirits, they put him under close confinement, and prohibited him from sending any of his writings out of his monastery, except to the pope. In this confinement he languished several years; till having sent a copy of his *Opus Majus* to Pope Clement IV. in 1266, that pontiff procured him some mitigation of his sufferings, if not his full liberty. But he did not very long enjoy that relaxation, as he was again imprisoned by Jerom de Esculo, general of the Franciscan order, in 1278; because his works, it was pretended, contained some suspected novelties. In this second confinement Bacon continued about eleven or twelve years, when he was set at liberty by Pope Nicholas IV. at the earnest request of several noblemen. Though he was now old, and no doubt much broken by his long and cruel sufferings, he still continued to prosecute his studies, by polishing his former works, and composing new ones, till death put an end to all his calamities, and all his labours, at Oxford, June 11, 1292.

We cannot but lament that Friar Bacon met with so many discouragements in the pursuit of useful knowledge. If he had lived in better times, or if he had even been permitted to prosecute that course of enquiries and experiments in which he engaged after his return from Paris, it is highly probable that the world would have had many valuable discoveries that are still unknown. An excellent modern writer having enumerated some of Bacon's discoveries, viz. his discovery of the exact length of the solar year, and a method of correcting all the errors in the kalender; his discovery of the art of making reading-glasses, the camera obscura, microscopes, telescopes, and various other mathematical and astronomical instruments; his discovery of gunpowder, of the method of making elixers, tinctures, solutions, and of performing all the chymical operations that are now in use; his discoveries of the nature of the mechanical powers, and of the best methods of applying and combining them in the construction of machines for performing many useful and surprising operations; his discoveries in medicine, for curing diseases, and prolonging life;—this writer says, "These are wonderful discoveries for a man to make, in so ignorant an age, who had no master to teach him, but struck it all out of his own brain: but it is still more wonderful, that such discoveries should lie so long concealed, till in the next succeeding centuries other people should start up, and lay claim to the merit of these very inventions to which Bacon alone had a right."

According to Leland, Bale, and other literary historians, the writings of Friar Bacon were very numerous. But it plainly appears that these writer have divided one work into many, and, by multiplying titles, have represented them as much more numerous than they really were. It is to be hoped, that some man of learning, leisure, and industry, and placed in favourable circumstances, will soon

arise, who, by employing his time in collecting, arranging, and publishing all the genuine works of the illustrious Roger Bacon, will do honour to his country, and justice to the memory of one of the greatest men it ever produced.

Michael Scot of Balwirie was born in the last years of the twelfth, or the first of the thirteenth century, at the seat of his family, in the county of Fife in Scotland. Having received the first part of his education in his native country, he was sent to Oxford, where many of the Scottish youth in those times prosecuted their studies. How long our author continued at Oxford, is unknown; but, according to the custom of other lovers of learning, he went from thence to Paris, where he obtained the highest academical honours, and the title of "the Mathematician" among the learned, and of "the Magician" among the vulgar. The fame of his learning procured him an invitation from the Emperor Frederick II. who was by far the most learned prince in Europe, and the greatest encourager and patron of learned men that flourished in the thirteenth century. One of the literary objects of that excellent prince was to procure Latin translations of the works of Aristotle, and of the other philosophers and physicians of Greece; and in the execution of this project, Michael Scot was employed during some part of the time that he resided at the imperial court. For this task he was believed to be better qualified than many other scholars, by his knowledge of Aristotle's philosophy, and of the Greek and Arabic languages. Accordingly we are told by Friar Bacon, that the translations of the physical and mathematical works of Aristotle, and of his best commentators, that were published by Michael Scot in 1230, were the cause of the high admiration and supreme authority which that philosopher obtained among the Latins after that period. These translations our author dedicated to his illustrious patron the Emperor Frederick II. at whose desire they had been undertaken and executed.

Michael Scot, like many of his contemporaries, spent too much of his time and thought in the study of astrology. On this vain fallacious science he composed a very voluminous work, at the command of the same emperor to whom he was astrologer; an office which was in those times both lucrative and honourable. He was also keenly engaged in the study of alchymy, or the transmutation of metals; and wrote a book on the nature of the sun and moon, which, in the mystical language of alchymists, signify gold and silver. Influenced by the prevailing taste of the times in which he flourished, he even applied to those most frivolous studies of chiromancy and physiognomy, which pretend to teach the art of discovering the dispositions and fortunes of men, by the lines of their hands and features of their faces. In a word, the following character of this author, drawn by one who had studied his works, seems to be very just:—"He was one of the greatest philosophers, mathematicians, physicians, and linguists of his age, and had he not been too much addicted to the vain studies of judicial astrology, alchymy, physiognomy, and chiromancy, he would have deserved better of the republic of letters. His too great curiosity in these matters made the vulgar look upon him as a magician; though none speaks or writes more respectfully of God and religion than he does." So strong were the convictions of his countrymen that he was a magician, that Dempster assures us, many people in Scotland in his time dared not so much as to touch his works.

After the death of his illustrious patron, the Emperor Frederick II. in 1250, this author returned into Britain, where he is said to have lived to a very great age, and to have died in 1290.

John Duns Scotus was so famous for his genius and learning, that England, Scotland, and Ireland, have contended for the honour of his birth. This controversy we shall not take upon us to determine; though his name seems to favour the opinion, that he was born at Duns in Berwickshire, or the Merse in Scotland. The precise time of his birth is also unknown; but from several circumstances it appears most probable, that it was about 1265. He entered, when he was very young, into a monastery of the Franciscans at Newcastle; who, discovering the quickness of his genius, sent him to Merton college in Oxford, to prosecute his studies. In this famous seat of learning, our young scholar soon became conspicuous by the rapidity and facility with which he advanced in the acquisition of all the sciences. In particular, he greatly excelled all his contemporaries in the admired art of logical disputation, by the quickness and subtlety of his distinctions, and the fecundity of his invention. He made great progress in natural and moral philosophy, and in all the different branches of mathematical learning; after which he applied to the study of the civil and canon law, and school-divinity. When our author had for some time enjoyed a fellowship in his own college, he was advanced to the theological chair in the university in 1301: a station for which he was admirably fitted, and in which he had an opportunity of displaying, to great advantage, the immense stores of learning which he had amassed. Accordingly we are told, that his lectures on the sentences of Peter Lombard were attended by incredible numbers of hearers, and received with great applause. For at the time when these lectures were delivered, we are assured, that there were no fewer than thirty thousand students in the university of Oxford, of whom many were attracted by the fame of our professor's eloquence and learning. These admired lectures have been printed, and, together with some comments upon them, fill six folio volumes.

Oxford was not long permitted to enjoy the advantage of so popular a professor. For he was commanded by the general of his order, in 1304, to remove to Paris, to defend his doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which was impugned by the divines of that city. This he performed with great applause, in an assembly of the university of Paris, called for the determination of that important question. The adversaries of the immaculate conception collected all their force on this occasion, and produced no fewer, it is said, than two hundred objections to that doctrine. "Scotus heard them with great composure: and in his reply, he recapitulated all their objections, and refuted them with as much ease as Sampson broke the cords of the Philistines; after which he proved, by many strong arguments, to the amazement and conviction of all his hearers, that the most holy Virgin was conceived without the stain of original sin. The university of Paris bestowed on him the title of "the subtle Doctor," as a reward for his victory in this famous dispute." One of this illustrious assembly, who was a stranger to the person, but not to the fame of Scotus, was so much charmed, that he cried out, "This is either an angel from heaven, a devil from hell, or John Duns Scotus."

When Scotus had continued about four years at Paris, he was sent by Gonsalvo, the general of the



Franciscan order, to Cologne, in 1308, to found an university in that city, in imitation of that of Paris, and to defend his favourite doctrine of the immaculate conception, against the disciples of Albert the Great. He met with a most honourable reception at Cologne; but died soon after his arrival, November 8, 1308, in his forty-fourth year, or, according to some historians, only in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

Few men of learning have been so much admired by their contemporaries, or loaded with such extravagant praises by their followers, who from him were called "Scotists," as John Duns Scotus. It may not be improper to give one example of the pompous strain of these panegyrics:—"He was so consummate a philosopher that he could have been the inventor of philosophy, if it had not before existed. His knowledge of all the mysteries of religion was so profound and perfect, that it was rather intuitive certainty than belief. He described the divine nature as if he had seen God; the attributes of celestial spirits, as if he had been an angel; the felicity of a future state, as if he had enjoyed them; and the ways of Providence, as if he had penetrated into all its secrets. He wrote so many books that one man is hardly able to read them, and no one man is able to understand them. He would have written more, if he had composed with less care and accuracy. Such was our immortal Scotus, the most ingenious, acute, and subtle of the sons of men." It is related of him, that he sometimes fell into such profound meditations that he remained several hours motionless, and insensible to all external objects. In a word, it may be affirmed, without exaggeration, that few men ever possessed a more fertile invention, a more retentive memory, a more acute and penetrating genius, or a more unremitting application to study, than John Duns Scotus; but, unfortunately for him, and for the world, all those noble talents were misapplied and wasted on the subtilities of school philosophy and the absurdities of school-divinity. Considering the shortness of his life, he was one of the most voluminous writers that ever lived. Many of his writings have been several times printed; but the most complete edition of his works is that which was published by Waddings, at Lyons, in 1639, in twelve volumes folio. These works, which were so highly admired that about twenty different authors wrote commentaries upon them, are now consigned to dust, and almost quite neglected.

William Ockham, one of the most distinguished disciples of John Duns Scotus, and the founder of a sect of schoolmen called "Ockhamists," was born at Ockham, in Surrey, about 1280. When he was very young, he entered into the order of St. Francis, and prosecuted his studies with great ardour and success, first at Oxford and afterwards at Paris. In both these universities, he was a constant hearer and great admirer of Scotus; but being of a bold, inquisitive spirit, he did not yield an implicit faith to all the doctrines of his illustrious master. On the contrary, he impugned some of his opinions with so much vigour and success, that he obtained many followers, who, on that account, were called "Ockhamists;" and sometimes "Nominals," because they waged a long and fierce war against another sect of schoolmen, called "Realists," about certain metaphysical subtleties which neither of them understood.

Ockham acted a very conspicuous part in those violent disputes which disquieted the Christian world

during the pontificate of John XXII. from 1316 to 1334; and in all those disputes he opposed the heretical principles and ambitious pretensions of the pope with great vivacity and courage. He was made provincial of the Franciscans in England, in a general assembly of the order, in 1322, and in that assembly he very boldly defended the principles of that party of the Franciscans who were called "the Spiritual Brethren," which the pope had condemned as heretical, by two solemn decrees. He also impugned, with much vehemence, the favourite doctrine of John XXII., That the souls of good men were not admitted to the vision of God, and the happiness of heaven, till after the resurrection. His holiness was so highly enraged at this presumption, that he pronounced the terrible sentence of excommunication against our author; which obliged him to live in great privacy for several years. In this retirement he composed several of his works, particularly his compendium of the heresies of Pope John XXII., of which he enumerated no fewer than seventy-seven.

Our author at length found a powerful protector in Lewis of Bavaria, Emperor of Germany, in whose court he took shelter, in 1328. This prince, who had been long and cruelly persecuted, and at last deposed and excommunicated, by the pope, received his fellow sufferer in a very gracious manner, and appointed him one of his privy counsellors. In return for these favours, Ockham published several treatises in defence of the emperor, and in opposition to that favourite maxim of the papal court, which had been boldly avowed by Boniface VIII., in 1301, "That all emperors, kings, and princes, are subject to the supreme authority of the pope, in temporals as well as spirituals." In opposition to this dangerous doctrine, which was not very suitable to the humble title of the "servant of servants," Ockham maintained, that the emperor was subject to none but God in temporals. The learned Selden gives the following high character of one of our author's political treatises, published on this occasion: "It is a most learned and ingenious work, which merits the highest commendations; and, in my opinion, it is the very best performance published concerning the limits of the spiritual and temporal powers." So much did these spirited publications of our author contribute to support the emperor's cause, that he used to address that prince in this familiar manner; "If you will defend me by your sword, I will defend you by my pen."

During the life of the emperor his protector, Ockham smiled in safety at the impotent rage of three successive popes, John XXII., Benedict XII., and Clement VI., who denounced the most direful anathemas against him. But after the death of that prince, which happened Oct. 11, 1347, he found himself no longer in a capacity to brave the papal thunders, and was constrained to court a reconciliation with the church by the most humiliating submissions. Some literary historians indeed say, that he died about six months before the emperor his patron, April 10, 1347. But this is evidently a mistake, for, by the intercession of the Franciscan order, he obtained absolution from Clement VI. by a bull dated at Avignon, June 19, 1349, upon condition of renouncing all his former heresies, and swearing implicit submission to every papal decision and mandate for the future. He did not long survive this mortifying abjuration of all those opinions which he had laboured with so much ardour to establish, dying at Capua, in Italy, September

20, 1350. He was unquestionably a man of genius, industry and learning, and would have been happier and more useful if he had lived in better times. A catalogue of his numerous works may be seen in Leland and Bale. According to the custom of the age in which he flourished he was honoured with the pompous title of "the singular and invincible Doctor."

The most important events in the life of the famous Dr. John Wickliff, who is well entitled to a distinguished place in the history of his country, for his noble efforts to deliver it from the intolerable tyranny of the church and court of Rome, are given in the body of the history, and therefore a very brief account of his personal character, and literary labours, will be sufficient in this place. He was born in the parish of Wickliff, near Richmond, in the county of York, about 1324; and educated at Oxford, where he merited the highest academical honours, obtained successively the government of Baliol and Canterbury colleges, and was advanced to the professorship of divinity. His theological lectures were delivered to crowded audiences, and received with incredible applause; which contributed not a little to disseminate his doctrines, which were very different from those of the church at that time. In particular, he combated with great spirit the exorbitant power and ambitious pretensions of the court of Rome in temporals as well as spirituals; and with equal spirit he opposed the encroachments of those churchmen who were the great supporters of the papal power. Having entered into holy orders, and obtained, first, the living of Fillingham in Lincolnshire, and afterwards the rectory of Lutworth in Leicestershire, he further propagated his opinions, by his frequent, eloquent, and popular preaching. By his numerous writings in the English language, he still further diffused the knowledge of his doctrines, and exposed the sloth, hypocrisy, and other vices of the mendicant friars, together with the various corruptions of the court and church of Rome. In a word, such was the success of the teaching, preaching, and writings of our author, that a contemporary historian, who appears to have been his most inveterate enemy, assures us, "that more than one half of the people of England became his followers, and embraced his doctrines." The violent opposition which he encountered from the pope and the clergy, the powerful support he received from the Duke of Lancaster, and other great men among the laity, as well as the time and manner of his death, have been already mentioned. But it may not be improper to take notice in this place, that the malice of his enemies did not permit him to remain in quiet in his grave. In consequence of a decree of the council of Constance, and a bull of Pope Martin V. directed to Robert Fleming bishop of Lincoln, his bones were taken up and burnt, and the ashes thrown into a rivulet: an act of impotent malevolence which is hardly credible.

The pope and clergy not only persecuted the person of Dr. Wickliff during his life, and his ashes after death, but did every thing in their power to blacken his character and destroy his works. The two monkish historians, Walsingham and Knyghton, his contemporaries, have given him almost every opprobrious name in the Latin language; but have not been able to accuse him of any immorality. His doctrines were condemned by various councils after his death; and his works which contained these doctrines were burnt whenever they could be found. Subynco archbishop of Prague, in Bohemia

(where the doctrines of Wickliff had made great progress), publicly burnt more than two hundred volumes of his works that were beautifully written, and finely ornamented. About the same time a great number of his books were publicly burnt at Oxford, by a decree of the university, and under the inspection of the chancellor. But all these attempts to destroy the works of Wickliff were ineffectual; and we have good reason to believe that some copies of all his numerous publications escaped. The learned bishop Bale, who flourished in the sixteenth century, affirms, "That he had seen about one hundred and fifty treatises of Dr. Wickliff, some of them in Latin and others in English, besides his translations of several books." His translation of the Bible into English was one of his greatest and most useful works: for a catalogue of which works, Tanner, Wharton, and Bale may be consulted.

The endeavours of the pope and monks to blacken the character and diminish the fame of Dr. Wickliff, were as ineffectual as their attempts to destroy his works. The superiority of his genius and learning were so conspicuous, that it was acknowledged by his greatest enemies. The historian, Knyghton, who hated him heartily for his attempt to reform the church, is constrained to own, "that no man excelled him in the strength and number of his arguments; and that he excelled all men in the irresistible power of his eloquence in disquisition." Walden, who was his most inveterate enemy, acknowledged in a letter to Pope Martin V. "that he had often stood amazed beyond measure, at the excellence of his learning, the boldness of his assertions, the exactness of his authorities, and the strength of his arguments." The following character of this great and good man was drawn by an able hand, and appears to be just: "Dr. John Wickliff was a man, than whom the christian world in these last ages has not produced a greater. He excelled all of his contemporaries in all the different branches of theological learning, and in the knowledge of the civil and canon law. His heart was inflamed with the most ardent love of God, and good will to men; which excited him to the most strenuous efforts to restore the church to its primitive purity. The eminence of his piety and virtue his greatest adversaries never dared to call in question, and to the superiority of his natural and acquired abilities they have been compelled to bear testimony."

Several other school divines and philosophers flourished in Britain, in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, and for a season enjoyed a considerable share of literary fame; but as their works are now neglected, it would be improper to swell this section with their history.

The British historians of this period were very numerous; but only a very few of them were so conspicuous for their abilities as to merit a place in the general history of their country; and of these few it will be sufficient to give a very brief account.

Though Matthew Paris was unquestionably one of the most faithful and best informed of all the English historians of the thirteenth century, his own personal history is very imperfectly preserved; and is chiefly to be collected from his own writings. We are not informed of the particular time or place of his birth nor from what family he was descended. The first circumstance of his life we know with certainty is, that he took the habit of a monk, in the abbey of St. Alban's, Jan. 21, 1217. In this abbey he continued long, and became so famous for his learning, piety, and virtue, that he obtained the es-



teem and confidence of several great princes. With his own sovereign Henry III. he appears to have been on a very friendly and familiar footing; not only employed in his service, but entrusted with his secrets, invited to his table, favoured with long and frequent conversations, and even assisted in the composition of his history of England. "He who wrote this (says he) was almost constantly with the king in his palace, at his table, or in his closet; and that prince guided his pen in writing, in the most diligent and condescending manner." At the same time our author stood in the highest point of favour with Haco king of Norway, a wise and learned prince, with whom he corresponded by letters, and for whom he transacted some important affairs in London to his entire satisfaction. At length when the monks of that kingdom had become extremely ignorant and disorderly, Matthew Paris was esteemed the most proper person in the church to be employed in an attempt to instruct and reform them. Accordingly, in compliance with a bull from Pope Innocent IV. and an earnest application from the king of Norway, he made a voyage into that country, in 1248, where he spent about a year in restoring monastic discipline to its primitive strictness and regularity. During his residence in Norway, he acted also as ambassador for Lewis IX. king of France, whose friendship he had gained by his learning and integrity. But though our author was a favourite he was not a flatterer of kings. On the contrary, he expostulated with and admonished his own sovereign with much freedom, when he acted imprudently or unjustly. When Henry III. had granted, by a charter, to one of his courtiers a liberty of hunting in the lands belonging to the abbey of St. Alban's, directly contrary to the privileges which he had before granted by charter to that abbey, our author tells us, that he went boldly to the king, and reproached him for this unjust proceeding; to which the king replied, that he had only imitated the pope, who daily revoked the privileges he had granted, and bestowed them upon others, by the clause *non obstante* in his bulls. No historian who has recorded the transactions of his own countrymen in his own times, can be compared with Matthew Paris for intrepidity. He censured without any ceremony, and in the plainest language, the vices and follies of persons of the highest rank and greatest power. Though he was a monk, he has painted the insatiable avarice, intolerable tyranny, unbounded luxury, and abandoned perfidy of the court of Rome, in stronger colours than any protestant writer has done. From all his writings he appears to have been a man of genius, taste, and learning. "He was (says a literary historian), an elegant poet, an eloquent orator, an acute logician, a subtle philosopher, a solid divine, a celebrated historian, and, which crowned the whole, a man justly famous for purity, integrity, innocence, and simplicity of manners." In his leisure hours he amused himself with the study and practice of the fine arts; and (if we may believe the historian of his own abbey), he was an exquisite sculptor in gold, silver, and other metals, and the best painter of the age in which he flourished. This virtuous, learned, and ingenious person paid the last debt to nature in 1259, at St. Alban's, where he had resided above forty years, and never obtained any higher office than that of historiographer.

The theological works of Matthew Paris have shared the same fate with those of many of his contemporaries; but his historical labours have been

more fortunate, and have secured the grateful remembrance of posterity to their author. The greatest and most valuable of these historical works is entitled *Historia Major*, which is a very full history of England, from the conquest, in 1066, to the 43d of Henry III. in 1259. In the first part of that work, from the conquest to 1235, our author was much indebted to the labours of Roger de Wendover, his predecessor in the office of historiographer in the abbey of St. Alban's, and it was continued after his death to 1273, by William Rishanger his successor in that office. For the honour of his own abbey, our author wrote the lives of the two Offas kings of Mercia (of whom Offa II. was the founder of that abbey), and also of the lives of the twenty-three first abbots of St. Alban's. To these works he subjoined *addimenta* (additions), containing certain facts, papers, letters, speeches, &c. which had not come to his knowledge in due time, or which he had neglected to insert in their proper places. The above historical compositions have been several times printed, and will be perused with pleasure by every lover of English history and antiquities, who can forgive our author for believing and introducing so many ridiculous miracles, apparitions, predictions, &c.: because that kind of credulity was the folly of the times rather than of the man. The first part of Matthew of Westminster's *Flowers of History*, from the creation of the world to the conquest of England, is said to be almost an exact transcript of a work of Matthew Paris which had never been printed. Besides all these, our author made an abridgement of his *Historia Major*, or *Larger History of England*, with the title of *Historia Minor*; which is still preserved in MS.

We know still less of the personal history of Thos. Wykes than of his contemporary Matthew Paris. He was a regular canon of the order of St. Augustine in the abbey of Osney, near Oxford; and, improving his favourable situation for the acquisition of learning, became famous for the variety and extent of his erudition. Besides several other works on different subjects, he composed a history or chronicle of England, from the conquest, in 1066, to 1304, soon after which period it is probable he died.

Walter Hemmingford was a monk in the abbey of Gisburn, in Yorkshire, of the same order with Thomas Wykes, and also wrote a history of England, nearly of the same period, beginning at the Conquest, and ending in 1347, in which year he died. We do not so much as know, with certainty, to what monasteries John de Trokelowe and Henry de Blaneford, two monks, who wrote histories of the reign of Edward II. belonged, and therefore they are mentioned here only to recommend their works, together with that of the anonymous monk of Malmesbury, on the same subject, to the attention of English antiquaries and historians, as containing many curious particulars which are nowhere else to be found.

Robert de Avesbury, who was register of the archbishop of Canterbury's court, composed a history of England in his own times, with the following title: "*Mirabilia gesta Magnific Riegis Anglie Domini Edwardi Tertii post Conquestum, Procerumque; tactis primitus quibusdam gestis in tempore patris sui Domini Edwardi Secundi, quæ in regnis Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Franciæ, ac in Aquitania et Britannia, non humana sed Dei potentia, contigerunt; per Robertum de Avesbury, Curia Cantuariensis Regiotri Cuetodem, compilata.*" i. e. The wonderful acts of the magnificent King Lord Ed-

ward the Third after the Conquest, and of his nobles; to which are premised some hints of the transactions in the time of his father Edward the Second, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and France, as also in Aquitain and Brittany, which happened, not by the power of man, but of God; compiled by Robert of Avesbury, keeper of the register of the court of Canterbury.<sup>25</sup>

Our author was probably prevented by death from finishing his plan; for his history reaches only to the thirtieth of Edward III. in 1356. He appears to have been at great pains to procure the most authentic information; and his work is valuable for the sincerity with which it is written, and the original papers it contains.

Nicholas Trivet, son of Sir Thomas Trivet, of the county of Norfolk, was born about 1258, and in his youth became a Dominican friar in London. Having a genius and taste for learning, he prosecuted his studies with great spirit and diligence, first at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris. Soon after his return to England, he was chosen prior of his monastery, and discharged the duties of that office, with great honour to himself and advantage to the society, to the time of his death, in 1328. He was a voluminous writer on various subjects in philosophy and divinity; but he is introduced in this place because he was the author of Historical Annals, from 1130 to 1307. Of this work he gives the following account in his preface: "When I studied at Paris, I read the histories of France and Normandy, with great care, and faithfully extracted out of them every thing that related to the English nation. From these extracts, together with what I collected from our English chronicles, what came to my own knowledge, and what I learned from the information of men worthy of credit, I have composed the following history of the kings of England of the Plantagenet family, from Henry II. to our own times. But though I have bestowed my chief attention on the affairs of England, I have occasionally introduced such accounts of the transactions of the contemporary popes, emperors of Germany, kings of France, and some other princes, as had come to my knowledge, in order to render my work more universally useful and agreeable."

It would be tedious to many readers to peruse the short memoirs which remain of the other historians of this period, as of Matthew of Westminster, Ralph Higden, Henry Knyghton, John de Fordum, Adam de Merimuthe, Thomas Stubbs, William Thorpe, &c. &c.; which may be found in Leland and the *Biographia Britannica*.

Poetasters abound in every age; but real and great poets, who do honour to their country, and merit a place in its history, are commonly very few. Of such we know of only three at this period, viz. John Gower, Geoffrey Chaucer, and John Barbour.

That John Gower, or rather Sir John Gower, was of an ancient and opulent family, is highly probable; but where that family was seated is not certainly known. He was born about 1320, and having received a learned education, and attained a proper age, he engaged in the study of the law at the Inner Temple, with such diligence, that he became eminent in his profession. His application to these severer studies did not divert him from courting the muses at his leisure hours, and that with so much success, that he became one of the most admired poets of the age in which he flourished. Besides several smaller pieces, he composed three poems of considerable length, in three different languages,

Latin, French, and English. To these poems he gave the three following fanciful and pedantic titles: *Speculum Meditantis*, *Vox Clamantis*, *Confessio Amantis*. *Speculum Meditantis*, written in French, is a moral poem, recommending fidelity and mutual love to married persons, by examples out of various histories. *Vox Clamantis*, written in Latin, is an historical poem or chronicle of the insurrection of the commons in the reign of Richard II. The solemnity of the style, and lowness of the subject of this poem, gives it, in some places, a burlesque appearance. These two poems are still in MS. *Confessio Amantis*, written in English at the desire of Richard II., is a poetical system of morality, illustrated by many amusing tales, happily invented and naturally introduced. This poem has been several times printed. He also left various specimens of his skill in divinity, logic, natural philosophy, and alchymy. He appears to have been fond of writing; and laments, in a very pathetic strain, that, by the failure of his sight in his old age, he was constrained to lay aside his pen. He died in 1402, and was buried in the conventual church of St. Mary Overie, in Southwark, which he had rebuilt chiefly at his own expense. Upon the whole, Sir John Gower was evidently a man of uncommon genius, extensive learning, and amiable manners, one of the fathers of English poetry, and one of the first who wrote with any considerable success in the English language.

Geoffrey Chaucer, the contemporary and intimate friend of Gower, was born in London about 1328; but all attempts to discover the names and ranks of his parents (though they were certainly neither obscure nor indigent) have been unsuccessful. When he had spent some years in prosecuting his studies, first at Cambridge, and afterwards at Oxford, for his further improvement, he visited France, and some other foreign countries; and on his return from his travels, he became a student of law in the Middle Temple. But this study not being agreeable to his taste, he resolved to try his fortune at court, for which he was admirably qualified, being remarkably handsome in his person, elegant in his manners, an universal scholar, and an admired poet. He accordingly obtained the honourable place of page to Edward III. in 1359, when that illustrious prince was in the summit of his prosperity, and the English court in its highest splendour, adorned by the captive kings of France and Scotland. In this station he rendered himself so agreeable to his royal master, that he obtained many substantial marks of his favour, and enjoyed an income of no less than 1000*l.* a-year, equivalent to 12,000*l.* at present. In this flourishing state of his affairs, he married Philippa Rouet, sister to the famous Catharine Lady Swynford, then mistress and afterwards wife of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, the king's third son. By this marriage a connection which he had formed with the duke of Lancaster was much strengthened, and for some time contributed to his promotion, but afterwards involved him in no little trouble, by engaging him in all the political intrigues of that ambitious prince. In particular, the duke of Lancaster having espoused the cause of Wickliff, from political views, and out of hatred to the clergy, our author engaged with warmth, and from principle, in the same cause. In consequence of this, having espoused the party of John Comberton, mayor of London, in 1382, a zealous Wickliffite, and that party having been ruined by the superior power of the court and clergy, Chaucer



with some others, escaped to the continent. Here he lived privately several years, till he had spent his whole estate in supporting himself and his fellow-exiles, which obliged him to return secretly into England. Soon after his return, he was apprehended and put in prison, where, by threats and promises, he was prevailed upon to disclose the secrets of his party, by which he obtained his liberty, but brought upon himself an unsupportable load of calumny. In this deplorable reverse of fortune, our author retired to Woodstock, and gave vent to his melancholy in that plaintive performance, *The Testament of Love*; which begins in this manner: "Alas! Fortune, alas! I that some tyme in delicious houres was wont to enjoy blissful soundes, am now dryve, by unhappy hevinesses, to bewaile my sondrie yvels in tene." When under this cloud, in 1391, he composed another of his prose works, entitled, "*The Conclusions of the Astrolabe*, for the use of his second son Lewis;" a work which discovers an extensive knowledge in astronomy, with an admirable faculty of communicating that knowledge to a child only ten years of age. A few years after this, our author's affairs began to take a more favourable turn. His ancient friend and patron, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (now become his brother-in-law, by his marriage with Lady Swynford), having, after a great variety of adventures, recovered his influence at the court of England, procured him several grants from the crown, which enabled him to spend the last years of his life in ease and plenty, at his seat of Dunnington castle, near Newbury. On the accession of Henry IV., the son of his late brother and patron the duke of Lancaster, he found it necessary to make a journey to London, where he died, October 25, 1400, in the seventy-third year of his age. Whoever reads the works of Chaucer with attention will be surprised at the variety and extent of his learning, as well as charmed with the fertility of his invention, the sweetness of his numbers (for the times in which he lived), and all the other marks of a great and cultivated genius. The writer of his life prefixed to Mr. Urry's edition of his works, has given him the following character, and produced sufficient evidence that he deserved it: "In one word, he was a great scholar, a pleasant wit, a candid critic, a sociable companion, a steadfast friend, a grave philosopher, a temperate economist, and a pious christian."

John Barber, or Barbour, an eminent divine, historian, and poet, was born in the city of Aberdeen, about 1330. Having received a learned education, he entered into holy orders, and was promoted by King David II. to the archdeaconry of Aberdeen, in 1356. His love of learning was so strong, that he continued to prosecute his studies after his promotion. With this view he prevailed upon his own sovereign, King David Bruce, with whom he was in great favour, to apply to Edward III. for permission to study at Oxford, which was granted in the following terms: "Edward, &c. Know ye, that we have taken under our protection (at the request of David de Bruce) John Barber, archdeacon of Aberdeen, with three scholars in his company, in coming into our kingdom of England, in order to study in the university of Oxford, and perform his scholastic exercises, and in remaining there, and in returning into his own country of Scotland; and we hereby grant him our safe conduct, which is to continue in force for one year. Witness the king at Westminster, in 1357, Au-

gust 13." The archdeacon was not only famous for his extensive knowledge in the philosophy and divinity of those times, but still more admired for his admirable genius for English poetry, in which he composed a history of the life and glorious actions of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, at the desire of King David Bruce, his son, who granted him a considerable pension for his encouragement, which he generously bestowed on an hospital at Aberdeen. While he was engaged in this work, he obtained permission and safe conduct from Edward III. in 1365, to travel through England into France, with six horsemen, his attendants. He finished his history of the heroic Robert Bruce in 1373, a work not only remarkable for a copious circumstantial detail of the exploits of that illustrious prince, and his brave companions in arms, Randolph earl of Moray, and the Lord James Douglas, but also for the beauty of its style, which is not inferior to that of his contemporary, Chaucer. The time and circumstances of his death are not known.

*History of the chief Seminaries of Learning in Great Britain, from 1216 to 1399.*

All the different kinds of schools which were established in Britain in the preceding period, continued to flourish in the present. In general, we are assured by the most learned man of the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon, that there had never been so great an appearance of learning, and so general an application to study, in so many different faculties, as in his time, when schools were erected in every city, town, burgh, and castle.

A very great and advantageous change in the state of the two universities of England took place in the present period, and merits our attention. In former times the teachers and scholars lodged and studied in private houses or halls, which they rented from the citizens. This was attended with many inconveniences, and gave occasion to frequent quarrels between the scholars and citizens, about the rents of houses. Various methods were employed to prevent these quarrels, which disturbed the peace and even threatened the destruction of the universities. In particular, Henry III., in 1231, appointed two respectable citizens, and two masters of arts, to be chosen annually, and invested with authority to determine all disputes between the citizens and scholars, about the rents of houses. But this, and all other methods for preserving peace between the townsmen and scholars, while this occasion of contention continued, proved ineffectual. At length, some generous persons (determined to deliver the members of the universities from their too great dependence on the townsmen) purchased or built large houses, and admitted both teachers and scholars to reside in them, without paying any rent. These munificent friends of learning soon discovered, that some ingenious scholars admitted into their houses were but ill provided with the means of rewarding their teachers, purchasing books, and procuring other necessities; which induced them and others to enlarge their charity, and to endow those houses with lands, tenements, and revenues, for the maintenance of a certain number of studious men and youth. By these steps the building and endowing colleges became the prevailing taste of the rich and generous in this period, as building and endowing monasteries had been in some former periods. In consequence of this prevailing taste, several noble halls and colleges were erected and endowed, in both the universities of England, chiefly between

the middle of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth century.

In Oxford the following colleges were founded in this period, viz. University college, Baliol college, Merton college, Exeter college, Oriel college, Queen's college, and New college; of each of which it is proper to give a very brief account.

If University hall or college was founded and endowed by Alfred the Great, that foundation was overturned, and those endowments were dissipated, long before the beginning of this period. William, archdeacon of Durham, who bequeathed three hundred and ten marks to the university, and died in 1249, may be esteemed the founder of the present college, as some tenements on which it was built, and with which it was endowed, were purchased with that money. This society, when it was first formed, about 1280, was very small, consisting only of four masters of arts; but it gradually increased, both in numbers and revenues, by the successive donations of many generous benefactors.

John Baliol, father of the unfortunate Prince John, king of Scotland, formed and made some progress in the design of founding Baliol college, about 1268; and that design was perfected by his widow the lady Dervogilla, from whom her son John Baliol derived his title to the crown of Scotland.

Walter Merton, bishop of Rochester, founded a college for twenty scholars, and three priests, at Maldon in Surrey, in 1264, and about four years after, he removed that society to Oxford, where he had provided a place for their reception, which has ever since that time been denominated Merton college.

Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, began, about 1315, to execute a design which he had formed of founding a hall or college in Oxford; and in a few years, with the assistance of Peter de Skelton, a clergyman, he accomplished that design. The name of this foundation was at first Stapleton hall; but it was afterwards changed to Exeter college, by a bull of Pope Innocent VII.

Oriel college was founded by Edward II., and his almoner Adam de Brom, about 1324. It was first called "the Hall of the Blessed Virgin of Oxford," and derived its present name from a capital messuage bestowed upon it by Edward II.

Robert Eglesfield, who was descended of an ancient family in the county of Cumberland, and chaplain to Queen Philippa, consort of Edward III. founded Queen's college, in 1340, chiefly for the benefit of his countrymen of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland. He gave his college its name in honour of Queen Philippa, who had very much encouraged and assisted him in that expensive undertaking.

The illustrious William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, soon after his advancement to that see, in 1366, formed the design of founding two colleges, one at Winchester, in which young scholars might receive the first part of their education; and another at Oxford, into which they might be transplanted, and their education perfected. Having spent several years and considerable sums of money in purchasing certain tenements in Oxford, he laid the first stone of his college there for a master and seventy scholars, March 5, 1379, and finished the fabric in 1386. In his foundation-charter he gave it the name of "Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenford;" but in common use it is called "New College." Soon after he had finished this great work, he built and endowed his college at Winchester.

In Cambridge the following halls and colleges were founded in this period, viz. Peter house, Michael college, University hall, King's hall, Clare hall, Pembroke hall, Corpus Christi college, Trinity hall, Gonvil hall.

Hugh Balsham, sub-prior and afterwards bishop of Ely, purchased some tenements in Cambridge, about 1256, in order to found a college; and though he met with various difficulties, which retarded the full execution of that design, he still continued to prosecute it; and at length, about 1282, the building was finished for the reception, and endowed for the maintenance of one master, fourteen fellows, two bible-clerks, and eight poor scholars.

Harvy de Stanton, canon of York and Wells, and chancellor of the exchequer to Edward II., founded and endowed a college about 1324, which he dedicated to St. Michael the archangel. This college was taken into Trinity college, founded by Henry VIII.

University hall or college was founded by Richard Badew, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, in 1326. But this college was hardly ever completed, and of short duration.

King Edward II. for some years maintained thirty-two scholars at the university of Cambridge, and designed to have founded a hall for their residence. This design was executed by his son Edward III., who built a very magnificent hall, and endowed it with lands sufficient for the support of a master and thirty-three scholars. This hall was united to Trinity college by Henry VIII.

University hall having been burnt down, and its founder Richard Badew unable to rebuild it, Elizabeth de Clare, countess of Ulster, one of the sisters and coheiresses of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, raised it from its ruins about 1347, added greatly to its revenues, and gave it the name of "Clare hall," in honour of her family.

Pembroke hall was founded in the same year with Clare hall, by a great but unfortunate lady, Mary de St. Paul, daughter of Guido, earl of St. Paul, in France, married to Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, who was killed in a tournament soon after his marriage, or, according to some, on his wedding-day, June 23, 1323. His afflicted widow survived him forty-two years, spending the greatest part of her large revenues in pious and charitable works. Among others of that kind, she founded a hall in Cambridge for a master and thirty scholars, which she called by her husband's name and her own, "the hall of Valence and Mary;" but its most common appellation is "Pembroke hall."

The united guilds of Corpus Christi and St. Mary, in Cambridge, assisted by the patronage of Henry duke of Lancaster, founded a college, about the same time, which they called "the college of Corpus Christi and St. Mary;" but its most common name has always been "Bennet college," from St. Bennet's church.

William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, founded Trinity hall, in Cambridge, about 1350, for one master, two fellows, and three scholars, who were all to be students of the civil and canon law.

About the same time Edmond Gonvil, parson of Terrington and Rushworth, in Norfolk, founded a college in Cambridge, for a master and twenty scholars, which he called "Gonvil hall," and by his last will left a considerable sum of money to William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, together with directions for perfecting that foundation, which he performed.

Almost all the above halls and colleges in both



universities were comparatively small at first; but by subsequent benefactions they have become the most magnificent and opulent seats of learning in Europe.

The number of scholars in the two universities of England in this period was very great. The famous Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armaugh, in an oration against the mendicant friars which he pronounced before the pope and cardinals, in 1357, made the following declaration:—"Even in my time, there were thirty thousand students in the university of Oxford, and at present there are hardly six thousand: which prodigious diminution is chiefly owing to the mendicant friars, who entice and delude so many of the young scholars to enter into their order, that parents are afraid to send their children to the university." We shall be more disposed to believe the above declaration, when we consider, that besides all the above colleges that have been lately founded, there were at that time between two and three hundred private halls in Oxford, in which scholars resided, and almost an equal number of schools, in which they studied and attended lectures; and when we reflect also, that this university was frequented by great multitudes of scholars from Scotland, Ireland, and the continent, as well as by the youth of England and Wales.

The two universities of England in this period were frequently disturbed, and sometimes almost ruined, by violent quarrels among the scholars or between them and the townsmen. In the quarrels among the scholars, the southern English, Welsh, and Irish, commonly formed one party against the northern English and Scots. Many of the members of both universities, being desirous of avoiding these quarrels, retired to Northampton, in 1260; and, with the permission of Henry III. began to form a new university. But the people of Oxford and Cambridge found means to prevail upon that prince to dissolve this new university, and to command the members of it to return to the places of their former residence, in 1265. About thirty years after, the university of Stamford began, and terminated in the same manner.

So many schools were founded, and so many sciences taught, in London and its environs, in this period, that it was (not very improperly) called a third university. Edward III. built a college at Westminster, for the study of divinity, which was called "St. Stephen's college," and was dissolved by Henry VIII. in 1530. Archbishop Bradwardine founded a theological lecture in St. Paul's church, in London, in 1344; and the famous John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, built and endowed a college for divines in St. Paul's church-yard.

Soon after the chief courts of justice were firmly fixed at Westminster, in conformity to an article in the Great Charter, a famous school or university for the study of the law was gradually established in the neighbourhood of that place, consisting of several colleges, commonly called "Inns of Court, and of Chancery." These inns or colleges were at first few and inconsiderable; but before the end of our present period, they were become more numerous and flourishing. This appears from the following very distinct description of them by Sir John Fortescue, who was a student in one of these inns of court about 1416. "The laws are studied in a public manner and place. It is situated near the king's palace at Westminster, where the courts of law are held and in which law-proceedings are pleaded and argued. Here, in term-time, the stu-

dents of the law attend in great numbers, as it were to public schools, and are there instructed in all sorts of law-learning and in the practice of the courts. The situation of the place where they reside and study is between Westminster and the city of London. There belong to it ten lesser inns, and sometimes more, which are called the "Inns of Chancery;" in each of which there are an hundred students at least, and in some of them a far greater number, though not constantly residing. The students are for the most part young men. Here they study the nature of original and judicial writs, which are the very first principles of the law. After they have made some progress here, and are more advanced in years, they are admitted into the inns of court properly so called. Of these there are four in number. In that which is least frequented, there are about two hundred students. There is both in the inns of court, and in the inns of chancery, a sort of an academy or gymnasium, where the students learn singing and all kinds of music, dancing, and such other accomplishments and diversions as are suitable to persons of their quality, and are usually practised at court. At other times out of term, the greater part apply themselves to the study of the law. Upon festival days, and after the offices of the church are over, they employ themselves in the study of sacred and profane history. I need not be particular in describing the manner and method how the laws are studied in those places. But I may say in general, that it is pleasant, and excellently well adapted for proficiency." It is hardly necessary to observe, that the establishment of this law-university was one very happy consequence of fixing the chief courts of justice at one certain place, and contributed not a little to inspire the young nobility and gentry of England (who generally received some part of their education at the inns of court) with a taste for learning.

HISTORY OF THE ARTS IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE DEATH OF KING JOHN, IN 1216, TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. IN 1399.

*History of the necessary arts in Great Britain from 1216, to 1399.*

THE most common and capital operations in agriculture, architecture, and other necessary arts, are performed in the same manner, through many succeeding ages, in every country into which they have been introduced. It is necessary therefore, in a work of this nature, to give a description of these permanent operations in every period, which would occasion many tedious and disgusting repetitions. For this reason it is thought sufficient to give an account only of such new inventions, or considerable alterations, in the several arts in each period, as made their first appearance, and became conspicuous in that period.

It is not to be imagined that very many and great improvements were made in agriculture in the period we are now examining, as the circumstances of the country, and the manners of its inhabitants, were unfavourable to such improvements. The country was almost constantly involved in war, which diverted the attention of the people, and particularly of the nobility, from the improvement of their lands by agriculture. A taste for this art was even esteemed dishonourable in a person of high rank; and Edward II. was bitterly reproached, as well as much despised, for his fondness for agriculture, and ne-

glect of military exercises. The great barons and prelates, who were the chief proprietors of the soil, kept prodigious quantities of land in their own immediate possession, which they cultivated partly by their slaves or villains, and partly by their tenants, who were obliged to neglect their own farms, and labour for their lords whenever they were called. Now, as these slaves and tenants had little or no interest in the success of their labours, it is not to be supposed that they were very anxious about performing them in the best manner. We may form an idea of the quantity of land which some great prelates kept in their own possession, by the following account of the stock upon the lands of the bishopric of Winchester, delivered to bishop Wykeham in 1367, by the executors of his predecessor, viz. 127 draught-horses, 1556 head of black cattle, 3876 wethers, 4777 ewes, 3541 lambs, besides the sum of 1662*l.* 10*s.* equivalent to 20,000*l.* of our money at present, which they paid for the deficiency of that stock.

The frequent and very destructive famines which prevailed in Britain at this period, have been considered as presumptive proofs of the imperfect state of agriculture. Of these we shall mention only two, which seem to have been the most severe. There was so great a famine in 1258, that no fewer than 15,000 persons (as we are told by a writer who lived at St. Alban's at that time) died in London of hunger, besides many thousands who perished for want of food in other places. But that famine which began in 1314, and has already been noticed in the body of the work, continued to rage for three years both in England and Scotland, must have been still more destructive: for in the course of that dearth a quarter of wheat, it is said, was sold for forty shillings, equivalent to thirty pounds of our money at present; though in the former famine, in 1258, it had never exceeded sixteen shillings. On this occasion the parliament of England interposed, and fixed the price of provisions of all kinds by law; but it was soon found that this law prevented the bringing provisions to market, and it was therefore repealed. The king, in a proclamation which he published at this time, prohibiting the making of malt, and brewing of ale, says, "that if this was not prevented immediately, not only the poor, but people of the middle rank, would inevitably perish for want of food." In a word, we learn, from the concurring testimony of several historians who lived in those times, or soon after, that prodigious multitudes of people died of hunger, or of diseases contracted by the use of unwholesome food; and that many were tempted to perpetrate acts of the most unnatural cruelty, to prolong their wretched lives. It may however be observed, that the historians who give an account of those deplorable famines, ascribe them to unfavourable seasons, and not to bad husbandry; and it is also true, that there may be such seasons, as will baffle all the efforts of the most industrious and skilful husbandmen. It must likewise be acknowledged, that at some times in this period, grain of all kinds was very plentiful, and sold at a very low rate. A quarter of wheat, in 1288, was sold in some parts of England for twenty-pence, in others for sixteen-pence, and in others for a shilling.

Though it does not appear that any new operations of great importance in agriculture were introduced in this period, it plainly appears, that all those which had been before in use, as inclosing, fallowing, manuring, &c. were now performed more universally, and with greater dexterity than in for-

mer times. Inclosing was carried on so briskly, that the lands of England were in general inclosed with ditches and hedges, with trees planted in the hedge-rows, before the end of this period. "The feeding lands," says Sir John Fortescue, "are likewise inclosed with hedge-rows and ditches, planted with trees, which protect the flocks and herds from the bleak winds and sultry heats." Summer-fallowing of fields for wheat was practised as much, if not more in England, in the thirteenth century, than it is at present. It was then a kind of rule among farmers to have one-third of their arable lands in fallow. In the law-book called "*Fleta*," which was composed in the reign of Edward I. very particular directions are given as to the most proper times and best manner of ploughing and dressing fallows. The farmer is there directed to plough no deeper in summer than is necessary for destroying the weeds; not to lay on his manure till a little before the last ploughing, which is to be with a deep and narrow furrow. Rules are also given, for changing and chusing seed; for proportioning the quantity of different kinds of seed to be sown on an acre, according to the nature of the soil, and the degree of richness; for collecting and compounding manures, and accommodating them to the grounds on which they are to be laid; for the best seasons for sowing seeds of different kinds on all the variety of soils; and in a word, for performing every operation in husbandry, at the best time, and in the best manner. In the same work, the duties and business of the steward, bailiff, and overseer, of a manor, and of all the other persons concerned in the cultivation of it, are explained at full length; and with so much good sense, that if they were well performed, the manor could not be ill cultivated.

Gardening, one of the most pleasant parts of agriculture, was not neglected in this period. Almost every great castle, and large monastery, had, besides a kitchen garden, a herbary or physic garden, a *pomarium* or orchard: and some of them had also vineyards. The monks of Dunstable were at much expense in 1294, in repairing the walls about the garden, and also the walls about the herbary of the priory; and the herbary mentioned in Chaucer's *Nonne's* priest's tale, appears to have been well-stored with medicinal herbs, shrubs, &c. The orchards of the great barons and prelates, as well as of the richer convents, contained a variety of fruit-trees which are commonly believed to have been brought into Britain at a much later time. The historians of this period commonly conclude the annals of every year with an account of the seasons, and of the abundance or scarcity of corns, fruits, and herbage. Matthew Paris, in the conclusion of his history of 1257, observes, that the seasons had been unfavourable, which had produced a famine, of which many of the common people died. "That apples were scarce, pears still scarcer; but that cherries, plums, figs, and all kinds of fruits included in shells, were almost quite destroyed."

The historians of this period sometimes mention vine-dressers and vineyards. The prior of Dunstable paid into the exchequer, a sum of money for an amercement which had been incurred by Stephen and Peter his vine-dressers, in 1220. Ralph, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, caused vines to be planted in a field at Nordhome, in 1320, which (as we are told by the historian of that monastery, who had often seen them) did him great honour, and proved very profitable to the society. It is hardly credible, that these historians could be guilty of so



gross an abuse of words, as to call a common garden *vinitor*, and a common orchard of apple-trees *rimca*. An act of parliament that was made in 1423, for regulating the capacity or measure of tuns, pipes, tertians, and hogsheads of wine, was framed to comprehend those for wines made at home, as well as for wines imported. "It is ordained and established, that no man, after the end of twelve months from the feast of Easter next comming, shall bring into the realm of England, from what country soever it be, nor make within the same realm, a tun of wine, except it contain of the English measure two hundred and sixty-two gallons, &c. upon pain of forfeiture of the same wine." This seems to indicate, that the wines made in England were considerable for their quantity, and that they were of the same kind with foreign wines, though probably of an inferior quality.

It is a curious circumstance, that not only treatises composed at this time for the instruction of farmers and their servants, down to the swineherd, were written in Latin: but even the accounts of the expenses and profits of farms and dairies were kept in that language. The Latin of these accounts, it must be confessed, was not perfectly classical; as will appear from the following short specimen: "*Et pro uno seedcod empto iii d. Et pro uno cart-sadel unto colero cum uno pari tractum emptis xiv d. Et pro factura de draugere iii d. Et pro uno dongecart empto xiv d. Et pro sarrationne et dolatione unius cartbody vid.*"

As the sacred, civil, and military architecture of this period was nearly in the same style with that which was introduced towards the end of the preceding period, and which has been already described, it will not be necessary to dwell long on that subject in this place.

Building churches and monasteries being still believed to be one of the most effectual means of obtaining the pardon of sin and the favour of heaven, prodigious numbers of both were built in Britain, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the reign of Henry III. alone, no fewer than one hundred and fifty-seven abbeys, priories, and other religious houses, were founded in England. Many of the cathedral and conventual churches were very large, lofty, and magnificent fabrics; which were raised at a very great expense of labour, time, and money. Of this a careful inspection of the cathedrals of York, Salisbury, Litchfield, Worcester, Gloucester, Ely, Winchester, and several others, which were built in this period, will afford the most satisfactory proof; and at the same time will give the clearest ideas of the style of sacred architecture which then prevailed. This style was what is commonly called the lighter Gothic, with some variations. In the thirteenth century the fashionable pillars in churches were of Purbic marble, very slender and round, encompassed with marble snatts a little detached, having each a capital adorned with foliage, which joining, formed one elegant capital for the whole pillar. The windows were long and narrow, with pointed arches and painted glass, which was introduced about that time, or at least became more common. In this century also they began to delight in lofty steeples, with spires and pinnacles. In the fourteenth century, the pillars consisted of an assemblage of snatts not detached, but united, forming one solid and elegant column: the windows, especially those in the east and west ends, were greatly enlarged, divided into several lights, by stone-mullions, running into ramifications above

and forming numerous compartments in various fanciful shapes. Those windows, filled with stained glass of the most lively colours, representing kings, saints, and martyrs, and their histories, made a most solemn and glorious appearance. There were several other variations, especially in the taste of the carvings and other ornaments, which are too minute for general history.

The opulence of the clergy, and zeal of the laity, furnished ample funds for building so great a number of magnificent churches, monasteries, and religious houses, that it was with great difficulty workmen could be procured to execute those pious works. The popes, for very obvious reasons, favoured the erection and endowment of churches and convents; and granted many indulgences by their bulls, to the society of masons in order to increase their numbers. These indulgences produced their full effect in those superstitious times; and that society became very numerous, and raised a prodigious multitude of magnificent churches about this time in several countries: "For," as we are told by one who was well acquainted with their history and constitution, "the Italians, with some Greek refugees, and with them French, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity of architects, procuring papal bulls for their encouragement and particular privileges; they styled themselves Free-masons, and ranged from one nation to another, as they found churches to be built (for very many in those ages were every where in building, through piety or emulation); their government was regular; and where they fixed, near the building in hand, they made a camp of huts. A surveyor governed in chief; every tenth man was called a warden, and overlooked each nine. The gentlemen in the neighbourhood, either out of charity or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriages. Those who have seen the accounts in records of the charge of the fabrics of some of our cathedrals, near four hundred years old, cannot but have a great esteem for their economy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty structures."

The great barons and prelates of England still continued to reside in castles, which served them at once for dwelling and defence. The general plan of these castles has been described in the last appendix; and that plan was for the most part followed in the present period. The chief towers generally called "the keeps," of several of these castles, have lately been examined with great attention; from whence it appears, that they were contrived with wonderful art to answer the following purposes, which they had in view in their construction: 1. To render the entrance or gate at once magnificent and impregnable. 2. To secure the garrison, and to enable them to annoy the besiegers. 3. To delude the besiegers to attack the strongest parts, by giving them an appearance of weakness. 4. To put their prisoners, provisions, and implements of war, out of the reach of danger. 5. To convey the engines of war to any place of the castle with ease and expedition. 6. To communicate intelligence in a moment to any part of the building. 7. To supply the garrison with water. 8. To convey away the smoke and filth. 9. To provide a commodious and safe habitation for the lord of the castle and his family. As a specimen of their contrivances that which they employed to secure a constant supply of water to every apartment is given. The tower was divided within into two equal parts, by a thick partition-wall of masonry, from the bottom to

the top. The well for supplying the garrison with water was under the foundation of this partition-wall; and the pipe of it was carried up in the middle of the wall to the leads of the castle, where the pulley for drawing the water was fixed. The people on each floor had access to the pipe of the well, for furnishing themselves with water, by a small arched opening in the partition-wall. From the ground floor to the water, little square cavities were cut in the sides of the pipe, at proper distances, by which a person might descend to cleanse the well. It seems to be impossible to invent a more effectual method than this to prevent the garrison from being deprived of the necessary article of water; and it may be truly said, that the contrivances to answer their other purposes were no less artful and ingenious. It must, however, be confessed, that the great barons and prelates of this period sacrificed their convenience to their security; which seems to have been their chief concern in the construction of their castles; the apartments of which were commonly gloomy, the bed-chambers few and small, the passages narrow and intricate, and the stairs steep and dark.

The arts of refining and working metals are so useful in themselves, and so necessary to the practice of other arts, that they merit some attention in every period. The keen pursuit of the philosopher's stone, in which many ingenious men were at this time engaged, contributed not a little to make them better acquainted with the nature and composition of metals, and with the arts of compounding, melting, and refining them. With the arts of tempering and polishing steel, and thereof fabricating defensive armour and offensive arms, they were well acquainted. Of copper they not only made many useful utensils, but even statues. The sum of 400*l.* was paid in 1395, to Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, citizens of London, and coppersmiths, for two statues, one of the king, and another of the queen, made of copper, and gilt, with crowns on their heads, their right hands joined, and holding sceptres in their left hands. Statues of brass were still more common in churches, and on monuments. The goldsmiths and jewellers were very numerous, and some of them excelled in their profession. The goldsmiths of London represented to Edward III. in 1341, that many of their workmen had lost their sight by the heat of fire and the fumes of quicksilver; and that several others had become paralytic, infirm and weak, by performing other parts of their work; and upon this representation, and their petition, that prince granted them leave to found and endow an hospital for the reception of those who had lost their sight, or health, in their service. This seems to indicate, that workmen of that kind, at that time, in London, were very numerous. That some of them excelled in their profession, appears from the testimony of contemporary writers, and records, and from their descriptions of many beautiful pieces of gold and silver plate. Alad de Walsingham, a monk of Ely in the thirteenth century, and several others, are celebrated for their superior skill in the goldsmith's art; and it is impossible to peruse the description of the gold and silver plate and jewels taken from Piers Gaveston, the unfortunate favourite of Edward II. by the earls of Lancaster and Warwick, without admiring both the quantity and workmanship. Some pieces of the silver plate in that collection are said to have been worth four times the quantity of silver which they contained. At the triumphant entry of Richard II. with his

good Queen Anne, into London, in 1392, the citizens, besides many other gifts, presented a crown of gold to the king, and another to the queen, both of great value at the fountain in Cheapside; and when the procession had advanced a little further, they presented a table of gold, with a representation of the Trinity upon it, worth 800*l.*, equivalent to 8000*l.* or 10,000*l.* of our money, to the king; and another table of gold, with a figure of St. Anne upon it, of equal value, to the queen. There is the fullest evidence, that England was very rich in gold and silver plate in this period; for besides the immense masses of those precious metals in the cathedral, conventual, and other churches, made into images, altar-tables, vessels and utensils of various kinds, some of the nobles had greater quantities of plate than we could imagine. When the palace of the Savoy, belonging to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was burnt, with all its rich furniture, in the great insurrection in 1381, the keeper of the duke's wardrobe declared, upon oath, that the silver, the silver-gilt, and gold plate, in that palace, would have loaded five carts. The arts of gilding works made of other metals with gold, and of embossing and enchasing gold and silver plate, were well known in this period. Gilt plate and gilt statues are frequently mentioned by our ancient historians: and we may be certain, that the figures representing the Trinity and St. Anne upon the two tables of gold, presented by the citizens of London to Richard II. and his queen, were embossed or enchased. Nor was the still more delicate art of enamelling plate and jewels unknown in the times we are now considering. It appears, from the descriptive catalogue published by Mr. Rymer, that besides jewels there were several pieces of enamelled plate in the collection of Piers Gaveston.

The arts of cutting and setting precious stones in crowns, rings, and other ornaments, though they are rather ornamental than necessary, may not improperly be introduced in this place, as they are so nearly connected with the metallic arts. They were far from being unknown in Britain in this period; for it is not credible that all the jewels (which appear to have been very numerous and valuable) in the possession of our kings, nobles, and prelates, at this time, were of foreign workmanship. Though Henry III. was one of the most indigent princes that ever filled the throne of England, he had many curious and valuable jewels, which he was sometimes obliged to pawn. Among the jewels which he gave in pawn to the king of France, in 1261, for five thousand marks, and relieved in 1272, there were no fewer than 324 gold rings, set with precious stones of various kinds.

It is not known to whom we are indebted for the invention of the ingenious and useful art of making clocks of metal for measuring time and striking the hours. The first clock we hear of in Britain was placed in the old clock-tower opposite to the gate of Westminster-hall, and is said to have been purchased with part of a fine of 800 marks imposed upon Randolf de Hengham, chief justice of the king's bench, in 1288. Soon after this (in 1292) another clock, which cost 30*l.*, equivalent to 400*l.* of our money at present, was set up in the cathedral of Canterbury. The most ancient clocks were probably imported, or made by a foreign artist. For about seventy years after this, Edward III. invited three foreign clock-makers, viz. John Uninam, William Uninam, and John Lutuyt of Delft, to come into England, and granted them his royal protection



to exercise their trade of clock-making in any part of his kingdom without molestation. The design of this protection certainly was, to increase the number of these artists in his dominions, that their works might be more easily obtained. By these means, clocks were not uncommon in England, especially in cathedral and conventual churches, before the end of the fourteenth century. Chaucer compares the crowing of a cock to a church organ for sweetness, and to a church-clock for exactness as to time:—

His voice was merier than the merie organ,  
On masse dayes that in the churches gon,  
Well sikerer was his crowing in his lege,  
Than is a clock, or abbaye horologe.

Clocks were not only numerous, but the art of making them was brought to a considerable degree of perfection in England, before the end of this period. This appears from the following description of an astronomical clock made by Richard de Wallingford, abbot of St. Alban's, in the reign of Richard II. Leland, who seems to have seen and examined this famous clock, having told us that Richard de Wallingford was the greatest mathematician, astronomer, and mechanic of his age, proceeds in this manner:—"After he was chosen abbot, his ardent love of learning, and intense application to study, did not in the least abate. On the contrary, being now possessed of wealth and leisure, he resolved to leave a lasting monument of his ingenuity, art, and learning. With this view, he fabricated, at a great expense of money, thought, and labour, a most wonderful clock, which represents the revolutions of the sun and moon, the fixed stars, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, besides an almost infinite number of other lines and figures. When he had finished this astonishing piece of mechanism, to which, in my opinion, there is nothing in Europe comparable, he composed a book of directions for managing and keeping it in order, that it might not be ruined by the ignorance of the monks."

Watches were also made, or at least used in Britain, not long after the beginning of the fourteenth century. A watch of that date was at Bruce-castle in Fifeshire. This very curious piece of antiquity is thus described by a learned and honourable gentleman, who examined it with attention:—"The outer case is of silver, raised, in rather a handsome pattern, over a ground of blue enamel; and I think I can distinguish a cypher of R. B. at each corner of the encaused work. On the dial-plate is written "Robertus B. Rex Scottorum;" and over it is a convex transparent horn, instead of the glasses which we use at present. This very singular watch is not of a larger size than those which are now in common use."

The people of Flanders and the Netherlands had long been the chief manufacturers of woollen cloth in Europe, and had thereby acquired immense wealth, which naturally excited the envy and emulation of other nations. The English in particular, having great quantities of most excellent wool, by degrees became sensible of the great advantages with which the manufacturing of it at home would be attended; and from time to time encouraged that manufactory. But Prince Edward III. made the most vigorous and successful efforts to that purpose. In the fifth year of his reign, in 1331, John Kempe, a famous woollen manufacturer of Flanders, came into England with his workmen and apprentices, and was most graciously received by Edward; who

took him under his immediate protection, and published a proclamation, promising the like protection and favour to all foreign weavers and fullers who would come and settle in England. In consequence of that invitation, no fewer than seventy families of Walloons came and settled in England the same year; and these were followed by many others in the succeeding years of that reign.

The parliament of England seconded the prudent and patriotic views of that prince, by making several statutes for the encouragement of the woollen manufactory, in 1337. By one of these statutes, the exportation of wool, either by foreigners or denizens, is made felony, until the king and his council shall order it otherwise; by another it is enacted, that no foreign cloths shall be imported into the king's dominions under the penalty of the forfeiture of the cloths, and the importer to be punished at the king's will; by a third, none were to wear any foreign cloths except the royal family; and by a fourth, cloth-workers of all countries were invited to come into the king's dominions, by promises of protection and encouragement. Though these laws were premature, and could not be executed in their full extent at that time, they had a great effect, and contributed very much to the establishment of the woollen manufactory in England.

The people in general, and the weavers in particular, did not immediately perceive the salutary tendency of these measures of their king and parliament. On the contrary, they were much offended to see such crowds of foreign weavers settling in all the principal towns of England, and thriving by their skill and industry. In London those hated foreigners were so cruelly insulted, that their lives were continually in danger. To put a stop to those outrages, which threatened the disappointment of his designs, Edward issued a mandate to the mayor and sheriffs of London, in 1344, to apprehend every person who gave any disturbance to the foreign cloth weavers, to commit them to the prison of Newgate, and send him an account of their names, that they might be punished.

By these and the like means, that wise prince established the manufactory of woollen cloths of many different kinds in England, in so effectual a manner, that before the end of his reign it was in a very flourishing state. This appears from a curious paper published by Mr. Rymer, in the seventh volume of his *Fœdera*, containing a grant from Richard II. in 1382, to Cosmo Gentilis, the collector of the pope's revenues in England, to export a great many pieces of different kinds of cloths of various colours, without paying any duty. The first article in that grant consists of six pieces of tapestry of a green ground, powdered with roses, which the king sent as a present to the pope. If this was the manufactory of England, which is very probable, it affords sufficient evidence that the weaving art, and the other arts connected with it, had then attained a considerable degree of perfection.

Though the cruel and destructive art of war was never more necessary, nor more practised in Britain than in the present period, few improvements of importance were made in that art, in the course of the thirteenth century. The armies were constituted, commanded, and armed in the same manner as in the former period, which has been already described.

The engines employed in battering the walls of towns and castles acted with great force, and some of them were of an enormous size. Those used by

Edward I. at the siege of Stirling castle, in 1303, threw stones of three hundred pounds weight. One of these stones was thrown with so much force (if we may believe Matthew of Westminster), that it passed through both the outward walls of the castle. When Edward III. invaded Brittany, in 1342, he carried his engines with him from the Tower of London to Sandwich, with an intention to transport them to the continent, but, not being able to procure a sufficient quantity of shipping to transport both his troops and engines, he left these last behind him, and gave a commission to John de Wynewyk and William de Hurtle to press as many ships in all the ports of the kingdom as would be necessary to carry back the engines to the Tower. This is a sufficient proof that those instruments of destruction were of a great size, as well as very numerous. This ancient artillery continued to be used in sieges a considerable time, some of them two centuries after the invention of gunpowder and cannon.

Greek fire continued also to be employed in war, long after the introduction of fire-arms, particularly in the attack and defence of strong places. When an English army, commanded by the martial bishop of Norwich, besieged Ypres, in 1383, the garrison, it is said, defended themselves so well with stones, arrows, lances, Greek fire, and certain engines called "guns," that they obliged the English to raise the siege with such precipitation, that they left behind them their great guns, which were of inestimable value. A part of that army was soon after besieged in the town of Burbough, by the French, who threw such quantities of Greek fire into it, that they burnt a third part of the town, which obliged the English to capitulate.

The cross-bow was considered as so destructive an instrument, that the use of it amongst christians against one another was prohibited by a canon of the second council of Lateran, in 1139, and by a bull of Pope Innocent III. in the beginning of the thirteenth century, which for a time had their effect. But by degrees these prohibitions were disregarded, the cross-bow was resumed, and continued in use during the whole of this period. It was a very destructive instrument, throwing arrows or quarrels to a great distance. These quarrels were larger than other arrows, some of them were made of brass, and pointed with steel.

It may seem surprising, that the invention of gunpowder made so little alteration in the art of war for so long a time. This was owing to several causes. The art of making gunpowder was long very imperfect, and known to few; and the art of making instruments proper for applying it to the purposes of war was still more imperfect. In consequence of this, both gunpowder and fire-arms were long very scarce and very dear. We cannot suppose that the cannon which the English left behind them when they raised the siege of Ypres in 1383 were either very large or very numerous; and yet we are told, by a contemporary historian, that their value was inestimable. The same historian relates, that an English fleet, in 1386, took two French ships with very valuable cargoes; and a quantity of gunpowder was found in one of them which was of greater value than all the other commodities. Besides this, the warriors of those times were in possession of very powerful instruments of destruction, with the management of which they were well acquainted; and therefore we may presume that they were not very forward in adopting new ones of so different a nature.

But though the invention of gunpowder and fire-arms did not produce immediately any very remarkable change in military matters, yet, by slow degrees and in length of time, it brought about an almost total alteration in the art of war; and therefore it may be proper to pay some attention to the progress of this great revolution.

That the ingredients of gunpowder, and the art of making it, were known to our ingenious countryman, Roger Bacon, is undeniable. But that humane philosopher, dreading the consequences of communicating this discovery to the world, transposed the letters of the Latin words which signify charcoal, which made the whole obscure. By this means he rendered it difficult to discover this dangerous secret by the perusal of his works, and at the same time secured to himself the honour of having known it, if it should be discovered by any other person. This accordingly happened not long after Bacon's death; for, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, one Barthold Schwartz, a German monk and chymist, accidentally discovered gunpowder as he was pounding saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal in a mortar, for some other purpose.

It is difficult to discover the exact time when gunpowder and fire-arms were first employed in war by the British nations. If we may give credit to John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, in his metrical life of King Robert Bruce, Edward III. had cannon (which that author calls "crakys of war") in his first campaign against the Scots in 1327. On that occasion, he acquaints us, the Scots observed two great novelties in the English army, which he thus describes:

Two novelties that day they saw,  
That forthin Scotland had been nane.  
Timbers for helmes was the ane,  
That they thought then of great beantie,  
And also wonder for to see  
The other crakys were of war,  
That they before heard never air.

It is probable that the archdeacon received this anecdote from some of his countrymen who had been in the Scotch army, and heard these crakys of war, as he wrote his book only about forty years after that time. It seems to have been several years after this, when the Scots first made use of cannon, which it is probable they received from France; for a fleet consisting of five large ships, loaded with men and arms, arrived in Scotland from France in 1339, which encouraged the Scots to attempt the recovery of those strong places which the English still possessed in Scotland. With the assistance of these auxiliaries they took Perth, and then besieged the castle of Stirling; and, being informed that an army was ready to march from England to its relief, they battered the place with cannon and other engines, and compelled the garrison to capitulate. That fire-arms were used in France at that time, and before it, appears from the following article in the accounts of the treasurer of war, in 1338: "To Henry de Faumichan, for gunpowder and other things necessary for the cannon at the siege of Puui Guillaume." Edward III. is said to have had cannon in his army at the famous battle of Cressy, and still more famous siege of Calais, in 1346. By degrees the use of cannon became more and more common, so that in a few years the consternation that was at first produced by their explosion was very much abated. This we learn from the illustrious Petrarch, in his dialogues on the remedies of good and bad fortune, which were written in 1358. In one of these dialogues between G



and R. is the following remarkable passage:—  
 "G. I have cross-bows, and other machines of war. R. I am surprised that you have not also some of those instruments which discharge balls of metal with the most tremendous noise and flashes of fire. These destructive plagues were a few years ago very rare, and were viewed with the greatest astonishment and admiration; but now (1358) they are become as common and familiar as any other kind of arms. So quick and ingenious are the minds of men in learning the most pernicious arts!"

Cannon, or as they were called, *bombards*, were the most ancient fire arms. The first cannon were very clumsy and ill contrived, wider at the mouth than at the chamber, and so like a mortar, that it is probable the idea of them was suggested by that in which Schwartz pounded his materials when he discovered gunpowder. This capital error in the art of making cannon was soon corrected; but others still remained. They were all made of iron, without any mixture of other metals; some of them were too long, and others of them were too short. In a word, the art of making cannon was still very imperfect long after the conclusion of this period.

Both gunpowder and cannon were made in England in the fourteenth century. This appears from a commission given to Thomas Norwich by Richard II., 1378, to buy two great and two small cannon in London, or any other place, and also to buy certain quantities of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, for making gunpowder. From the same commission, as well as from other evidences, it appears, that cannon-balls were at first frequently made of stone; for the same person is therein commanded to purchase six hundred balls of stone for cannon and for other engines.

Besides great guns, which are still named cannon, a smaller kind of fire-arms, called hand-cannon, came into use in this period. They were so small and light, that one of them was carried by two men, and fired from a rest fixed in the ground. The four hundred cannon, or the greatest part of them, with which an English army besieged St. Malo in 1378, must have been of this kind.

It was a happy circumstance, that in those turbulent times avarice gave some check to cruelty, and many persons who might have been killed in battle were saved and taken prisoners, for the sake of their ransoms. These ransoms were commonly as great as the captives were capable of paying; and many prisoners were obliged to sacrifice their fortunes to regain their freedom. To say nothing of the ransoms of the kings of France and Scotland, Bertrand du Guescline, constable of France, who was taken by the English in 1368, paid no less than one hundred thousand franks of gold before he could obtain his liberty. By this means war became a very gainful trade to those who were so fortunate as to take many or wealthy prisoners. The famous Sir Walter Manny, who acquired so much fame and wealth by war in the reign of Edward III., gained no less than 8000*l.* (containing as much silver as 24,000*l.*, and equal in value to 100,000*l.* of our money at present) by the prisoners he had taken in one campaign, in 1340. Prisoners of war were so much the property of their captors, that they sometimes sold them, and sometimes left them in legacies to their friends; and when they did not dispose of them, they descended to their heirs. But to prevent dangerous prisoners from being too easily set at liberty, the king had a power to demand them from their captors, on paying a competent sum for

their ransom, or to command their captors not to ransom them without a royal license.

*History of the fine and pleasing arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music, in Britain, from 1216 to 1399.*

Several things contributed to promote the cultivation of the fine arts in the present period. In particular, the manner of building and furnishing churches, the forms of public worship, the opulence of the clergy, and the splendor and munificence of the greater barons. These things furnished constant employment, and ample rewards, to the professors of the pleasing arts, and rendered a genius for sculpture, painting, poetry, and music, equally honourable and profitable to the possessor.

Many cathedral, conventual, and other churches, were built in Britain in this period, which were in general magnificent structures, ornamented on the outside with statues of all dimensions, and with various figures of angels, saints, popes, prelates, and monks, in basso and alto relievo. The statues and sculptures that were executed in France, have been better preserved than those of Britain; and plates with descriptions of many of them, have been published by Father Montfaucon; who declares, That the sculptors of the thirteenth century greatly excelled their predecessors in several respects. Besides those which had been defaced by time and the injuries of the weather, many of the statues and sculptures which ornamented the churches of this island were demolished by violence at the reformation, or in the civil wars of the last century; but those few which still remain confirm the truth of Father Montfaucon's declaration.

That superstitious veneration which was universally paid to crucifixes, and to the images of the Virgin Mary, the apostles and other saints, furnished another branch of business to the statuary of this period; and they were excited, by the most ample rewards, to exert their skill to give those objects of the people's devotion a graceful and venerable appearance. Several of the clergy, and particularly of the monks, applied to the pious work (as it was then esteemed) of making images for their churches, and were prompted by their religious zeal, and by the prospect of obtaining both wealth and honour, to render them as attractive as possible. Walter de Colecester, sacrist of the abbey of St. Alban's, is celebrated by Matthew Paris, his contemporary, and a monk of the same abbey, as an admirable statuary; and several of his works are described as exquisitely beautiful.

The shrines of saints, with the tombs of princes, prelates, barons, knights, and their ladies, afforded further employment to the statuary and sculptors of this period; as they were generally adorned with statues, and some of them with a great number of figures. Some of these works were probably executed by foreign artists; as, particularly, the shrine of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster abbey, by Peter Cavallini, a Roman sculptor. But, upon the whole, we have sufficient evidence, that this art was cultivated with care and success in Britain in this period. For, besides all the statues that were used at home, we find that some, probably considerable numbers, were exported. Richard II. granted a license to Cosmo Gentilis, the pope's collector in England, in 1382, to export three great images, one of the Virgin Mary, one of St. Peter, and one of St. Paul, and a small image of the Holy Trinity, without paying any duty or custom for them, which

seems to indicate, that certain customs were then payable on the exportation of such commodities.

When sculpture was cultivated, the kindred art of painting could not be neglected. On the contrary, there are the clearest proofs remaining that painting was cultivated with still greater diligence and success than the other. In particular, painting appears to have flourished very much in the former part of this period, under the patronage of Henry III. who was a most munificent encourager of the fine arts. This prince kept several painters constantly in his service, as William, a monk of Westminster; William, the Florentine; and Mr. Walter, who was probably Walter de Colecester, so much celebrated by Matthew Paris for his admirable genius for painting as well as sculpture. By these and others many historical paintings were executed for him, in his several palaces of Winchester, Woodstock, Westminster, the Tower of London, Nottingham, Northampton, Windsor, Guildford, and Kenilworth. One chamber in the palace of Winchester was painted green, with stars of gold and the whole history of the Old and New Testament. In one room in the palace of Westminster, and another in the Tower of London, the history of the expedition of Richard I. into the Holy Land was painted. These pictures (to say nothing of many others) must have contained a prodigious number of figures; but with what degree of taste they were executed, we have no opportunity of judging. Though some succeeding princes were not so fond of paintings as Henry III. had been, the art still continued to flourish; and we have reason to believe, that good painters wanted neither patrons nor employment. The coronation, wars, marriages, and funeral of Edward I. were painted on the walls of the great hall in the episcopal palace of Litchfield in 1312, by order of Bishop Langton. Friar Simeon saw a still more curious picture in the palace of Westminster, in 1322; which he thus describes:—"Near this monastery (of Westminster) stands the most famous royal palace of England, in which is that celebrated chamber, on whose walls all the warlike histories of the whole bible are painted with inexpressible skill, and explained by a regular and complete series of texts, beautifully written in French over each battle, to the no small admiration of the beholder, and display of royal magnificence." So intent was Edward III. upon finishing the paintings in the chapel of his palace of Westminster, that he granted a precept, dated 18th March 1350, to Hugh de St. Aban, master of his painters, commanding him to impress all the painters in the counties of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, to conduct them to Westminster, and keep them in his service as long as it should be necessary. Apprehending that all these would not be sufficient, he granted similar precepts, of the same date, to John Athelard and Benedict Nightingale, to impress all the painters in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Warwick, Leicester, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, and Suffolk, for the same purpose. These paintings must have been numerous and extensive, whatever they were in other respects. The truth is, that the principal churches and chapels were not only furnished with portraits of the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and other saints, but the walls of some of them were almost covered with scriptural, moral, and allegorical paintings. So great and general was the taste for paintings in this period, that not only the walls of churches and palaces, but even of the bed-chambers of private gentlemen, were orna-

mented with historical pictures. When Chaucer was roused from his famous poetical dream, he expresses his surprise, that all the gay objects which he had seen in his sleep were vanished, and he saw nothing

Save on the wals old portraiture  
Of horsmen, hawkes, and houndis,  
And hart dirc all full of wounds.

This is, no doubt, a real description of the poet's bed-chamber. In the same poem, Chaucer describes a church-window:

— richly ypeint  
With lives of many divers seint.

And it is well known, that painting on glass was much practised, and brought to great perfection, in the present period. The same may be said of another species of painting, which was called "illuminating." This appears from many manuscripts beautifully illuminated, which are still preserved in the British Museum, and other libraries, from which several prints have been published. Nay, so fashionable was the study of painting in this period, that it was esteemed as necessary a part of the education of a young gentleman as writing. It is said of the squire or knight's son, in Chaucer,

— Songis he could make, and well indite,  
Just, and eke daunce, and well portraie and write."

Though Britain abounded as much with poets in the thirteenth century as in any other period, and though they were as much admired by their contemporaries as those who flourished in better times, few or none of them are now famous: their names are generally forgotten, and their works neglected. This obscurity is perhaps as much owing to the antiquated nature of the languages in which they wrote, and the subjects of which they sung, as to the mediocrity of their poetical talents.

To say nothing of sonnets, and other short pieces of poetry, the larger poems composed in the thirteenth century were either metrical chronicles or metrical romances; and the languages in which they were written were either Latin, French, or English; which last is now become almost as unintelligible to a mere English reader as the two former.

Robert of Gloucester, who was a monk in the abbey of Gloucester, and flourished in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. composed a rhyming chronicle of England, from Brutus to Edward I., which has been printed. Our author, it must be confessed, was but an indifferent poet, and a worse historian, having adopted the most absurd fables of Geoffry of Monmouth, and clothed them in tiresome inanimate rhymes. His language was the vulgar English of the age in which he wrote, is full of Saxonisms, and hardly intelligible to a modern reader. The fabulous account he gives of the transportation of Stonehenge from Africa to Ireland by giants, and from thence to Salisbury plain by Merlin, will give a sufficient idea of his work.

Peter Langtoft, a canon in the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, flourished at the same time with Robert of Gloucester, and wrote a chronicle of England from Cadwallar to Edward I. in French verse. This work was properly a continuation of an ancient metrical chronicle in the same language: the first part of which had been composed by one Eustace in 1155, and the second part by Robert Wace, canon of Bayeux, in 1160. All the three parts of this chronicle were translated into English verse by Robert Manning, who is better known by the name of Robert de Brunne, from the



monastery of Bruune in Lincolnshire, in which he was a monk. He acquaints us with the motives which engaged him to make this translation, in his prologue to the first and second parts, and of the contents of these two parts. We give the following as a specimen of the style and versification of the period:

Lordyngs that be now here  
If ye wille listene and lere,  
All the story of Inglande.  
As Robert Manning wrytten it fand,  
And on Englysch has it schewed,  
Nor for the lered, but for the lewed.  
And it is wisdom forto wytten,  
The state of the land, and hef it wrytten,  
What manere of folk first it wan,  
And of what kynde it first began.

In his prologue to the third part, he gives the following short account of its original author:

Pers of Langtoft, a chaion  
Schaven in the house of Bridlyngton  
On Frankis style his storie he wrote  
Of Inglis kings, &c.

Metrical romances, celebrating the wonderful achievements of valiant and gentle knights, were the most frequent and favourite productions of the poets of the thirteenth century. Incredible numbers of these romances were composed in France and England in that period; and hearing them repeated or sung to the music of the harp, in the halls of palaces and castles, formed one of the chief amusements of persons of the highest rank. The following versified catalogue of a few of these romances will give the reader some idea of their numbers, their heroes, and their subjects:

Many Romayns men make a ew,  
Of good knyghtes and of trewe:  
Of their dedes men make romauns,  
Both in England and in Fraunce.  
Of Roland and of Olyvere,  
And of everie Dosepere,  
Of Alysaundre and Charlemayne,  
Of Kyng Arthur and of Gawayne:  
How they were knyghtes good and courtoys,  
Of Turpen and of Oger and Danois;  
Of Troye men rede in ryme,  
Of Hector and of Achilles,  
What folk they slew in pres, &c.

There are great numbers of these catalogues existing, and the romances themselves must have been very numerous.

The authors of these metrical romances paid very little regard to the true history of their respective heroes, but boldly contradicted the best known and best established facts. Nothing, for example, was better known in the thirteenth century when the romance of our king Richard I. was written, than that he was the son of Henry II. and his queen Eleanor of Provence. But this plain story did not please the author of that romance, who opens his poem with the following fiction: Henry II. having, by the advice of his barons, resolved to marry, sends messengers into many different countries, with directions that—

The fayrest woman that was on lyve  
They should bring him to wyve.

These messengers accidentally met at sea with a most splendid ship,

Such ne saw they never none,  
For it was so gay begone,  
Every nayle with gold y grave,  
Of pure gold was his skafve,  
Her mast was of ivory,  
Of samyte her sayle wytyl,  
Her ropes all of whyte sylk,  
As whyte as ever was any mylke.  
The schelleshyp was without  
With clothes of gold spread about,  
And her left and her wyndance  
All of gold depaynted was.

Being courteously invited, they went on board this ship, where they found Carbarryne King of Antioch, with his daughter, a princess of the most exquisite beauty, attended by a numerous retinue of knights and ladies. The king received them with great politeness, and entertained them with a sumptuous feast.

The messengers then acquainted the king and the princess with the commission they had received from their master the king of England, and assured them,—

Further we will seek nought,  
To my lorde she shall be brought.

Accordingly the king and princess, with ambassadors, arrived safe in England, the princess is married to Henry II. and the lion-hearted Richard, the hero of the romance, is said to have been the fruit of that marriage.

The metrical romances of this period contain descriptions of the marvellous adventures of their knightly heroes, and abound with the Gothic machinery of dragons, giants, elves, fairies, enchanters, &c. But for a more perfect account of these curious performances than can be admitted into general history, the reader is referred to Percy's reliques of ancient English poetry and Warton's history of poetry.

The same taste for composing, reading, and hearing metrical romances of chivalry prevailed in the fourteenth century, especially in the reign of Edward III. About the middle of that century an attempt was made to revive, or at least to imitate the alliterative poetry of the Anglo-Saxons without rhyme, by Robert Langlande, a secular priest of Oxford, in his famous allegorical satire against persons of all professions, called "The Vision of Pierce Plowman." This poem abounds with the boldest personifications, the keenest satire, the most expressive descriptions, and the most singular versification; of all which the four following lines, representing the manner in which hunger treated a reduced spendthrift, must suffice as a specimen:

Hunger in hast tho' hint Wastour by the maw,  
And wrong him so by the wombe that doth his eies watered  
He buffeted the Briton about the chekes  
That he looked lyke a lanterne al his life after.

About 1390, another poem in the same kind of versification was composed, called "Pierce the Plowman's Crede." It is a severe satire on the four orders of mendicant friars; and the following description of an overgrown Franciscan will give the reader some idea of the language and spirit of the poem:

I fond in a freture a frere on a benche,  
A great choll and a grym, growen as a tonne,  
With a face so fat, as a full bledde  
Blowen breiful of breth, and as a bagge honged  
On bothen his chekes and his chyn, with a choll lollode  
So great a gossey, growen all of grece,  
That all wagged his flesh as a quick mire

John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, was one of the best poets of Scotland, or even of Britain, in the fourteenth century. This appears from his metrical history of the life and acts of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, which is a work of considerable merit, for the time in which it is composed. Though the archdeacon styled his poem "a Romans," he did not mean that it consisted of fabulous adventures; for he intended it to be (as for the most part it is) a true history of the great actions of this hero. The versification of this poem is, in general, correct and smooth, and the sentiments just and noble. Of this it would be easy to produce many proofs, of which the following high encomium on freedom or liberty is one:

Ah freedom is a noble thing!  
 Freedom makes man to have liking;  
 Freedom all solace to man gives;  
 He lives at ease that freely lives.  
 A noble heart may have none ease,  
 Nor nought else that may it please,  
 If freedom fail.

It is remarkable, that though Barbour was a Scotsman, his language is rather more intelligible to a modern English reader than that of any other poet of the fourteenth century, his great contemporary Chaucer himself not excepted.

At the same time flourished the two princes of ancient English poets, the great improvers of their art, and polishers of the language of their country, Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower, whose personal histories have been briefly related. The shortest analysis that could be given of the numerous works of these venerable bards would exceed our limits. The following characters of their poetical talents, is taken from Warton's History of English Poetry.

"Enough has been said to prove, that in elevation and elegance, in harmony and perspicuity of versification, Chaucer surpasses his predecessors in an infinite proportion: that his genius was universal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety; that his merit was not less in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety, than in moving the passions, and in representing the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and sublimity. In a word that he appeared with all the lustre and dignity of a true poet, in an age which compelled him to struggle with a barbarous language and a national want of taste, and when to write verses at all was considered as a singular qualification."

"If Chaucer had not existed, the compositions of John Gower, the next poet in succession, would alone have been sufficient to rescue the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. from the imputation of barbarism. His education was liberal and un-circumscribed, his course of reading extensive, and he tempered his severer studies with a knowledge of life. By a critical cultivation of his native language, he endeavoured to reform its irregularities, and to establish an English style."

Music and poetry were more intimately united in the middle ages than they are at present. Many musicians were then poets, and sung verses composed by themselves, and by others of their profession, to the music of their instruments. The secular musicians of those times were called "minstrels," and formed a very numerous fraternity, possessing many privileges, and were held in high estimation by persons of all ranks. They wore a particular dress, and certain ornaments, which procured them immediate access to the greatest personages on the most solemn occasions. Of this the following remarkable and well-attested fact is a sufficient proof: "When Edward II. this year (1316) solemnized the feast of Pentecost, and sat at table in royal state in the great hall of Westminster, attended by the peers of the realm, a certain woman, dressed in the habit of a minstrel, riding on a great horse, trapped in the minstrel fashion, entered the hall, and going round the several tables, acting the part of a minstrel, at length mounted the steps to the royal table, on which she deposited a letter. Having done this, she turned her horse, and, saluting all the company, she departed." When the letter was read, it was found to contain some severe animadversions on the king's conduct, at which he was much offended. The door-keepers being called, and threatened for admitting such a woman, readily

replied, "That it never was the custom of the king's palace to deny admission to minstrels, especially on such high solemnities and feast days."

Though the harp still continued to be the chief and favourite instrument of the minstrels of this period, there is sufficient evidence that they knew and used a variety of other instruments, of which it may not be improper to name a few. The band of musicians in the household of Edward III. consisted of five trumpeters, one cyteler, five pipers, one tabret, one maber, two clarions, one fidler, three wayghts or hautbois. In a work translated into English in this period, the following musical instruments are mentioned and described; the organ, the harp, the sawtry, the lyre, the cymbal, the sistum, the trumpet, the flute, the pipe and tabor, the nakyre, the drum, and several others. Chaucer's Miller was also a musician, but on a more vulgar instrument:

A bagge pipe well couth he blow and sowne,  
 And therewithal brought he us out of towne.

In one of Gower's poems are the following verses:

He taught hir, till she was certyne,  
 Of harpe, cittle, and of riote,  
 With many a tewne and many a note

Matthew Paris mentions musical instruments called "burdons," which were used in the church of Saint Alban's, and probably in other churches.

To what degree of perfection music was brought by the secular minstrels of this period we have no opportunity of judging. But we have the fullest proof that it was exceedingly pleasing to those who heard it, and that it gave great delight to the greatest and best men of those times.

Sacred music was now cultivated with as much ardour by the clergy as secular music by the minstrels. The church had been long gradually departing from the primitive simplicity of the christian worship; and after the introduction of organs into churches, so many of the public offices were sung to the sound of those noble instruments, that the study of music became absolutely necessary to all who were to bear any part in the celebration of these offices. Music was accordingly taught and studied in all colleges, cathedrals, convents, and capital churches; and we are assured, by Sir John Hawkins, "that the clergy, in the thirteenth century, were by much the most able proficient, as well in instrumental as vocal music." The truth is, that in great churches some of the public offices were considered as musical exhibitions, and frequented for amusement rather than devotion. To the various diversions of hunting, hawking, feasting, dancing, which a king proposed to his daughter to divert her melancholy, he added:

Then shall he go to your even song,  
 With tenours and trebles among,  
 Your quire nor organ songe shall want,  
 With country note and discaunt,  
 The other halfe on orgayus playing,  
 With yong chylidren ful fayn synyng.

Chaucer's Nun and Friar were both proficient in music. Of the former it is said,

Full wele she song tho the service divine.

Of the latter, that

— certainly he had a merry note,  
 Wele couth he sing and playin on a rote

Though Guido Aretini's invention of the musical scale was very valuable, it was imperfect, because it had no marks to denote the different lengths of sounds. This imperfection was afterwards removed



by the invention of several characters for representing the various lengths of musical sounds; and music delineated by these characters was called "cantus mensurabilis," or "measured song." But when or by whom this great improvement of delineating measured music was invented is not agreed. Some ascribing it to Franco, a scholastic of Liege, who flourished towards the end of the eleventh century; and others to John de Muris, an Englishman, who flourished in the former part of the fourteenth century. This invention, whoever was the author of it, was much admired; many treatises were written to explain, improve, and recommend it, and it certainly contributed not a little to facilitate the communication and preservation of musical knowledge.

### SECTION III.

HISTORY OF COMMERCE, COIN, AND SHIPPING, IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE DEATH OF KING JOHN, IN 1216, TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. IN 1399.

Commerce has contributed so much to the prosperity, power, and wealth of Britain, that it is well intitled to a distinct and conspicuous place in its history, in every period; and as coin and shipping are the two chief instruments of commerce, they also merit a share of our attention.

The internal commerce of Britain, and particularly of England, was unquestionably an object of great importance in the present period; but it does not seem to have been managed to the best advantage. It is a sufficient proof of this, that the prices of the most valuable and necessary commodities were sometimes more than double in some places to what they were in others. We are informed for example, by a contemporary author, that in 1258, a quarter of wheat cost twenty shillings at Northampton, when it was sold for eight shillings and sixpence at Dunstable. This could not have happened if intelligence had been regular, and commercial intercourse safe and easy.

Internal trade was loaded, at this time, with a great number of petty taxes and impositions, as lastage, paiage, passage, pontage, stallage, and several others, whose names are now become unintelligible. These taxes, or some of them, were demanded by every town, and by every baron through whose boundaries traders conveyed their goods, and at every place where they exposed them to sale.

The greatest part of the domestic trade of Britain was still transacted in fairs. Some of these fairs were of long duration, frequented by prodigious multitudes of people from different countries, and stored with commodities of all kinds. The fair of St. Giles's hill, near Winchester, continued sixteen days, during which all trade was prohibited in Winchester, Southampton, and every place within seven miles of the fair, which very much resembled a great city, laid out into many regular streets of tents, inhabited by foreign and domestic traders, who exposed their various commodities to sale. To such fairs our kings, prelates, and great barons, sent their agents, and others went in person, to purchase jewels, plate, cloths, furniture, liquors, spices, horses, cattle, corn, and provisions of various kinds, and, in a word, every thing they needed, men and women not excepted. For we are assured, by a contemporary writer of undoubted credit, that men and women slaves were publicly sold in the fairs of England, like beasts, near the conclusion of the fourteenth century.

The foreign trade of England, in the present pe-

riod, was more considerable and extensive than is commonly imagined. This will appear from the following very brief review of the several countries with which the people of England had commercial intercourse, and of the several sovereigns and states with whom the kings of England had commercial treaties. For we may reasonably conclude, that a trade existed when it was regulated by treaties.

Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Florence, and some other free cities of Italy, were at this time the chief seats of trade in Europe: and their merchants furnished their own and other countries with the silks, spices, and other precious commodities of the East. There is the fullest evidence, that all these cities now carried on a trade with England, and some of them with Scotland. In a letter from Edward II., dated July 18, 1316, to the state of Genoa, he expostulates with them for permitting some of their citizens to carry on a trade with the traitor Robert Bruce, and the people of Scotland; and in order to engage them to prohibit that trade, he puts them in mind that a very ancient and friendly intercourse had subsisted between their states and his ancestors, kings of England, and their subjects. Several commercial treaties were concluded between Edward III. and the Genoese. The trade between the Venetians and the English was very considerable, as appears from the following incident. A quarrel happened between the crews of five Venetian ships lying at Southampton, and the people of that town, in which several persons were killed on both sides. Edward II. dreading that this might deter the Venetians from continuing their trade with England, published a manifesto granting a full pardon to all who had been concerned in that unhappy quarrel, and promising the most perfect security and friendly treatment to all Venetian merchants and mariners who should come into England. The commercial compacts of the kings of England with the cities of Florence and Pisa, are sufficient evidences of their mutual trade.

The merchants of Majorca, Sicily, and some other islands in the Mediterranean, carried on a trade with England in this period. Edward II., who was a zealous promoter of the commerce of his subjects, made a commercial compact with the ambassadors of Sancho, king of Majorca, in 1323.

Several commercial treaties were concluded between the kings of England and Spain at this time; and, like many other treaties, were often violated by mutual captures of each other's ships; which produced mutual complaints and new treaties. In a truce for twenty years, concluded between Edward III. and the plenipotentiaries of the sea-ports of Castile and Biscay, in 1351, the most perfect reciprocal freedom of trade is stipulated; after which the following remarkable article is added:—"Item the fishers in the dominions of the king of Castile and Biscay may come and fish freely and safely in the harbours of England, and in all other places where they please, paying the king his duties and customs."

A trade was carried on between England and Portugal in this period, to their mutual satisfaction and advantage, till it was interrupted by the Spaniards or Castilians; who carrying Portuguese colours, took and plundered several English ships; and the English, before they discovered the deceit, made reprisals upon the Portuguese. But as soon as the imposition was found out, the two nations returned to their former friendly intercourse; which was confirmed by a commercial treaty in 1308.

The commerce of the English with their own French provinces of Aquitaine and Gascony was very considerable. Of this it is a sufficient proof, that two hundred merchant-ships from England were sometimes seen together in the harbour of Bourdeaux.

The trade between the English and the subjects of the crown of France, in this period, was not so great as might have been expected. This was owing to various causes. Several of the maritime provinces of France were then in the possession of other powers; the French were not much addicted to commerce; and the most violent national animosities, and very frequent wars, subsisted between the two nations. Their commercial intercourse was so inconsiderable, that it was never mentioned in any of their treaties. Even in the famous treaty of peace at Bretigny, in 1360, commonly called "the great peace," there is not so much as one word concerning trade. There is, however, sufficient evidence that some trade was carried on between the French and English in times of peace. Philip, king of France, complained in very strong terms, to Edward II., in 1314, that the merchants of England had desisted from frequenting the fairs in his dominions with their wool and other goods, to the great loss of his subjects; and intreated him to persuade, and, if necessary, to compel them to frequent the fairs of France as formerly, promising them all possible security and encouragement.

Edward II. at the request of John, duke of Brabant, Lorrain, and Luxemburg, granted permission to the subjects of that duke to come with their ships and merchandises into England, promising them protection and several privileges.

A commercial treaty was concluded between Edward II. and John, duke of Bretagne, in 1317, in which each of the contracting parties promised protection and friendly treatment to the mercantile subjects of the other in his dominions.

Certain disputes having arisen between the merchants of England and those of Holland, Zealand, and Friseland, William, earl of Holland, Zealand, and Hanneau, and lord of Friseland, sent ambassadors into England, in 1310, to settle these disputes: which was accomplished; and a balance of 1300*l.* sterling was found due to two companies of English merchants. To pay this balance, the earl of Holland agreed that certain additional duties should be laid on the ships and goods of his subjects in the ports of England.

As the great manufacturing towns of Flanders were the chief markets for English wool, the commercial intercourse between England and these towns was very great, and regulated by many treaties. So necessary was this intercourse esteemed by both parties, that it was not interrupted even when the earls of Flanders were at war with the kings of England.

The trade between Germany and England, in this period, was chiefly carried on by the famous confederacy of the Hanse towns. This confederacy was very ancient, and by degrees became the greatest maritime power, as well as the greatest trading company, in Europe. Before the end of this period the Hanseatic confederacy consisted of sixty-four cities and great towns, chiefly situated on the shores of the Baltic, and the banks of the Rhine, and of other navigable rivers in Germany. The trade which these Hanse towns carried on with England was very great, and was chiefly managed by a company settled in London, and invested with various privileges, called the German merchants of the steel-yard.

The knights of the Teutonic order, or, as they called themselves, the Dutch knights of St Mary's hospital at Jerusalem, having made themselves masters of Prussia, Conradus de Zolner, grand master of that order, concluded a commercial treaty with Richard II. in 1388, in which protection and friendly treatment were stipulated to the English merchants in Prussia, and to the Prussian merchants in England.

Before the conclusion of this period Sweden began to make some figure as a commercial state; and the great Queen Margare published, in 1396, some very wise regulations for the encouragement of trade, in which she promised protection to all foreign merchants, particularly to the English, from whose king, Richard II., she had borrowed three large ships of war.

The Danes, who had long been the scourge and terror of Europe by their piratical expeditions, had now lost much of their ferocity, as well as of their power, and traded peaceably with other nations, and particularly with the English. This appears by a letter from Eric king of Denmark to Edward I., in 1304, promising protection and friendly treatment to all English merchants in his dominions.

The most ancient commercial treaty between a king of England and a foreign prince, with which we are acquainted, is that which was concluded between Henry III. in his minority, in 1217, and Haquin king of Norway. In this treaty, which is plain and short, agreeable to the manners of the times, these princes promise protection and favour to each other's mercantile subjects in their dominions. The commercial intercourse between England and Norway was secured and regulated by a more prolix and particular treaty in 1269.

The people of Blackney in Lincolnshire carried on a considerable trade with Iceland in this period, and on that account they obtained a charter from Edward III., exempting their sailors and ships from being impressed into the king's service.

Though the trade of Ireland appears to have been regulated by English laws in the thirteenth century, these laws did not confine it within narrow limits. By the statute of Ireland in 1288, the king's officers are prohibited from seizing foreign ships, or molesting foreign merchants, in the ports of Ireland; and the Irish are permitted to export their corn, provisions, and other commodities, to any country not at enmity or war with the king of England. The freedom of trade to and from Ireland was still further secured by another law in 1660.

That violent national animosity with which the minds of the two British nations began to be inflamed against each other, soon after the unfortunate death of Alexander III. of Scotland, put an end to the friendly intercourse which had subsisted between them in the first part of this period. From that time these two nations hardly exchanged any thing but wounds and injuries for one hundred years. During this hostile period, the three Edwards, successively kings of England, not only prohibited their own subjects from trading with the Scots, but laboured with the greatest earnestness to prevent other nations, and particularly the Flemings, from having any commerce with that people. This they could not accomplish; for the earls of Flanders constantly replied to all the solicitations of these powerful princes, "That they did not encourage the Scots in their wars, but that they could not exclude them from their ports without doing a great injury to their own subjects, who depended



very much upon trade." This animosity between the two British nations proved as permanent as it was violent; and no less than a whole century elapsed before any regular commercial intercourse between them was renewed. This was at length restored by the following article, in a truce concluded between the wardens of the marches of both kingdoms, in 1386: "Item, it is acordit, that special assurance sal be on the see, fra the water of Spie to the water of Tamey, for all merchands of bath the roialms, and here godes."

The many laws that were made in England, in our present period, for the regulation and encouragement of trade, afford a further proof of its importance. Some of these laws were wise and useful, while others of them were imprudent and hurtful. Of the last sort was the law of Edward II. in 1314, fixing a certain price upon provisions of all kinds, which produced a famine, and was soon repealed. Of the same kind was the law of Edward III. in 1363, commanding that no English merchant should deal in any more than one commodity, either by himself or by a factor, in any manner; and requiring every merchant to fix upon the commodity in which he resolved to trade, before the term of Candlemas. This absurd law was also soon repealed. It may be questioned whether the remarkable laws and constitutions of the staple which required all English traders to bring the chief commodities of the kingdom, viz. wool, wool-fells, leather, lead, and tin, to certain towns, to be there sold to merchant-strangers, were prudent or useful; but there can be no doubt, that the law which made it felony for any Englishman, Welshman, or Irishman, to export any of those commodities, was most imprudent and pernicious. Of the same pernicious tendency was that law of Edward III., made in 1368, prohibiting English merchants to import wine from Gascony, or to buy such wine till it was landed in England by a merchant stranger. Nothing could be more unjust and cruel, as well as impolitic, than the famous law or custom which long prevailed in England, of making every foreign merchant responsible for the debts, and even punishable for the crimes, of any of his countrymen who had become insolvent, or had escaped from justice. This most unreasonable law was abrogated by the seventeenth chapter of the statute of the staple in 1353. Several other laws were made in this period, which discover the anxiety of the kings and parliaments of England about commerce, and, at the same time, betray their ignorance of its real interests.

But some commercial laws were also made of a more salutary tendency. Such were the several laws for the uniformity of weights and measures. But unhappily these laws were not so well contrived and executed as to prove effectual. The navigation acts made in the reign of Richard II., commanding English merchants to freight none but English ships, were evidently wise, and probably contributed to the increase both of ships and sailors in England in succeeding periods. But it seems to have been the chief object of the English legislature in this period to invite foreign merchants to import the commodities of their respective countries, and export those of England. With this view many statutes were made, promising protection and friendly treatment, together with various privileges and immunities, to merchants of all countries, upon condition that they paid their debts and the king's customs punctually.

These laws for the encouragement of foreign merchants were not ineffectual. Great numbers of foreign traders, then called "merchant-strangers," were settled in London and other great towns of England, and formed into companies, some of which were a kind of corporations. As these companies of merchant-strangers almost wholly engrossed the foreign trade, and had a considerable share of the internal commerce of England, a few of the chief of them may be mentioned.

The German merchants of the steel-yard in London formed the most ancient, and for several centuries, the most flourishing of these foreign companies. This company had been settled in England even before the conquest; but it became much more powerful and opulent in the course of this period, than it had been before. This was owing to its connection with the famous confederacy of the Hanse towns, and to the additional privileges conferred upon it by all the English monarchs of those times.

The company of the merchants of the staple was formed about the beginning of this period, and in the course of it became very considerable for the number of its members and importance of its transactions. The views with which this company was established, and the privileges with which it was invested, are worthy of our attention, as they discover the ideas that were then entertained of trade. It was established to answer these two ends: 1st, To purchase and collect all that could be spared of the chief commodities of the kingdom, which were these five, wool, wool-fells, leather, lead, and tin, and to convey them to certain towns, which were called "staple-towns," that the king's customs might be collected with ease, and that foreign merchants might know where to find these commodities in sufficient quantities: 2dly, To export these staple wares to foreign countries, and to import returns for them in goods, coin, or bullion. Natives as well as foreigners might be, and were employed in executing the first of these ends; but no natives of England, Ireland, or Wales, could be concerned, directly or indirectly, in exporting any of these staple commodities. The staple towns for England, Wales, and Ireland, appointed by the statute, were, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, Bristol, Caermarthen, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda. Merchants of the staple were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates, and subjected only to the authority of a mayor and constables of the staple, chosen annually in each of these towns, who were to judge in all disputes by the merchant law, and not by the common law. A certain number of correctors were chosen in each staple-town, whose office it was to register all bargains, for which they received a small fee from the parties. There were also six mediators, two Germans, two Lombards, and two Englishmen in every staple-town, who were to determine all disputes referred to them in the presence of the mayor and constables. Many privileges and immunities were conferred by law on this famous company, which formed a kind of distinct commonwealth; and it was made felony to attempt to deprive it of any of these privileges.

Another mercantile society, called "The Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket," flourished in the former part of this period, and was afterwards incorporated with the company of merchant adventurers, which made a great figure for several centuries.

It will be sufficient to name some of the companies

of Italian merchants that were settled in England in this period, for managing the trade of the several cities to which they belonged. Of these the Lombards were the most numerous and opulent; but, becoming odious for their usurious practices, they were sometimes severely treated. The Caursini of Rome have been already mentioned. They seem to have been as great extortioners as the Lombards; for (if we may believe Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian) they sometimes exacted no less than sixty per cent. interest per annum. This, together with their ostentatious display of their riches, drew upon them a very severe prosecution in 1251. We find the society of the Peruchi, and the society of the Scali of Florence, residing in London in the reign of Edward II. The companies of the Friscobaldi of Florence, and of the Ballardi and Reisardi of Lucca, were also settled in England in the same reign. Edward III. acknowledges himself indebted to the company of the Bardi of Florence twelve thousand marks; and grants them a present of two thousand pounds for their good services. These examples are sufficient to prove, that several companies of Italian merchants were settled in England in this period, for managing the trade of the states, cities, and companies, with which they were connected.

The Jews may be reckoned among the strangers settled in England on account of commerce. In the former part of this period they were numerous; and many of them had acquired great sums of money by trade and usury. But their situation was unhappy, being frequently plundered by the sovereign and universally hated by the people. At length the clamour against them for their extortions, for their debasing and diminishing the coin, and for other crimes, became so vehement that they were banished out of England, in 1290.

It was not agreeable to the English to see so great a share of the commerce of their country in the hands of strangers: on the contrary, these strangers were hated and maltreated by them, and their expulsion most earnestly desired. But they found powerful protectors in our kings, prelates, and barons (to whom they were in many respects useful), who made many laws for their security and encouragement. In particular, when the city of London presented a petition to Edward I. in 1289, for the expulsion of all merchant-strangers, that great prince replied, "I am of opinion, that merchant-strangers are useful and beneficial to the great men of the kingdom; and therefore I will not expel them." One of our ancient historians of the best credit expresses his abhorrence of the jealousy of the Londoners, and their cruelty to foreign merchants: of which he gives the following example. A very rich merchant of Genoa presented a petition to Richard II. in 1379, for permission to deposit his goods in the castle of Southampton, promising to bring so great a share of the trade of the East into England, that the price of a pound of pepper would be reduced to fourpence, and the prices of all other spices in the same proportion. But the Londoners (says the historian), enemies to the prosperity of their country, hired assassins, who murdered the merchant in the street. "After this," exclaims he, "what stranger will trust his person among a people so faithless and so cruel? Who will not dread our treachery, and abhor our name?"

Foreign trade was frequently interrupted in this period by the ferocious piratical disposition of the mariners of all nations, who were too apt, when an

opportunity offered, to plunder friends and foes without distinction. We have a lively picture of this, and of its fatal consequences, in the following account of the conduct of the seamen of the Cinque-ports, in 1264, by a contemporary historian. "The mariners of the Cinque-ports, having provided a powerful fleet, scoured the seas, and greatly interrupted trade; seizing every ship they met, and barbarously butchering their crews, whether they were foreigners or their own countrymen: they threw their bodies into the sea, and applied their ships and cargoes to their own use. More cruel than Scylla or Charybdis, they murdered all who brought necessary commodities into their country, without distinction. By this means all kinds of goods, in which England had formerly abounded, became so scarce and dear, that a quantity of wine or wax which had been usually sold for forty shillings, now cost eight or ten marks, or even more; a pound of pepper, which used to be sold for sixpence, was now sold for three shillings; in a word, salt, iron, steel, cloths, and goods of all kinds, became so scarce, that the people suffered much want, and the merchants were reduced to beggary." But these destructive violences were never carried to so high a pitch, but when the affairs of the public were in great confusion, as they were in 1264.

The chief seats of trade in England were the same in this as in the preceding period, with a few additions. The burgesses of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, having obtained the liberty of digging coals in the castle-muir from Henry III. in 1234, and afterwards the property of that muir from Edward III. in 1357, they soon after began to export coals to London and other places, in considerable quantities. Encouraged and enriched by that commerce, the people of Newcastle engaged in foreign trade; and we find a ship of theirs of the burden of two hundred tons, and valued at 400*l.*, equal in weight of silver to 1000*l.* of our money, exclusive of her cargo, was seized in the Baltic, on her voyage to Prussia, in 1394. Though Kingston-upon-Hull was not founded till 1296, it increased so fast, that in less than one century it had become a large, rich, and populous town, engaged in foreign trade. In the treaty between Henry IV. and the Hanse-towns, in 1400, it appears that the mariners of those towns had plundered four ships belonging to Hull, near the coast of Norway, some years before that time.

The exports and imports of England consisted nearly of the same commodities in this as in the preceding period: and therefore need not be here enumerated. We have not met with any direct evidence, that slaves formed an article of exportation from England in the present period. In the annals of the priory of Dunstable, we find the following short entry, in 1283: "This year, in the month of July, we sold our slave William Pyke, and received one mark from the buyer." But for what purpose this unhappy man was purchased, we are not informed. If one mark were the whole of his price, men must have been cheaper than horses, or Pyke must have been a worthless fellow.

That the balance of trade was very greatly in favour of England, in this period, is evident to a demonstration. If this had not been the case, it would have been impossible for a country, without gold or silver mines of any great value, to have supplied those prodigious incessant drains of treasure to the court of Rome, and to foreign ecclesiastics, who possessed many of the best benefices of the kingdom; and those still greater drains occasioned by the fre-



quent and ruinous expeditions of her princes and nobles to the continent ; and by various other means. Henry III. (for example) sent out of the kingdom in a few years, in presents to his foreign favourites, and in prosecuting the vain project of making his second son Prince Edmund king of Sicily, the enormous sum of 950,000 marks, containing as much silver as 1,900,000*l.* and of as much value as 5,000,000*l.* of our money. This account the historian, who was secretary to the king, received from a clergyman of credit who examined all the rolls, and carefully calculated the sums. About two years after (1257), that king's brother, Richard earl of Cornwall, carried out of England at once 700,000*l.* containing rather more silver than 2,000,000*l.* of our money ; all which, together with the annual income of his great estate, for several years, he spent in Germany to no effect, in attempting to support his election to be king of the Romans. The annual revenues of the Italian clergy in England, the greatest part of which was carried out of the kingdom, were found in 1245, to amount to 60,000 marks, or 120,000*l.* of our money. From these few examples we may be convinced that the sums carried out of England in the course of this period were immensely great ; and yet the balance of trade in favour of England supplied these sums, and also gradually enriched the kingdom.

The greatness of this balance seems to have been owing to the following circumstance. The imports into England, in this period, consisted almost wholly of silks, fine cloths, wines, spices, and a few other articles of luxury, which were used only by the royal family, and a small number of rich prelates and great barons : and therefore, though the prices of these commodities were high, the quantity used being trifling, the whole amount was inconsiderable. It appears upon record, that the value of all the goods imported into England in 1354, was no more than 38,970*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* The nominal pound at that time containing only 46*s.* 6*d.* of our money, this sum contained only as much silver as is coined into 90,355*l.* 5*s.* If we suppose that any given quantity of silver would then have purchased five times as much of any commodity as the same quantity will do at present, it will follow, that as many goods of all kinds as were imported into England in 1354, might now be imported for 451,776*l.* 5*s.* a very contemptible sum indeed when compared with the value of our present imports. But, on the other hand, the exports from England consisted of commodities of general use, as wool, wool-fells, leather, lead, tin, corn, butter, cheese, coarse cloths, &c., which were exported in great quantities to several countries, where they found a ready market. Accordingly, it appears from the same record, that in the same year 1254, the value of the four articles of wool, wool-fells, leather, and coarse cloths, exported, amounted to no less than 294,184*l.* containing as much silver as 683,977*l.* and of as great efficacy as 3,419,885*l.* of our money. This alone, set in opposition to the whole imports of that year, yielded a balance in favour of England of 255,214*l.*, containing as much silver as 593,370*l.*, and of as great efficacy as 2,966,850*l.* of our money at present : a very great balance, though we have no account of the lead, tin, corn, and other articles exported.

From the above state of the trade in England in this period it plainly appears, that though it was trifling in comparison to what it is at present ; yet, in proportion to its extent, it was unspeakably more advantageous to the nation. From hence also it is

evident, that the most effectual means which any people can employ for turning the balance of trade in their own favour are these two—to be sparing in the use of imported luxuries, and to be diligent in preparing articles of general utility for exportation.

The most excellent device for the payment of accounts between merchants residing in different countries, by bills of exchange, without the actual transmission of cash, was not unknown in England in the present period. We find Peter Egiblanke, bishop of Hereford, employing this contrivance, in 1255, to a very pernicious purpose. Henry III. had contracted on immense debt to the pope in prosecuting the absurd project of making his son Edmund king of Sicily ; and his holiness, who was much indebted to certain Italian merchants, who had advanced money for carrying on the war, had become importunate for payment. In this extremity the bishop of Hereford suggested to Henry the following curious scheme for the payment of all his debts without money. That the Italian merchants to whom the pope was indebted should draw bills in favour of their creditors in England, on all the rich bishops, abbots, and priors, in that kingdom, for certain large sums of money, alleged to have been lent by them to these prelates for the use of their respective churches : that these bills should all be sent to the pope's legate in England, who should compel the prelates to accept and pay them by threats of ecclesiastical censures. This iniquitous scheme was adopted by the king ; and the bishop was sent to Rome to procure the pope's consent and concurrence. These were easily procured ; the bills, to the amount of 150,540 marks, were drawn and presented : and the prelates, after many remonstrances, were compelled to pay them, by threats of excommunication. The answer of the pope to the bishop, when he had explained his scheme to him, affords a curious specimen of the morality of the infallible head of the church in the thirteenth century : "Go," said his holiness, "my dearest friend and brother, and do what seemeth best to your own industry, which I very much commend." As mercantile transactions increased, the use of bills of exchange became more common ; and a law was made in 1381, encouraging, or rather commanding, the use of them, in making remittances to foreign countries.

Money or coins are of so much use in commerce, that the state of them must be briefly delineated in every period of this work. As none of our writers who flourished in the 13th or 14th century make mention of other money, we may conclude, that coins made of the precious metals were now become the only representatives of all commodities. It is only money of that kind therefore with which we are here concerned.

The coins of both the British kingdoms continued in the same state in which they had been in the former period, during the whole of the thirteenth, and some part of the fourteenth century. Edward III. made a very material alteration in the state of the coin of England in 1346, by commanding 22*s.* 6*d.* to be coined out of the tower pound of silver. By this regulation the weight of the silver penny, which was still the largest real coin, was reduced from 22½ to 20 Troy grains, and the pound to 51*s.* 8*d.* of our money. The same prince made still a greater change in 1351, by coining groats and half groats, the groats weighing 72 Troy grains, and 60 of these groats making a nominal pound sterling, containing only as much silver as 46*s.* 6*d.* of our money. The second diminution of the weight

of the coin is said to have been made by the persuasion of William Edington, bishop of Winchester, and treasurer of England.

The coinage of gold was one of the greatest alterations made by Edward III. in the state of the coin. By the advice of his council, in 1344, January 20, he commanded florins of gold to be coined, and to pass for 6s., half florins for 3s., and quarter florins for 1s. 6d. of the money of that time. But Edward, aiming at too much profit by this coinage, had set too high a value upon these pieces, which prevented their currency. To remedy this, he coined that same year gold nobles, half nobles, and farthing nobles, the noble to pass for 6s. 8d., the half noble 3s. 4d., and the farthing noble for 1s. 8d., which he made known by a proclamation dated 9th July 1344, commanding those coins to be taken in payment at these rates. By another proclamation, dated August 20, the same year, he commanded all the gold of the first coinage to be brought to the mint, and sold for its real value. In the first coinage a pound of gold was rated at 15 pounds of silver, in the second only at 13l. 3s. 6d. This coin was called a noble, either on account of its value and beauty, being the largest and fairest then known, or on account of the honourable occasion on which it was struck, the greatest naval victory over the French, obtained by Edward in person, in 1340; for on that coin Edward appears completely armed in a ship, with a naked sword in his right hand. These nobles, half and quarter nobles, continued to be the chief gold coins of England to the end of this period.

The method of coining money in this period was very simple. The metal was cast from the melting-pot into sheets or long thin bars; these were cut with shears into square pieces of exact weights, according to the species of coin intended: these pieces were formed into a round shape by the hammer, after which those of silver were blanched or made white by boiling; and, last of all, they were stamped or impressed by a hammer, which finished the operation.

It was not so easy a matter, in the times we are now considering, to exchange gold and silver coins for each other as it is at present; and therefore Edward III., and several of his successors, took this office into their own hands, to prevent private extortion, as well as for their own advantage: and they performed it by appointing certain persons, furnished with a competent quantity of gold and silver coins, in London and other towns, to be the only exchangers of money, at the following rate: When these royal exchangers gave silver coins for a parcel of gold nobles, for example, they gave one silver penny less for each noble than its current value; and when they gave gold nobles for silver coins, they took one penny more, or 6s. 9d. for each noble; by which in every transaction they made a profit of one-fifth per cent. The royal exchangers had also the exclusive privilege of giving the current coins of the kingdom in exchange for foreign coins, to accommodate merchant-strangers, and of purchasing light money for the use of the mint. As several laws were made against exporting English coin, the king's exchangers at the several sea-ports furnished merchants and others, who were going beyond seas, with the coins of the countries to which they were going, in exchange for English money, according to a table which hung up in their offices for public inspection. By these various operations they made considerable profits, of which the king had a certain share. The house in which the royal exchanger of

of any town kept his office was called the "Exchange;" from which, it is probable, the public structures where merchants meet for transacting business derive their name.

The crimes of clipping and counterfeiting the current coin of England, and of importing base money of various denominations, as pollards, crokards, mitres, leonies, rosaries, staldings, steepings, and eagles, prevailed very much in the present period, though several severe laws were made against them. The Jews are said to have been remarkably guilty of these pernicious practices; and their guilt must have been very great indeed, if it was equal to their punishment: for no fewer than 280 of them were put to death for these crimes, in one year (1279), in London alone, besides many others in other parts of England. At the same time all the goldsmiths in the kingdom were seized and thrown into prison, on suspicion of being guilty of the same crime.

Though the difference in weight between a real pound of silver and a nominal pound in coin seems to have commenced in both the British kingdoms nearly about the same time, yet that difference soon became considerably greater in Scotland than in England. The following proclamation, issued by Edward III., in 1355, is an unquestionable evidence of both these facts:—"The ancient money of Scotland was, till these times, of the same weight and alloy as our sterling money of England; and therefore did always pass current in England. But because new money of the same form and denomination with the old, but of inferior weight and fineness, has been lately coined in Scotland, and is current in our kingdom, it is necessary to prevent this, which would be a manifest loss to our people. We command, therefore, that proclamation be made, in all cities, towns, &c. That none of our subjects take that new money of Scotland in payment, except for its real value as bullion to be brought to our mint; and that the old money should have the same currency as usual." How much this new money of Scotland differed from English money we are not informed; but it is probable the difference was not very perceptible, since the royal proclamation was necessary to put the people upon their guard against taking it in payment. But the difference increased so fast, that before the end of the century, the coins of Scotland were not above half the value of those of England of the same denomination. This appears from the 12th chapter of the statutes made at Westminster, in 1390:—"The groat of Scotland shall pass only for twopence in England, the half-groat for one penny, the penny for a halfpenny, and the halfpenny for a farthing."

The high premiums that were usually paid for the use of money borrowed must have been a great obstruction to trade in this period. The church of Rome still continued to prohibit lending money on interest, declaring it to be usurious and heretical. Though this could not prevent such transactions, it prevented their being regulated by law; and therefore the rate of interest varied according to the necessities of the borrower, the avarice of the lender, and many other circumstances. It has been already observed, that the Causini, who were agents for the pope in England, sometimes extorted no less than sixty per cent. per annum. For this, it is true, they were excommunicated by Roger bishop of London, in 1235; but they were protected by the pope, who, says the historian, was suspected of being their accomplice; and none, we may presume, who had not so powerful a protector would have dared to be



guilty of such intolerable extortion. In general, therefore, we may be certain that the premium demanded for the use of money was commonly much lower, most probably about twenty per cent. per annum, or under. In the marriage contract of Margaret, daughter of Alexander III., king of Scotland, with Eric, king of Norway, in 1281, it is stipulated, that if any part of the princess's fortune (which was 14,000 marks) was not paid at the terms agreed upon, the king of Norway should be immediately put in possession of estates in Scotland, as a security for the money, and for payment of the interest; and that an estate given him in security for a thousand marks should yield at least one hundred marks of yearly rent, being an interest of ten per cent. per annum. But as this was an amicable transaction between two princes, contracting a near alliance, and the security was a real estate, it is probable that the interest was much lower than the ordinary rate exacted by private money-lenders on personal security. It may be observed, in passing, that the greatness of the portion of this princess is one proof, amongst many others, that the wealth of Scotland bore a much greater proportion to that of England before the death of Alexander III. than ever it did after.

So much has been said in the previous appendix concerning the comparative value of money, and expense of living, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in the present times, that it will not be necessary to say much on these subjects here, as no very remarkable change in these particulars seems to have taken place in the present period. To near the middle of the fourteenth century a nominal pound sterling in coin was a real pound of silver, or about three of our nominal pounds; and the same quantity of silver, as an ounce, or a pound, would have then purchased as many of the necessities of life, as five ounces, or five pounds, will do at present. That the above computation is not far from the truth, might be proved from many facts mentioned by our ancient historians; but the two following, it is hoped, will be thought sufficient. One of these historians, speaking of Sir William de Lisle, the tyrannical sheriff of Northumberland, in 1256, says, "He was rich, having an estate which was reckoned worth 150*l.* a-year." According to the above computation, Sir William was as rich as a gentleman is at present who has a clear estate of 2250*l.* a-year, who may indeed be called rich, though many private gentlemen are much richer. Another historian, who flourished in the fourteenth century, acquaints us, that the ordinary salaries of curates, before the great pestilence in 1348, were four or five marks a-year, equivalent, according to the above supposition, to forty or fifty pounds at present. It is true, indeed, that in the year after the pestilence, curates demanded ten or twelve pounds a-year; but these demands were owing to the great scarcity of clergymen; they were thought exorbitant, and were restrained by law.

Sailors and ships being the great instruments of foreign trade, the prosperity of every commercial country, especially of an island, must depend very much on the multitude and dexterity of its sailors, and the number and goodness of its ships. The English sailors preserved, through the whole of this period, that character of superior skill in navigating their ships, and superior courage in combating their enemies, which they had long possessed, and which they still possess. This is evident from their exploits, and from the testimony of contemporary his-

torians. The victory near Sluys, in 1340, was certainly one of the greatest ever obtained by the English over the French at sea; that victory is said to have been chiefly owing to the superior dexterity of the English sailors in the management of their ships. The monk of Malmsbury, who wrote the history of Edward II., in whose reign he flourished, gives the following character of English sailors, in 1315. "English ships visit every coast; and English sailors excel all others, both in the arts of navigation, and in fighting."

It is difficult, or rather impossible, to discover the exact state of the shipping of England in this period, at this distance of time, though we have some reason to think that it did not increase either in the size or number of ships, if it did not decrease. We learn, from an authentic record, that the largest ship of war in England, in 1346, had only a crew of forty men; and in the fleet of Edward III., at the siege of Calais, in 1346, the complement of each ship, on an average, was only twenty men. Some of the kings of England had very large fleets under their command in this period, which might make us imagine that ships were then very numerous. Edward III., at the above siege, had a fleet of seven hundred English, and thirty-eight foreign ships; and the same prince, when he invaded France in 1359, is said to have had no fewer than eleven hundred ships. But these great fleets consisted of all the ships in all the ports of England, which, on such emergencies, were impressed, together with their crews, into the king's service. It appears, from many of the press-warrants of those times, that the persons to whom the execution of them was committed, had authority not only to seize all ships and vessels, great and small, in the several ports, but all that came in from sea during the continuance of their commission; to cause those that were loaded to be immediately unloaded, though they had not reached their intended port, and to conduct the whole, with all their crews, to a certain place, for the king's service. Besides all this, Edward III. called a kind of naval parliament in 1344, commanding each sea-port to send a certain number of commissioners to London, to give him an exact account of the state of shipping in his kingdom. From this naval parliament, as well as from other evidences, it appears, that Yarmouth abounded more in shipping, at that time, than any other port in England, London perhaps excepted. For London and Yarmouth were required to send each four commissioners, while Bristol, Newcastle, and other great trading towns, were required to send only two, and many others only one. When all these circumstances are considered, it seems not improbable that our kings had sometimes one half at least of all the ships of England in their service; particularly Edward III., when he invaded France in 1359. But the complaints of the commons in parliament on this head afford the clearest proof of the decrease of shipping; and it was to remedy this great evil that the first navigation act was made in 1381, as appears from the preamble. By that act, all English merchants were commanded to freight none but English ships, under the penalty of forfeiting all the goods they embarked in foreign bottoms. But it was soon found that this act could not be executed without interrupting and diminishing the trade of native English merchants, and therefore permission was granted, by another act, in 1382, to freight foreign vessels, when they could not procure English ships.

It is not difficult to discover the causes which prevented the increase, and even occasioned a diminution of the shipping of England in this period. The chief cause of this unquestionably was, the great encouragement given to merchant strangers, who carried on a great part of the trade in foreign bottoms. The frequent seizure of English sailors and ships by government, was also a disadvantage, from which foreigners were exempted by the most solemn stipulations. Upon the whole, the abounding of merchant-strangers was more convenient to our kings (to whom they advanced great sums of money) than beneficial to their subjects; and the violent clamour of the English against them was not so unreasonable as it has been represented by some of the historians of those times.

The sailors of this period enjoyed a great advantage above their predecessors in the use of the mariner's compass, which encouraged them to venture more boldly on the open sea, and to steer a more direct course to their intended port. The principles of that instrument were not quite unknown before this time, and some faint attempts had even been made to apply them to navigation; but a convenient method of doing it was not then discovered. The honour of inventing the mariner's compass has been given to several different persons; but, upon the whole, it seems to be most probable, that the world is indebted for this most useful invention to Flavio de Gioca of Amalphi, who, about 1302, constructed a compass with only eight points, which was afterwards improved at different times and in different countries.

But notwithstanding this advantage, few discoveries of unknown countries were made in this period, either by British or foreign sailors. Nicolas de Lenna, a Carmelite friar, is said to have made five voyages for discovery towards the north pole, in the reign of Edward III., and to have presented a description of the countries which he had discovered to that king: and it is also reported that one Macham, an Englishman, discovered the island of Madeira, in 1344.

But it must be confessed, that the relations we have of these discoveries are very imperfect, and in some particulars not very probable. Pope Clement VI., November 15, 1344, created Lewis of Spain king of the Fortunate Islands, supposed to be the Canaries, after his holiness had preached a sermon to prove that he had the sole right of creating kings and bestowing kingdoms. But so imperfect were the hints which had been received of these islands, that this new monarch was never able to discover in what part of the world his dominions were situated. The Canaries, however, were actually discovered in 1395, by some Spanish and French adventurers; and this seems to have been the furthest point towards the south-west to which any Europeans had proceeded by sea, at the end of the fourteenth century.

#### SECTION IV

HISTORY OF THE MANNERS, VIRTUES, VICES, REMARKABLE CUSTOMS, LANGUAGE, DRESS, DIET, AND DIVERSIONS, OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF KING JOHN IN 1216, TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. IN 1396.

The manners and characters of nations sometimes change very suddenly with their circumstances. Of this we meet with several striking examples in

the history of England in the present period. The national character and manners of the English during the civil wars, and great relaxation of the reins of government in the reign of Henry III. are thus described by a contemporary historian, in 1267: "In these five years past there have been so many battles, both by land and sea, so much slaughter and destruction of the people of England, so many devastations, plunderings, robberies, thefts, sacrileges, perjuries, treacheries, and treasons, that the nation hath lost all sense of distinction between right and wrong, virtue and vice. In a word, such hath been the insignificance of the laws, through the weakness of the king, that every one did whatever seemed good in his own eyes." No part of the national character of the English is more unquestionable than their valour; and yet (if we may believe the best of our ancient historians) they were so much dispirited by their defeat at Bannockburn, in 1314, that they lost all their wonted courage for a season, and degenerated into dastardly poltroons. The consternation of the English on that occasion is painted by one of these historians in the following mournful strain: "O day of vengeance and misfortune, odious accursed day, no longer to be computed in the circle of the year, which stained the glory of the English, spoiled us, and enriched the Scots to the value of two hundred thousand pounds! How many illustrious barons and valiant youths, how many noble horses and beautiful arms, how many precious vestments and golden vessels, were carried off in one cruel day!" "At that time," says another of these historians, "many of the English fled to the Scots, and joined with them in their invasion of Northumberland, plundering towns and castles, desolating the whole country with fire and sword, and carrying away the wretched inhabitants into captivity, with their horses, herds, and flocks, without meeting with any resistance. For the English at that time had so entirely fallen from their ancient valour, that a hundred of them used to fly at the approach of two or three Scotchmen." But this eclipse of the native bravery of the English was not of long duration, and nothing could be more unreasonable, than to form our opinion of the national character of any people from its appearance in a season of anarchy or despair.

Neither would it be safe to form our notions of the national character of the people of England in this period, from the pictures which are drawn of it by some of the monkish historians of those times. The monk of Malmsbury, in particular, who wrote the life of Edward II., paints his countrymen and contemporaries in the blackest colours. "What advantage," says he, "do we reap from all our modern pride and insolence? In our days the lowest poorest wretch, who is not worth a halfpenny, despises his superiors, and is not afraid to return them curse for curse. But this, you say, is owing to their rusticity. Let us see then the behaviour of those who think themselves polite and learned. Where do you meet with more abuse and insolence than at court? There every one, swelling with pride and rancour, scorns to cast a look on his inferiors, disdains his equals, and proudly rivals his superiors. The squire endeavours to outshine the knight, the knight the baron, the baron the earl, the earl the king, in dress and magnificence. Their estates being insufficient to support this extravagance, they have recourse to the most oppressive arts, plundering their neighbours and stripping their dependents almost naked, without sparing even the priests of God. I may be con-



sured for my too great boldness, if I give an ill character of my own countrymen and kindred; but if I may be permitted to speak the truth, the English exceed all other nations in three vices of pride, perjury, and dishonesty. You will find great numbers of this nation in all the countries washed by the Greek sea; and it is commonly reported that they are infamous over all these countries for their deceitful dealings." But we must remember, that this picture was drawn by a peevish monk, in very unhappy times, when faction raged with the greatest fury, both in the court and country.

Nor would it be proper to take the national character of the people of Britain, in this period, from their contemporaries on the continent. The French were enemies to the English; and the Italians of those times affected to consider all other nations as barbarians. Even the illustrious Petrarch, the politest scholar, as well as the greatest poet of the fourteenth century, could not divest himself of this prejudice. "In my youth," says he, "the inhabitants of Britain, whom they call English, were the most cowardly of all the barbarians, inferior even to the vile Scots." Sir John Froissart, famous for his frankness and sincerity, who was well acquainted with the English, does justice to their valour on many occasions; but blames them for their insolent and disgusting behaviour to the people of other nations. "When I was at Bourdeaux, a little before the departure of the Prince of Wales on his expedition into Spain, I observed, that the English were so proud and haughty, that they could not behave to the people of other nations with any appearance of civility. Even the gentlemen of Gascony and Aquitaine, who had lost their estates in fighting for them, could not obtain the smallest place of profit from them, being constantly told that they were unfit for, and unworthy of preferment. By this treatment they lost the love and incurred the hatred of these gentlemen; which they discovered so soon as an opportunity offered. In a word, the king of France gained these gentlemen, and their countries, by his liberality, and condescension, and the English lost them by their haughtiness." This character was written by a Frenchman, not long after the glorious victory of Poitiers; but we need not wonder if the English were rather arrogant. Sir John Froissart's character of the Scots is still more unfavourable. When John de Vienne, admiral of France, conducted a gallant troop of one thousand knights and esquires, the very flower of chivalry, into Scotland, in 1385, to excite and assist the Scots to invade England, the noblemen and gentlemen of that troop complained bitterly of the poverty of the country, and of the rudeness and incivility of the people. "The Scots," says he, "being naturally fierce and unpolished, hated and despised the French, and gave them the most contemptuous names they could invent. For in Scotland there is little or no politeness, the people in general being a kind of savages, envying the riches of others, and tenacious of their own possessions." But it plainly appears, that the Scots at that time did not wish to renew the war with England, in the course of which the country had been almost ruined and depopulated. This made their French auxiliaries very unwelcome guests: and their own insolent rapacious behaviour did the rest. We have even reason to suspect, that there never was any cordial friendship between the Scots and French; and that their common dread of the English was the only cement of their union.

Religion, and the characters of its ministers, have

a considerable influence on the manners of mankind in all ages. Their influence in this period was most pernicious. Nothing could be more corrupt and unfriendly to virtue, than that system of Christianity that then prevailed in Britain, and all the nations of Europe except the lives of the generality of its teachers. It is impossible to read without horror the descriptions given by Petrarch (who was himself a priest) of the prodigality of the papal court in the fourteenth century, while it resided at Avignon. If there be any truth in these descriptions, of which we have no reason to doubt, that city was then the seat of the most base and sensual crimes ever recorded. "You imagine," wrote he in a letter to a friend, "that the city of Avignon is the same now that it was when you resided in it: no; it is very different. It was then, it is true, the worst and vilest place on earth; but it is now become a terrestrial hell, a residence of fiends and devils, a receptacle of all that is most wicked and abominable. What I tell you is not from hearsay, but from my own knowledge and experience. In this city there is no piety, no reverence or fear of God, no faith or charity, nothing that is holy, just, equitable, or humane. Why should I speak of truth, where not only the houses, palaces, courts, churches, and the thrones of popes and cardinals, but the very earth and air seem to teem with lies. A future state, heaven, hell, and judgment, are openly turned into ridicule, as childish fables. Good men have of late been treated with so much contempt and scorn, and there is not one left amongst them to be an object of their laughter." To confirm the truth of these and other reproaches no less severe, Petrarch relates several curious anecdotes of the dissimulation and debauchery of the cardinals, which are too indelicate to be admitted into this work.

When the manners of popes, cardinals, court-prelates, and their retainers, were so corrupted, those of the clergy in general could not be pure; especially when (as we are assured by the same author) the more wicked any one was, the more certain he was of preferment in the church. Accordingly we find, that the vices of the clergy were the chief subjects of satire in every country in Europe, and particularly in England, in the fourteenth century. The poems of Chaucer abound in such satire; and the *Plowman's Tale* is one continued invective against the clergy for their gross ignorance, cruelty, covetousness, simony, vanity, pride, ambition, drunkenness, gluttony, lechery, and other vices.

The dissoluteness of the clergy in our present period was so conspicuous, that it gave rise to an opinion that universally prevailed, that the times of Antichrist were drawing near. "It is believed by all wise men," says Roger Bacon, "that the times of Antichrist are near at hand." Dr. Nicholas Orem, a celebrated preacher, in a sermon before the pope and cardinals, in 1364, proposed to prove that Antichrist would shortly make his appearance in the world, from the following signs of his approach:—1. The Christian church was become more corrupt than that of the Jews was in the days of Christ, of which he gave many examples. 2. The great inequality in the state of the Christian clergy, "of whom some be so high, that they exceed all princes of the earth; some again be so base, that they are under all rascals." 3. The pride of prelates, which doth excite indignation in many, and respect only in few. 4. The intolerable tyranny of the governors of the church, which was so violent that it could not be lasting. 5. The promoting the most vicious and

unworthy in the church, and neglecting the most worthy. 6. The princes and rulers of the church hate them that tell them truth, and refuse to hear their faults. Even Petrarch, though he does not seem to have had any scruples about the doctrines and ceremonies of the church, was so much shocked at the gross corruption of manners in the papal court, that he applied the predictions in the book of the Revelations of St. John, relating to Babylon, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth, to the city of Avignon, which was then the residence of the pope and cardinals. At length Dr. John Wickliffe in England, and several eminent persons in other parts of Europe, openly affirmed, that the pope was Antichrist; and that it was the duty of emperors, kings, princes, and nobles, to resume the lands and donations that had been granted to the church by their ancestors, for the support of the clergy; because they were possessed by Antichrist and his ministers.

This too general profligacy of the clergy could not fail to have an ill effect on the manners of the laity. For the clergy in those times possessing immense wealth and great power, had many followers and dependents, who were no doubt ready enough to imitate their example, to flatter them in their vices, and to minister to their pleasures. We have reason therefore to suspect, that the laity in general were not more virtuous than their teachers, though, from the difference of their teachers, their vices were in some respects different. The cruel unnatural law of the celibacy of the clergy, for example, involved many of that body in various vices, to which the laity had not the same temptations.

They still possessed the same kind of piety, which was oftener superstition, and would have been no less liberal to the church than their forefathers, if they had not been restrained by laws, which they laboured to elude. A passion for holy wars, pilgrimages, relics, &c. was also very general, and esteemed one of the strongest evidences of eminent piety. Henry Spencer, the warlike bishop of Norwich, raised a great army in England, and conducted it to the continent in 1383, to support the election of Pope Adrian VI., and put to death all the adherents of his antagonist Clement VII. The bulls of Urban, promising a plenary remission of their sins, and a place in paradise to all who fought in his cause, or contributed money to support it, were the chief instruments employed to raise that army, and to collect money for its pay, and the other expenses of that holy war. "As soon," says the historian, "as these bulls were published in England, the whole people were transported with joy, and thought that the opportunity of obtaining such inestimable graces was not to be neglected." Pilgrimages were frequently and universally performed by persons of all ranks: and those that were longest and most dangerous were believed to be most meritorious. That an excessive veneration for relics was no less universal, is evident from the following curious transaction, recorded by an eye-witness. Henry III. summoned all the great men of the kingdom, in 1247, to come to London on the festival of St. Edward, to receive an account of a certain sacred benefit which heaven had lately bestowed on England. The singular strain of this summons excited the most eager curiosity, and brought great multitudes to London at the time appointed. When they were assembled in St. Paul's church, the king acquainted them, that the great master of the knights-templars had sent him by one

of his knights a phial of crystal, containing a small portion of the precious blood of Christ, which he had shed upon the cross for the salvation of the world, attested to be genuine by the seals of the patriarch of Jerusalem, of several archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other great men of the Holy Land. This, he informed them, he designed to carry the next day in solemn procession to Westminster, attended by them, and by all the clergy of London, in their proper habits, with their banners, crucifixes, and wax candles; and exhorted all who were present to prepare themselves for that sacred solemnity, by spending the night in watching, fasting, and devout exercises. On the morrow, when the procession was put in order, and ready to set forward, the king approached the sacred phial, with reverence, fear, and trembling, took it in both his hands, and holding it up higher than his face, proceeded under a canopy, two assistants supporting his arms. Such was the devotion of Henry on this occasion, that though the road between St. Paul's and Westminster was very deep and miry, he kept his eyes constantly fixed on the phial, or on heaven. When the procession approached Westminster, it was met by about one hundred monks of that abbey, who conducted it into the church, where the king deposited the venerable relic, which," says the historian, "made all England shine with glory, dedicating it to God and St. Edward, to the church of St. Peter's, Westminster, and the monks of that abbey."

Courage and bravery may very safely be reckoned among the national virtues of both the British nations in this period; of which the history of their martial achievements affords the clearest proofs. The two victories of Creci and Poitiers are incontestible evidences of the heroic valour of the English; and the obstinate invincible fortitude with which the Scots asserted the independency of their country, against the repeated efforts of their too powerful neighbours to subdue them, is a demonstration that they were then a brave and violent people.

A noble spirit of liberality and munificence prevailed in this period, especially among the great martial barons; of which it may be proper to give one example: The Lord James Audeley, one of the first knights of the Garter, obtained permission from the prince of Wales to begin the battle of Poitiers; and, attended by his four faithful esquires, performed prodigies of valour. As soon as the action was over, and the victory complete, the prince enquired for the Lord Audeley; and being informed that he lay dangerously wounded at a little distance, commanded, if it could be done with safety, to bring him to his tent. When Lord Audeley, carried in a litter, entered, the prince embraced him in the most affectionate manner; declared, that he had been the best doer in arms in the business of that day; and made him a grant of 500 marks yearly (equivalent to about 8000*l.* at present), as a reward of his valour. Lord Audeley accepted this noble grant with the warmest expressions of gratitude; but as soon as he was carried to his own tent, he bestowed it on his four brave and faithful esquires, without reserving any share of it to himself. The prince applauded this generous action, and rewarded it with another grant of 600 marks a-year. The generosity of those times had not always such an excuse as this; but degenerated into vain absurd extravagance. Alexander III., king of Scotland, being present at the coronation of Edward I., rode to Westminster, attended by 100 knights, mounted on fine horses, which they let loose, with all their



furniture, as soon as they alighted, to be seized by the populace as their property. In this he was imitated by the earls of Lancaster, Cornwall, Gloucester, Pembroke, and Warrenne, who each paid Edward the same expensive unprofitable compliment. The extravagant ruinous liberalities of Henry III. and Edward II. are so well known, that they need not be mentioned.

An almost unlimited hospitality reigned in the palaces of princes, and the castles of great barons, in the times we are now delineating. The courts of some of the kings of England in this period are said to have been splendid and numerous, to a degree that is hardly credible, and of which no examples have been seen for several centuries. That of Richard II. is thus described by an historian of the greatest integrity:—"His royalty was such, that wheresoever he lay, his person was guarded by two hundred Cheshire-men; he had about him thirteen bishops, besides barons, knights, esquires, and other more than needed; inasmuch, that to the household came every day to meat ten thousand people, as appeared by the messes told out of the kitchen to three hundred servitors, &c." We may form some idea of the magnificence and hospitality of the opulent and powerful barons of those times, from an account of the household expenses of Thomas earl of Lancaster, for 1313. From that account it appears, that this great earl expended in housekeeping that year no less than 7309*l.* containing as much silver as 21,927*l.*, equal in efficacy to 109,635*l.* of our money at present. The surprising cheapness of some of the articles in that account gives us reason to think, that it would even require a much greater sum than 103,635*l.* to purchase an equal quantity of provisions at this time. The pipe of French wine cost only 17*s.*, which, according to the above computation, was equivalent to 4*l.* 5*s.* of our money; a very inconsiderable part of its price at present. We may judge also of the grandeur and hospitality with which this earl lived, and of the immense quantities of provisions of all kinds that were consumed in his family in one year, from the quantity of wine, which was no less than three hundred and seventy-one pipes. Other earls and barons in general spent almost all their revenues, and the produce of their large domains, in hospitality at their castles in the country, which were ever open to strangers of condition, as well as to their own vassals, friends, and followers. This profuse expensive hospitality, it would seem, began to decline a little towards the conclusion of this period, and some barons, instead of dining always in the great hall with their numerous dependants, according to ancient custom, dined sometimes in private parlours, with their own families, and a few familiar friends. But this innovation was very unpopular, and subjected those who adopted it to much reproach.

The following document is inserted to give an idea of their feasts, and the prices of the articles.

*Provisions, &c. at the Installation-feast of Ralph de Borne, abbot of St. Austin's abbey, Canterbury, with their prices, in 1309.*

	£.	s.	d.
Wheat, 53 loads, price	19	0	0
Malt, 58 loads	17	10	0
Wine, 11 tuns	24	0	0
Oats, 20 loads	4	0	0
Spices	28	0	0
Wax, 300 pounds	8	0	0
Almonds, 500 pounds	3	18	0

	£.	s.	d.
Carcases of beef, 30	27	0	0
Hogs, 100	16	0	0
Sheep, 200	30	0	0
Geese 1000	16	0	0
Capons and hens, 500	6	5	0
Chickens, 463	3	14	0
Pigs, 200	5	0	0
Swans, 34	7	0	0
Rabbits, 600	15	0	0
Shields of brawn, 17	3	5	0
Partridges, mallards, bitterns, larks	18	0	0
Earthen pots, 1000	0	15	0
Salt, 9 loads	0	10	0
Cups, 1400, dishes & plates, 3300, besoms, &c.	8	4	0
Fish, cheese, milk, garlic	2	10	0
Eggs, 9600	4	10	0
Saffron and pepper	1	14	0
Coals, casks, furnaces	2	8	0
Making tables, trestles, dressers	1	14	0
Canvas, 300 ells	4	0	0
To cooks and their boys	6	0	0
To minstrels	3	10	0

A splendid ostentations kind of gallantry, expressive of the most profound respect and highest admiration of the beauty and virtue of the ladies, was studied and practised by the martial barons, knights and esquires of this period. This gallantry appeared in its greatest lustre at royal tournaments, and other grand and solemn festivals, at which the ladies shone in their brightest ornaments, and received peculiar honours. When Edward III., in 1344, celebrated the magnificent feast of the round table, at Windsor, to which all the nobility of his own dominions, and of the neighbouring countries, had been invited, Queen Philippa, and three hundred ladies, illustrious for their birth and beauty, uniformly dressed in the richest habits, adorned that solemnity, and were treated with the most pompous romantic testimonies of respect and admiration. Many of the most magnificent tournaments of those times were the effects of this kind of gallantry, and were designed for the honour and entertainment of the ladies, who appeared at these solemnities in prodigious numbers, and from different countries. Sometimes a few brave and gallant knights published a proclamation in their own, and in several other countries, asserting the superior beauty and virtue of the ladies whom they loved; and challenging all who dared to dispute that superiority, to meet them at a certain time and place to determine the important controversy by combat. These challenges were constantly accepted, and produced tournaments, to which princes, knights, and ladies of different nations, crowded. This romantic gallantry displayed itself in times of war, as well as peace, and amorous and youthful knights fought as much for the honour of their mistresses as of their country. A party of English and a party of French cavalry met near Cherburgh in 1379, and immediately prepared for battle. When they were on the point of engaging, Sir Lancelot de Lorres, a French knight, cried aloud, that he had a more beautiful mistress than any of the English. This was denied by Sir John Copeland, who ran the Frenchman through the body with his spear, and laid him dead at his feet. When Edward III. raised a great army to assert his claim to the crown of France, a considerable number of young English gentlemen put each of them a patch upon one of his eyes, making a solemn vow to his mistress that he would not take

it off till he had performed some notable exploit in France to her honour; and these gentlemen (says Froissart) were much admired.

The revival of chivalry by Edward I. and Edward III. contributed not a little to promote valour, munificence, and this splendid kind of gallantry, among persons of condition, who aspired to the honours of knighthood, which were then objects of ambition to the greatest princes. An ingenious writer, who had studied this subject with the greatest care, affirms positively, that "all the heroic virtues which then existed in the several states of Christendom, were the fruits of chivalry." This assertion may be too strong; but it cannot be denied, that the spirit and the laws of chivalry were in some respects friendly to the cause of virtue. By these laws, it was intended that none but persons of unsullied characters should obtain the honours of knighthood, which were conferred with much solemnity, on the most public occasions, and in the presence of the most august assemblies. After the candidate had given sufficient proofs of his prowess, and other virtues, to merit that distinction, and had prepared himself for receiving it, by fasting, confessing, hearing mass, and other acts of devotion, he took an oath consisting of twenty-six articles, in which, amongst other things, he swore that he would be a good, brave, loyal, just, generous, and gentle knight, a champion of the church and clergy, a protector of the ladies, and a redresser of the wrongs of widows and orphans. All this could hardly fail to have some influence on the conduct of those who were invested with that dignity; though, from the rudeness of the times, and the general dissolution of manners which then prevailed, that influence was much less than might have been expected.

Chivalry declined in England during the inglorious reigns of King John and Henry III., but revived under Edward I. That prince was one of the most accomplished knights of the age in which he flourished, and both delighted and excelled in feats of chivalry. It is a sufficient proof of this, that when he was on his return from the Holy Land, after his father's death, and knew that his presence was ardently desired in England, he accepted an invitation to a tournament at Chalons, in Burgundy. At that famous tournament, which terminated in a real battle, he displayed his valour and dexterity to great advantage, and gained a complete victory. Edward III. was no less fond of chivalry, and encouraged it both by his example and munificence. In this he was influenced by policy, as well as inclination. Having formed the design of asserting his claim to the crown of France, he laboured to inspire his own subjects with an enterprising spirit, and to entice as many valiant foreigners as possible into his service. With this view he celebrated several pompous tournaments, to which he invited all strangers who delighted in feats of arms, entertained them with the most flowing hospitality, and loaded such of them as excelled in these martial sports with honours and rewards, in order to attach them to his person and engage them to fight in his cause. With the same view, and about the same time, he founded the most honourable order of the garter, of which the Black Prince was the first knight, and all the first companions were persons famous for their victories at tournaments, and in real wars. Philip de Valois, king of France, was so much alarmed at these proceedings of his powerful rival, that he set up a round table at Paris, in opposition to that of Windsor, and endeavoured to render his tourna-

ments more splendid than those of England, in order to attract a greater number of foreign knights, that he might retain them in his service.

It is unnecessary to give a long detail of the national foibles and vices of the people of Britain in the present period, as they were nearly the same with those of their ancestors in that immediately preceding. A most absurd and irrational credulity still reigned in all the nations of Europe, not only among the vulgar, but among persons of the highest rank and best education. Pope Innocent VI. firmly believed that Petrarch was a magician, because he read Virgil. Many miracles were reported and believed to be wrought in different places, on the most trifling occasions, and are recorded by our gravest historians as unquestionable facts. No prince engaged in any undertaking of importance till his astrologers had consulted the stars, and discovered the auspicious moment for carrying it into execution. Of this we meet with a very curious example, in the account given by Matthew Paris of the marriage of Frederic Emperor of Germany, and Isabella, sister of Henry III., in 1235.

The administration of justice, even in the king's court, was very corrupt and oppressive in this period. This was partly owing to the venality of the judges and partly to unlawful confederacies among the subjects, to support each other in their lawsuits. The venality of the king's ministers of justice at length became so intolerable and notorious that they were tried by a parliament held at Westminster in 1280, found guilty, and fined according to the degrees of their delinquencies. Sir Adam de Stratton, chief baron of the exchequer, was fined in no less than 34,000 marks, equivalent to 34,000*l.* of our money at present; and this, with the fines of the other judges, amounted to a sum equivalent to one million in our times. Sir Thomas Weyland, chief justice of the common pleas, having been found guilty of exciting some of his followers to commit a murder, and of protecting them after they had committed it, was condemned to be hanged; but the king, in consideration that he was a knight (a character which Edward I. much revered), spared his life, banishing him out of the kingdom, and confiscating his whole estate. But all this severity does not seem to have put an end to this evil; for we meet with very loud complaints of the corruptions of the judges long after this time. The monk of Malmsbury, in 1319, assures us that there was not so much as one of the king's ministers and judges who did not receive bribes, and very few who did not extort them. The eight statutes made in this period against champerty as it was called, or forming confederacies for supporting each other in all quarrels and lawsuits, affords sufficient evidence that this evil very much prevailed, and was very hard to be eradicated.

Robbery was the reigning vice, not only in Britain, but in all the nations of Europe, in the present period: and robbers were then more numerous, cruel, and destructive, than at any other time. These pests of human society were frequently formed into companies, under the protection of powerful barons, who sheltered them in their castles, and shared with them in their booty. During the feeble reign of Henry III. many strong castles belonging to great men were no better than dens of thieves and robbers, who from thence infested the whole country. In Hampshire their numbers were so great, that the judges could not prevail upon any jury to find any of them guilty; and the king himself complained,



that when he travelled through that county, they plundered his baggage, drank his wine, and treated him with contempt. It was afterwards discovered that several members of the king's household were in confederacy with the robbers. Even under the more vigorous administration of Edward I. a numerous band of robbers assaulted the town of Boston, in 1285, in the time of the fair, set it on fire in three places, and carried off an immense booty in money and goods. Their leader Robert Chamberlain, a gentleman of great wealth, was taken, tried and executed; but he could not be prevailed upon to discover so much as one of his accomplices. The robbers of those times plundered all who came in their way without distinction. A troop of them, commanded by Gilbert Middleton and Walter Selby, assaulted two cardinals, who were escorted by the bishop of Durham and his brother Lord Beaumont, attended by a numerous retinue of gentlemen and servants near Darlington, in 1316. Having robbed the cardinals of their money and effects, they allowed them to proceed on their journey; but they carried the bishop and his brother prisoners, the one to the castle of Morpeth, and the other to the castle of Mitford, and there detained them till they had paid their ransoms. Peter king of Cyprus and Jerusalem who visited England in 1363, was robbed on the highway, and stripped of his money and baggage. As the robbers of this period were very numerous, so some of them were very cruel; and the character which one of their chiefs wore embroidered upon his coat in letters of silver, might have been applied to several others. "I am Captain Warner, commander of a troop of robbers, an enemy to God, without pity and without mercy."

When those audacious plunderers dared to rob kings, cardinals, bishops, and lords, and even to pillage populous towns, we may presume, that they were very terrible to ordinary travellers, and the inhabitants of the open country. That they really were so, we learn from the historians of those times, who assure us, that travelling was very dangerous, and that the people in the country lived under continual apprehensions of being plundered. Besides this, many other things conspired to render the condition of the great body of the people of Britain, in this period, miserable and degraded. They were almost necessarily condemned to live in ignorance, and had hardly any means of acquiring either civil or religious knowledge. Religious liberty was quite unknown; and the clergy enslaved the minds of the laity, as well as preyed upon their fortunes, in many different ways. The common people, and even those in the middle ranks of life, enjoyed but a very small share of civil liberty, and all the protection they received from law and government was frequently insufficient to defend them from the oppression of the too powerful barons, who were many of them petty tyrants. The long bloody and destructive wars between England and Scotland, and England and France, involved the people of all these countries in very great calamities. The wars between England and Scotland were carried on with uncommon animosity; and in the course of them much of the best blood in Britain was spilt, many populous towns and villages were reduced to ashes, and the borders of both kingdoms were almost desolated. The devastations of war and the imperfections of agriculture, occasioned frequent famines, in which many of the common people perished. Some of these famines were so severe, that many mothers, it is said, committed the most unnatural

acts of cruelty to prolong their miserable lives. Some of these famines were followed by epidemical diseases, or rather plagues, which swept off still greater multitudes. "This year, 1315," says Walsingham, "the famine gradually increased; and about the beginning of August a quarter of wheat sold at London for forty shillings (equivalent to 30*l.* of our money at present). The famine was followed by so great a mortality, especially among the poor, that the living were hardly able to bury the dead. For a dysentery, accompanied by an acute fever, occasioned by unwholesome food, became universal, and very soon proved mortal." The dreadful pestilence which raged over all Britain in 1349 was still, if possible, more destructive. The accounts given of the ravages of this plague, by the best contemporary historians, are hardly credible, some affirming that it carried off one half, and others a much greater portion of the whole people. When all these circumstances are considered, few will be disposed to envy the happiness of their ancestors who flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, or to think that those times were better than the present.

A kind of confusion of tongues prevailed in England for several centuries after the Norman conquest, when the different orders of the people made use of different languages. This was so much the case, even in the former part of the fourteenth century, that public speakers were sometimes obliged to pronounce the same discourse three times in the same audience, once in Latin, once in French, and once in English.

Latin was the language of the church, of the schools, of the courts of justice, and in general of the learned of all professions, who frequently conversed and corresponded with one another in that tongue. Divines, philosophers, historians, and even poets, composed the far greatest part of their works in Latin; especially before the middle of the fourteenth century. All acts of parliament in 1266, and many of them long after, were in that language. It was not till 1258, that the Great Charter itself was translated into English, and read to the people in their mother-tongue. To the very end of this period the royal proclamations were for the most part in Latin, a language which was understood by none of the common people, and by very few of the nobility or gentry. But it is very probable that these proclamations were translated or explained to the people when they were published.

The Norman or French was the language of the court of England, of the nobility, and of all who wished to be thought persons of rank and fashion, for about three centuries after the conquest. To the truth of this we could produce the testimony of several unexceptionable witnesses; but that of Ralph Higden, author of the Polycronian, and his translator John de Trevisa, who flourished under Edward III. and Richard II. will be sufficient:—"Gentilmen's children ben lerned and taught from their youthe to speke Frenshe. And uplondish men will counterfete and liken himself to gentilmen, and arn bey to speke Frenche, for to be more sette by; wherefore it is said by comyn proverbe, Jack wold be a gentilman if he coude speke Frenshe." To this, Trevisa the translator adds, "This manner was moche used tofore the great deth (1349.) but syth it is somedeche changed." The following curious and well-attested fact seems to indicate that Edward I. and his nobility did not very well understand either Latin or English. Pope Boniface VIII.

having issued a bull, in 1300, commanding Edward I. in a very imperious tone, to desist from troubling the kingdom of Scotland, and to refer all his disputes with the people of that kingdom to his holiness, he sent it to the archbishop of Canterbury, with a mandate to deliver it to the king. The archbishop wrote a letter to the pope, in answer to that mandate, acquainting him, that he had taken a very long and fatiguing journey into Scotland, and had found the king in his camp near New Abbey, in Galloway, who summoned a great council of his nobility to hear his message; that he received the bull with great reverence, commanded it to be read aloud before the council (which consisted of Prince Edward and all the earls, barons, and knights of the army), and afterwards ordered it to be fully explained in the French language.

Anglo-Saxon or English was the language of the great body of the people of England. This language they derived from their ancestors the Anglo-Saxons, and retained with great steadiness, in spite of all the efforts of the Conqueror and his successors to substitute the Norman in its place. It even gradually gained ground, and in the course of this period forced its way into the courts of justice, from which it had been excluded almost three hundred years. An act of parliament was made in 1362, that all pleadings in all courts both of the king and of inferior lords, should be in the English tongue, because French was now much unknown in the realm, and that the people might know something of the laws, and understand what was said for and against them. But this victory was far from being complete: for that very act of parliament was, and many others long after, were, in French; a sufficient proof that persons in the higher ranks of life still retained a predilection for that language.

The Anglo-Saxon that was spoken in England about two hundred years after the conquest, was surprisingly pure, with very little mixture of Latin, French, or any other language. The reader will be convinced, by perusing the specimen of that language.

HENRY, thurg Godes fultome, king on Englene-  
Henry, through God's support, king of Eng-  
loande, lhoauerd on Yrloand, duk on Normand, on  
land, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy, of  
Acquitain, eorlon Anjou, send I greting, to alle hise  
Acquitain, earl of Anjou, sends greeting, to all his  
holde, ilærde and ilewede on Huntindonn-schiere.  
subjects, learned and unlearned of Huntingdonshire.  
Thæt witen ge wel alle, thæt we willen and unnen, thæt  
This know ye well all, that we will and grant, what  
ure rædesmen alle other the moare del of heom thæt  
our counsellors all or the more part of them that  
beoth jchosen thurg us and thurg that loandesfolk  
be chosen through us and through the landfolk  
on ure kuneriche, habbith idon, and schullen don, in  
of our kingdom, have done, and shall do, to  
the worthnes of God, and ure treowthe, for the freme  
the honour of God, and our allegiance, for the good  
of the loande, thurg the besigte of than toforen  
of the land, through the determination of those before  
iseide rædesmen, beo stedfast and ilestinde in aile  
said counsellors, be stedfast and permanent in all  
thinge abutan ende, and the heeten all ure treowe, in  
things without end, and we enjoin all our lieges, by

the treowthe thet heo us oge, thet heo stede-festliche  
the allegiance that they us owe, that they stedfastly  
healden and weren to healden and to swerien the  
hold and swear to hold and to maintain the  
isetnesses thet beon makede and beo to maken, thurg  
ordinances that be made and be to be made, through  
than to foren iseide rædesmen, other thurg the moare  
the before said counsellors, or through the more  
del of heom alswo, also hit is beforese iseide. And thet  
part of them also, as it is before said. And that  
æhcother helpe thet for to done biham ilche other,  
each other help that for to do by them each other,  
aganes alle men, in all thet heo ogt for to done, and  
against all men, in all that they ought for to do, and  
to foangen. And noan ne of mine loande, ne of  
to promote. And none either of my land, nor of  
egetewher, thurg this besigte, muge beon ilet other  
elsewhere, through this business, may be impeted or  
iwersed on oniewise. And gif oni ether onie  
damaged in any wise. And if any man or any woman  
cumen her ongenes, we willen and heaten, thæt alle  
cometh them against, we will and enjoin, that all  
ure treowe heom healden deadlichstan. And for thæt  
our lieges them hold deadly foes. And for that  
we willen thet this beo stedfast and lestinde, we senden  
we will that this be stedfast and lasting, we send  
gew this writ open, iseined with ure seel, to halden  
you this writ open, sealed with our seal, to keep  
amanges gew ine hord. Witness us-selven æt Lundæn-  
amongst you in store. Witness ourself at Lon-  
thane, egtegenthe day on the monthe of Octobr, in  
don, the eighteenth day of the month of October, in  
the two and fowertigthe gear of ure crunning.  
the two and fortieth year of our crowning.

In the course of the fourteenth century, the Anglo-Saxon gradually changed into what may be called English. This was owing to various causes. That animosity which had long subsisted between the posterity of the Normans and of the Anglo-Saxons was now extinguished, and they were in a great measure consolidated into one people by intermarriages and other means. Many of the Normans who were engaged in agriculture, trade and manufactures, though they had been taught French by their parents in their youth, found it necessary to speak the language of the multitude, into which they introduced many French words and idioms, to which they had been accustomed. Besides this, Chaucer, Gower, Wickliffe, and several others, composed voluminous works, both of prose and verse in English; and being men of learning, well acquainted with French and Latin, and some of them with Greek and Italian, they borrowed many words and idioms from those languages, with which they adorned and enriched their own. By these means, the Anglo-Saxon tongue was greatly changed before the end of this period, and the language of the best writers approached much nearer to modern English than that of Robert of Gloucester, and others who flourished in the thirteenth century.

It must, however, be confessed that the English of the fourteenth century was still so different from that of the eighteenth, that a mere English reader cannot always understand it without a glossary. The mode of spelling was unsettled, and very different from the modern. In general they delighted much in vowels, and avoided the multiplication of conso-



nants more carefully than we do at present. Many words were then in common use, and perfectly well understood, which are now become obsolete, and consequently unintelligible to the bulk of readers. The meaning of several words was very different then from what it is at present. A knave, for example, sometimes signified a male in opposition to a female; "The time is come, and a knave child she bare:" but most frequently a servant in opposition to a freeman. The poets of those times used extraordinary freedoms (which would not be now allowed) in shortening, lengthening, dividing, uniting, and changing words to fit them for their purposes; which renders their language obscure and difficult to a modern reader. The above observations might have been confirmed and illustrated by examples; but that would have been tedious, and too minute for general history. The truth of them is well known to all who are in the least acquainted with the authors of those times.

Various dialects and different modes of pronouncing the English of this period prevailed in different districts: "Hit semeth a grete wonder that Englyssmen have so grete dyversyte in theyr owin langage in sowne and in spekyng of it, which is all in one ilonde." If we may form a judgment of these modes of pronunciation from the words used by a contemporary writer in describing them, they were harsh enough: "Some use straunge wlassing, chyttryng, harring, garryng, and grysbytyng. The langages of the Northumbres, and specyally ta Yorke, is so sharpe, slyttinn, frotyng, and un shape, that we sothern men maye unneth understande that langage."

The extravagancies of dress and follies of fashion have been subjects of complaint and satire in every age, and in none more justly than the period we are now delineating. In the remaining monuments of those times, we meet with many descriptions of the splendid expensive dresses of the great, and many complaints of the ridiculous, deforming, inconvenient fashions adopted by persons of all ranks. The magnificent costly dresses of the barons and knights who attended the marriage of Alexander III. king of Scotland, and Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry III. at York, in 1251, are thus mentioned by Matthew Paris, who was present at that solemnity: "The royal marriage was solemnized privately, and very early in the morning, to avoid being incommoded by the multitudes of nobles of England, France, Scotland, and other countries, who were then in York, and ardently desired to see it. It would raise the surprise and indignation of my readers to the highest pitch, if I attempted to describe at full length the wantonness, pride, and vanity, which the nobles displayed on that occasion, in the richness and variety of their dresses, and the many fantastical ornaments with which they were adorned. To mention only one particular: the king of England was attended on the day of the marriage by a thousand knights, uniformly dressed in silk robes, which we call *contoyes*; and the next day these knights appeared in new dresses, no less splendid and expensive." This taste for too great expense in dress was not peculiar to the great, but infected all the different ranks in society. For though there might be some exaggeration there was certainly also some truth, in the words of the monk of Malmsbury: "The squire endeavours to outshine the knight, the knight the baron, the baron the earl, the earl the king, in dress." The clergy were no less vain and extravagant in their dress than the laity.

Thei hie on horse willeth to ride,  
In glitterande gold of grete arai,  
Painted and portrid all in pride,  
No common knight maie go so gaie;  
Change of clothing every daie,  
With golden girdles grete and small.

Miters thei werin mo than two,  
Iperid at the queenis hedde,  
A staff of gold, and pirrie lo!  
As hewie as it were made of ledde,  
With clothe of gold both newe and redde

This humour increased remarkably in the reign of Edward III. "In this year, 1348," writes an annalist of those times, "England enjoyed great prosperity, plenty, and tranquillity, in consequence of her many victories. Such quantities of furred garments, fine linene, jewels, gold, and silver plate, rich furniture and utensils, the spoils of Caen, Calais, and other foreign cities, were imported, that every woman of rank obtained a share of them, and they were seen in every mansion. Then the ladies of England became proud and vain in their attire, and were as much elated by the acquisition of all that finery as the ladies of France were dejected by the loss of it."

At length the legislature found it necessary to interpose, by making sumptuary laws, for regulating the dress of all ranks of people, in a parliament held at Westminster in 1363. In the preamble of these laws they are said to have been made, "to prevent that destruction and poverty with which the whole kingdom was threatened, by the outrageous excessive expenses of many persons in their apparel, above their ranks and fortunes."

But these laws seem to have had little or no effect. In the reign of Richard II. extravagance in dress became greater, and more universal, than it had ever been in any former period. "At this time (1388) the vanity of the common people in their dress was so great, that it was impossible to distinguish the rich from the poor, the high from the low, the clergy from the laity, by their appearance. Fashions were continually changing, and every one endeavoured to outshine his neighbour by the richness of his dress or the novelty of its form." This was partly owing to the example of the king, who was exceedingly fond of pomp, and so expensive in his dress, that he had one coat which cost him thirty thousand marks, an immense sum in those times. The king was imitated by his courtiers, and some of them even exceeded him in the splendour and variety of their dresses. Sir John Arundel, it is said, had no fewer than fifty-two complete suits of cloth of gold. This extravagance descended from one rank to another, till it reached the very lowest of the people.

The writers of this period complain as much of the fashions as of the too great expense of dress. These fashions frequently changed; and some of them appear to have been very fantastical, inconvenient, and indecent. "The Englishmen haunted so moche unto the foyle of strawngers, that every yire they changed them in diverse schappes and disgyssinges of clothingge; now longe, now large, now wide, now strait; and every day clothingges newe, and destitute and disirte from alle honeste off old array, and gode usage; and another tyme to schorte clothes and streite waisted with full slives, and tapetis curtotes, and hodes over longe and large, alle to nagged and knet on every side, and alle to slatterdedde, and also bottenedde, that iff I weth shall sey, they weren more lyke to turnen tours and deviles in their clothingge, and also in

their schoying (shoeing), and other aray, than they seemed to be lyke men. And thetthe the wemmenne weren more nyce arraiedde, and passed the menne in alle maner of aries and curious clothing." Geoffrey Chaucer's account of the dresses of his age is not more favourable. "Alas! may not a man si as in our daies the sinnefull costlewe arraie of clothing, and namely in to moche superfluite, or else in to su bordinate scantinesse? As to the first, superfluite in clothing, that maketh it so dire, to the harme of the peple, not only the cost of embowdering, the disguised indenting or barring, ounding, paling, winding, or binding and semblable wast of clothe, in vanite: but there is also the costlewe furring in ther gounes, so much pouncing of chesel to make holes, so moche dagging with shires forth, with the superfluite in length of the foresaid gounes, trailing in the dong and in the mire, on horse and also on fote, as well of man as of womun. Upon that other side, to speke of the horrible disordinate scantines of clothing, as ben these cuttid sloppes or handselines (breeches), that through ther shortness cover not the shamefull members of manne, to wicked intent. Alas! some of hem skewe the bosse of ther shape, and the horrible swole members, in the wrapping of ther hosen, and also the buttockes of them, as farre as it were the hinder parte of a she ape in the full of the mone. Now as to the outrageous aray of women, God wote, that though the visages of some of hem seme full chaste and debonaire, yet notify in ther aray or attire licorousness and pride." Some other parts of this description are too indelicate to be admitted into this work. Petrarch expressed his disapprobation of the dresses of his time in still stronger terms, in a letter to the pope in 1366:—"Who can see with patience the monstrous fantastical fashions which the people of our times have invented to deform, rather than adorn, their persons? Who can behold, without indignation, their long-pointed shoes; their caps, with feathers; their hair twisted, and hanging down like tails; the foreheads of young men, as well as women, formed into a kind of furrows, with ivory-headed pins; their bellies so cruelly squeezed with cords, that they suffer as much pain from vanity, as the martyrs suffered for religion; and especially those indecent parts of their dress, which are extremely offensive to every modest eye? Our ancestors would not have believed, and know not if our posterity will believe, that it was possible for the wit of this vain generation of our's to invent so many base, barbarous, horrid, ridiculous fashions (besides those already mentioned), to disfigure and disgrace itself, as we have the mortification to see every day."

These strictures on the dresses of this period (to which others might be added) are indeed severe; but a slight attention to a few of the inconvenient, ridiculous, indecent modes which then prevailed, will convince us that they were not unjust. What could be more inconvenient than their long-pointed shoes, with which they could not walk till they were fastened to their knees with chains? The upper parts of these shoes were cut in imitation of a church window. Chaucer's spruce parish clerk, Absalom,

Had Paul is windowes corven on his shose.

These shoes were called "crackowes," and continued in fashion about three centuries, in spite of the bulls of popes, the decrees of councils, and the declamations of the clergy against them.

What could exhibit a more fantastical appearance

than an English beau of the fourteenth century? He wore long-pointed shoes, fastened to his knees by gold or silver chains; hose of one colour on one leg, and of another colour on the other; short breeches, which did not reach to the middle of his thighs, and sat as tight as possible; a coat, one half white, and the other half black or blue; a long beard; a silk hood buttoned under his chin, embroidered with grotesque figures of animals, dancing men, &c. and sometimes ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones. This dress, which was the very top of the mode in the reign of Edward III., appeared so ridiculous to the Scots (who probably could not afford to be such egregious fops) that they made the following satirical verses upon it.

Long beirds hireless,  
Peintyd whoods whittles,  
Gay cotes gracelies,  
Maketh England thrifelles.

The dress of the gay and fashionable ladies who frequented the public diversions of those times was not more decent or becoming. It is thus described by Knyghton in 1348: "These tournaments are attended by many ladies of the first rank and greatest beauty, but not always of the most untainted reputation. These ladies are dressed in party-coloured tunics, one half being of one colour, and the other half of another; their lirrripes or tippets are very short; their caps remarkably little, and wrapt about their heads with cords; their girdles and pouches are ornamented with gold and silver; and they wear short swords, called daggers, before them, a little below their navels: they are mounted on the finest horses, with the richest furniture. Thus equipped, they ride from place to place, in quest of tournaments, by which they dissipate their fortunes, and sometimes ruin their reputations." The head-dresses of the ladies underwent many changes in the course of this period. They were sometimes enormously high, rising almost three feet above the head, in the shape of sugar-loaves, with streamers of fine silk flowing from the top of them to the ground. Upon the whole, we find that the continual reference to the simplicity and discreteness of ancient times is a false mode of arguing, and we see we have no good reason to pay any compliments to our ancestors of this period, at the expense of our contemporaries, either for the frugality, elegance, or decency, of their dress.

The common people in Wales (where the arts had made little progress) were very imperfectly clothed in this period. The Welshmen in the army of Edward II. were known, in their flight from the battle of Bannockburn, by the meanness of their dress.

We have no reason to suppose that the common people in the Highlands of Scotland (where the arts were as imperfect as in Wales) were better clothed than the Welsh. The Scots in the low country imitated the dress and fashions of the French and English, as their circumstances and knowledge of the arts permitted. Matthew Paris, who was present at the splendid marriage of Alexander III. with the Princess Margaret of England, at York, in 1251, acquaints us, that about sixty barons and knights, and many other gentlemen, who attended the young king of Scotland on that occasion, were elegantly dressed.

The people of England, in this period, were not more moderate in their diet than in their dress; and the interposition of government was thought necessary to restrain them from excesses in the one as well as in the other. Edward II. issued a procla-



mation on this subject, in 1216, to the following purpose: "Edward by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to the sheriffs of London, wisheth health. Where as, by the outrageous and excessive multitude of meats and dishes which the great men of our kingdom have used, and still use, in their castles, and by persons of inferior rank imitating their example, beyond what their stations require, and their circumstances can afford, many great evils have come upon our kingdom, the health of our subjects hath been injured, their goods have been consumed, and they have been reduced to poverty, we being willing to put a stop to these excesses, have, with the advice and consent of our council, made the following rules and ordinances,—I mo, That the great men of our kingdom shall have only two courses of flesh meats served up to their tables, each course consisting only of two kinds of flesh meat, except prelates, earls, barons, and the greatest men of the land, who may have an intermeat of one kind, if they please. On fish days they shall have only two courses of fish, each consisting of two kinds, with an intermeat of one kind, if they please. Such as transgress this ordinance shall be severely punished." This proclamation was issued in the time of a deplorable famine, and we may conclude, that if the prelates and barons indulged themselves in so great a number and variety of dishes at their tables, when the poor were perishing for want around them, they would be still more profuse in times of plenty. In the reign of Edward III. in 1363, several sumptuary laws were made for regulating the dress and diet of persons of different ranks; and in particular, it was enacted that the servants of gentlemen, merchants, and artificers, should have only one meal of flesh or fish in the day, and that their other meal should consist of milk, butter, cheese, and such other things as were suitable to their station. But a contemporary historian assures us that these laws had no effect, though a severe famine raged at that time.

The feasts in this period, at the coronation of kings, the installation of prelates, the marriages of great barons, and on some other occasions, were exceedingly profuse, the numbers of dishes served up, and of guests entertained, sometimes amounting to many thousand. The coronation feast of Edward III. cost 2835*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* equivalent to about 40,000*l.* of our money. At the installation of Ralph abbot of St. Augustine, Canterbury, in 1309, six thousand guests were entertained with a dinner, consisting of three thousand dishes, which cost 257*l.* 5*s.* equal in efficacy to 4300*l.* in our times. "It would require a long treatise," says Matthew Paris, "to describe the astonishing splendour, magnificence, and festivity with which the nuptials of Richard earl of Cornwall, and Cincia daughter of Reimund earl of Provence were celebrated at London in 1243. To give the reader some idea of it, in a few words, above thirty thousand dishes were served up at the marriage-dinner." The nuptials of Alexander III. of Scotland, and the Princess Margaret of England, were solemnized at York, in 1251, with still greater pomp and profusion. "If I attempted," says the same historian, "to display all the grandeur of this solemnity, the numbers of the noble and illustrious guests, the richness and variety of the dresses, the sumptuousness of the feasts, the multitudes of the minstrels, mimics, and others whose business it was to amuse and divert the company, those of my readers who were not present would imagine that I was

imposing upon their credulity. The following particular will enable them to form a judgment of the whole. The archbishop of York made the king of England a present of sixty fat oxen, which made only one article of provision for the marriage-feast, and were all consumed at that entertainment."

The art of cookery was as much cultivated, and as much improved, in this period, as any of the other arts. The cook in the Canterbury Tales was no mean proficient in his profession:

A coke thei hadde with them for the nones,  
To boyle the chickens and the marie-bones;  
And poudre marchaunt, tarte, and galengale;  
Well couthe he know a draught of London ale  
He couthe roste, boile, grills, and frie,  
And make mortres, and well bake a pie.  
For blank-manger that made he with the best.

Chaucer, in the Parson's Tale, complains of the too laboured and artificial cookery of those times: "Pride of the table apereth also full ofte: for certes riche men be called to festes, and pore folke ben put away and rebuked. And also in excess of divers metes and drinkes; and namely, such maner bake metes and dishe metes brenning of wild fire, peynted and castelled with paper and samblable waste, so that it is abusion to think."

One of the most expensive singularities attending the royal feasts in this period consisted in what they called intermeats. These were representations of battles, sieges, &c., introduced between the courses, for the amusement of the guests. The French excelled in exhibitions of this kind. At a dinner given by Charles V. of France to the Emperor Charles IV. in 1378, the following intermeat was exhibited. A ship with masts, sails, and rigging, was seen first; she had for colours the arms of the city of Jerusalem; Godfrey de Bouillon appeared upon deck, accompanied by several knights armed cap-a-pee: the ship advanced into the middle of the hall, without the machine which moved it being perceptible. Then the city of Jerusalem appeared, with all its towers lined with Saracens. The ship approached the city; the Christians landed, and began the assault; the besieged made a good defence: several scaling ladders were thrown down; but at length the city was taken. Intermeats at ordinary banquets consisted of certain delicate dishes, introduced between the courses, and designed rather for gratifying the taste than for satisfying hunger.

Persons of rank and fortune, in this period, indulged themselves in a very liberal use of a variety of liquors. Ale and cyder were the most common drinks of the people of England. But besides these, great quantities of wines of various kinds were imported. The following lines of a poet who wrote in this period, contain an ample enumeration of the wines then known and used in England:

Ye shall have rumney and malespice;  
Both yppocrasse and vernage wync;  
Mauvrose and wyne of Greke,  
Both algrede and despice eke,  
Antioche and bastarde,  
Pymment also, and garnade,  
Wine of Greke and Muscadell,  
Both Clare, pymment, and rochell.

Some of these liquors, as yppocrasse, pymment, and claret, were compounded of wine, honey, and spices of different kinds, and in different proportions. These were considered as delicacies, and were chiefly used by persons of the highest rank. This appears from the following precepts of Henry II. "We hereby command you, the keepers of our wines at Winchester, to deliver to Robert de Monte Pessu-

lano, such wines, and in such quantities as he shall require of our wines in your custody, to make delicate and precious drinks for our own use. Witness, the king, at Lutegarshall, 26th November, 1250." The other precept contains a more particular description of these delicate drinks: "We hereby command you the keepers of our wines at York, that of the best wines in your custody, you deliver to Robert de Mont Pessulano two tons of white wine to make garhiosilac and one ton of red wine to make claret for our own use at the approaching feast of Christmas. We command also the saint Robert to go with all speed to York, to make the said garhiosilac and claret, as he used to do in former years."

At this period, people of all ranks made only two stated meals a day, dinner and supper, the former in the forenoon, the latter in the evening. When Henry duke of Lancaster took Richard II. prisoner in Flint Castle, on the morning of August 20, 1399 he asked the king, Hath your majesty broke your fast? To which Richard answered, I have not, for it is too early in the morning. The duke then said, I entreat you to dine immediately; for you have a long journey to go: and the king, after some hesitation, commanded the table to be covered, and made a short dinner. These two meals, and the times at which they were taken, are mentioned in the following lines of Chaucer:

For every day, when Beryn rose unwash he wold nyne,  
And draw hym ro his feleship, as even as a lyne,  
And then come home, and ete and soop, and slepe al nyht.

Kings, princes, and other persons of high rank and great fortunes, commonly took a kind of collation immediately before they went to bed, called "the wines," consisting of delicate cakes and wine warmed and mixed with certain spices. Sir John Froissart reckoned it a piece of great good fortune, that he had spent the greatest part of his life in the courts of princes, and thereby had an opportunity of receiving "the wines," which had contributed much to his comfort and repose. The wines were sometimes given immediately after dinner; and at the ceremonious visits of the great at any hour. The following lines contain an enumeration of some of the spices known and used in this period:

There was ike waxing many a spice,  
As clowe, gilofre, and licorice,  
Gingiber, and grein de Paris,  
Canell at setewale of pris,  
And many a spice delitable.  
To eten whan men rise fro table,

The prevailing amusements of the people of Britain of all ranks, in this period, appear to have been nearly the same with those of their ancestors in the former period, which have been already described. Some of the favourite diversions of the common people of England are mentioned in a proclamation of Edward III. in 1363, and prohibited, because they prevented them from exercising archery. "In former times the people of our kingdom at their hours of play, commonly exercised themselves in archery, from which we derived both honour and advantage. But now that art is neglected, and the people spend their time in throwing stones, wood, or iron; in playing at the hand-ball, foot-ball, or club-ball: in bull-baiting and cock-fighting, or in more useless and dishonest games." A similar proclamation was issued two years after, in which the same games are mentioned. Wrestling for a ram is described by Chaucer, and seems to have been a common diversion in those times.

A famous wrestling match, in 1222, between the citizens of London on one side, and the inhabitants of Westminster and the neighbouring country on the other, for a ram, terminated in a real battle, in which much blood was spilt, and the Londoners were put to flight. By dishonest games, in the proclamations of Edward III. we are probably to understand such games of chance as cross and pile, &c. to which the common people, and some of their superiors, were even then too much addicted. That weak and frivolous prince, Edward II. spent both his time and money in these trifling amusements, as appears from the following curious articles of account: "Item, Paid their to Henry, the king's barber, for money which he lent to the king to play at cross and pile, five shillings. Item, paid there to Pires Bernard, usher of the king's chamber, money which he lent to the king, and which he lost at cross and pile to Monsieur Robert Wattewille, eightpence."

As a general account of 'ournaments, the favourite diversions of the great and brave in the middle ages, has been given in the previous appendix, a brief description of one, out of many that were celebrated in Britain in this period, will be sufficient to give the reader a distinct idea of those renowned amusements. For this purpose a description of that which was held at London, October 1389, is selected. Richard II., his three uncles, and his great barons, having heard of a famous tournament at Paris, at the entry of Isabel, queen of France, resolved to hold one of equal splendour at London, in which sixty English knights, conducted to the scene of action by sixty ladies, should challenge all foreign knights. They sent heralds into all parts of England, Scotland, Germany, Italy, Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, and France, to proclaim the time, place, and other circumstances of the intended tournament, and to invite all valorous knights and squires to honour it with their presence. This, says the historian, excited a vehement desire in the knights and squires of all these countries to go to this tournament, some to see the manners and equipages of the English, and others to tourney. In the mean time, the lists were prepared in Smithfield, and chambers erected around them, for the accommodation of the king, queen, princes, lords, ladies, heralds, and other spectators. When the time approached, prodigious numbers of great persons of both sexes, attended by numerous retinues, arrived in London. On the first Sunday of October, which was the first day of the tournament between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, sixty fine horses, with rich furniture for the justs, issued one by one from the tower, each conducted by a squire of honour, and proceeded in a slow pace through the streets of London to Smithfield attended by a numerous band of trumpeters and other minstrels. Immediately after, sixty young ladies, richly dressed, riding on palfries, issued from the same place, and each lady leading a knight completely armed, by a silver chain, they proceeded slowly to the field. When they arrived there, the ladies were lifted from their palfries, and conducted to the chambers provided for them; the knights mounted their horses, and began the justs, in which they exhibited such feats of valour and dexterity, as excited the admiration of the spectators. When the approach of night put an end to the justs, the company repaired to the palace of the bishop of London, in St. Paul's street, where the king and queen then resided, and the supper was prepared. The ladies, knights, and he-



ralds, who had been appointed judges, gave one of the prizes, a crown of gold, to the earl of St. Paul, as the best performer among the foreign knights, and the other a rich girdle adorned with gold and precious stones, to the earl of Huntingdon, as the best performer of the English. After a sumptuous supper, the ladies and knights spent the whole night in dancing. The tournaments, with nearly the same solemnities, were continued on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. On Saturday, the court, with all the company, removed to Windsor, where the jousts, feasting, and other diversions, were renewed, and lasted several days. At length the king, having presented the foreign ladies, lords, and knights, with valuable gifts, they returned to their several countries, highly pleased with the entertainment they had received. This was evidently more splendid and more expensive than any of the diversions of the present age. These tournaments were admirably calculated to inflame the young nobility and gentry with an ardent desire of excelling in martial exercises, as they gave them an opportunity of displaying their accomplishments in the most public manner, and thereby acquiring the applause of the great and the favour of women.

Dancing was a favourite diversion on all festive occasions in this period; and persons of the highest rank and gravest characters did not disdain to mingle in the dance. It appears, from the record of the coronation of Richard II., that after the coronation-dinner, the king, prelates, nobles, knights, and the rest of the company, spent the afternoon in dancing in Westminster hall, to the music of the minstrels.

Mummeries and disguisings, the masquerades of the middle ages, were introduced in this period. They are mentioned by Matthew Paris, in his account of the marriage of Alexander III. of Scotland, with the princess of England, at York, in 1252, and made commonly a part of the diversions at the great festivals in the courts of kings in those times. In the year 1348, eighty tunics of buckram, forty-two visors, and a great variety of other whimsical dresses, were provided for the disguisings at court, at the feast of Christmas. A most magnificent mumery or disguising was exhibited by the citizens of London, in 1377, for the amusement of Richard, prince of Wales, in which no fewer than one hundred and thirty persons were disguised. A most fatal accident happened at one of these mummeries at the court of France, 1358. Charles VI. who was then young and frolicsome, and five young noblemen, appeared like savage men, clothed in robes of linen, exactly fitted to their bodies, covered from head to foot, with a representation of long hair, made of linen threads fixed to their linen like robes with pitch. A flambeaux accidentally set fire to the counterfeit hair of one of these seeming savages, and in a moment, five of them, who were near each other, were all in flames. Four of them were burnt to death, and the fifth preserved his life by throwing himself into a large vessel of water, which happened to be near; the king was saved by being fortunately at a little distance. At these great festivals, the whole company sometimes wore masks; and on these occasions no great regard, it is said, was paid to decency.

Pageants, at the triumphant entries of princes into their capitals, were not unknown in this period. The citizens of London expended great sums on pageants, as well as in presents, at the public entry of

Richard II. and his queen, in 1392. Those exhibited at Paris, at the entry of Isabel of Cavarra, queen to Charles VI., were numerous and magnificent, but strongly tinged with the gross superstition of the age. When the queen approached the gate of St. Denis in her litter, she beheld a representation of heaven, with clouds and stars, and many children, in imitation of angels, singing most melodiously, and in the midst of them an image of the Virgin Mary with the infant in her arms, playing with a little mill made of a large nut. At the next gate she beheld another heaven, more glorious than the first, in which were many angels singing, and an image of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, sitting in majesty on his throne. When she came near the gate two angels descended and placed a crown of gold, adorned with precious stones upon her head, and then ascended, singing certain verses in her praise.

At grand festivals, the palaces of princes, and the castles of great barons, were crowded with hundreds of minstrels, mimics, jugglers, tumblers, rope-dancers, &c. who exhibited, in their different ways, for the amusement of the company. Some of their exhibitions were abundantly ridiculous. At one time, for example, a horse danced upon a rope, and two oxen rode upon horses, and sounded trumpets.

The fondness of princes, nobles, and gentlemen for the sports of the field, was as great in this as it had been in the former period. These sports were the chief joy and business of their lives; horses, hounds, and hawks, were the favourite topics of their conversation; and some of them, we are told, kept no fewer than sixteen hundred dogs for the chase. A royal hunting was as splendid, and almost as expensive, as a royal tournament. When the kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus were in England, in 1363, Edward II. proclaimed a royal hunting, to which he invited those kings, all the French hostages, and all his own nobility. If we reflect on the number and quality of the persons invited, the greatness of their retinues, and their fondness of this kind of sport, we may form some idea of the magnificence of this hunting. The scenes of this famous sport were the forests of Rogyngan, Clyne, Schyrewood, and several other forests, woods and chases, from which we may conclude, that it continued a considerable time. Wolves were not extirpated out of England so early as is commonly believed. This appears from a commission granted by Edward I. in 1281, to his faithful and well-beloved servant, Peter Corbet, to hunt and destroy all the wolves he could find in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford.

There is sufficient evidence, that certain amusements or sports, which are called by the historians of those times "theatrical," were known and admired in this period. The monk of Malmesbury, who wrote the life of Edward II. acquaints us, that Walter Reynolds, made archbishop of Canterbury in 1214, was not a man of much learning; but that he had gained the favour of the king by his great skill in theatrical plays, of which he was superintendent. But those theatrical exhibitions were probably no other than the awkward representations of scripture-histories, which were called "mysteries" and "miracles." These mysteries were originally a kind of religious, or rather superstitious ceremonies, exhibited in monasteries and churches, by the monks and clergy; but they afterwards became also secular amusements, and were acted by the laity.







Henry IV.

HENRY IV.

The most interesting historical passages, both of the Old and New Testament, were represented, at Chester, in 1327, at the expense of the different incorporated companies of that city, and probably by the members of these companies and their servants. In the mystery of the creation, which was acted by the drapers, the persons who represented Adam and Eve appeared quite naked, without blushing themselves, or giving any offence to the spectators. The mystery of the deluge, which was acted by the dyers, contained a violent altercation between Noah, and his wife, who absolutely refused to enter the ark; and when she was forced into it, gave her husband a hearty blow on the ear. Moralities were a kind of interludes, in which the virtues and vices, the human faculties and passions, &c. were personified, and speeches formed for them, illustrating and recommending a certain moral.

The words comedy and tragedy occur in some of the authors of this period; but it plainly appears, that by comedies they meant only pleasant facetious stories, calculated to produce laughter: and by tragedies, tales of woe, adapted to excite terror, grief and pity. Many of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales are in the facetious strain, and are therefore called comedies; some of them are mournful stories, and are called tragedies. He gave this last name to his poem of Troilus and Creside:—

Go, litil boke, go, litil tragedie,  
There God my makir yet er that I die,  
To sende me might to make some comedie.

Tragedy is thus described by Chaucer's monk in the prologue to his tale:—

Tragiday is to tell a certayne story,  
As olde bokis makin ofte memory,  
Of hem that stode in grete prosperity,  
And to be fallin out of ther hie degre  
In to misery, and ended wretchedly;  
And thet been versifyd comonly.  
Of sixe fete, whiche men clepen hexametron:  
In prose eke ben endited many one,  
And in metre, many a sondry wise,  
Lo! this ought enough you for to suffice.

The monk proposed to tell a few tragedies, of which he had one hundred in his cell; and his tale accordingly consists of seventeen short stories of persons who had fallen from great prosperity into great adversity.

Tragetours, as they were then called, or jugglers, contributed to the amusement of those who could afford to pay them for their exhibitions, which tended to excite surprise and admiration, by certain tricks and appearances which imposed upon the senses of the spectators. Several of these exhibitions are described by Chaucer, of which it will be sufficient to produce one example:—

For I am sikir there be sciencas,  
By whiche men make divers apparances,  
Soche as these sotil tragetores plaie;  
For oft at festis have I well herd saie,  
That tragitors within an halle large,  
Have made to come in watir and a barge,  
And in the halle rowin up and down;  
Sometime hath semid come a grim lion:  
And sometime flouris spring as in a mede  
Sometime a castil alle of lime and stone  
And whan hem lik'd viodin hem anon  
Thus semid it to every maun is sight.

Games of chance appear to have been nearly the same in this and the preceding period, and to have been pursued with equal ardour in both. Cards, which have long been the chief instrument of gaming, both for gain and for amusement, were invented to-

wards the conclusion of the fourteenth century, by Jaquemin Gringonneur, a painter in Aaris; but we have met with no evidence that they were used in Britain before the end of our present period,

## CHAP. XXII.

### HENRY IV.

*Title of the King—A conspiracy—An insurrection in Wales—The earl of Northumberland rebels—Battle of Shrewsbury—State of Scotland—Parliamentary transactions—Death—and character of the King.*

THE English had so long been familiarised to the hereditary succession of their monarchs, the instances of departure from it had always borne such strong symptoms of injustice and violence, and so little of a national choice or election, and the returns to the true line had ever been deemed such fortunate incidents in their history, that Henry was afraid lest, in resting his title on the consent of the people, he should build on a foundation to which the people themselves were not accustomed, and whose solidity they would with difficulty be brought to recognize. The idea too of choice seemed always to imply that of conditions, and a right of recalling the consent upon any supposed violation of them; an idea which was not naturally agreeable to a sovereign, and might, in England, be dangerous to the subjects, who, lying so much under the influence of turbulent nobles, had ever paid but an imperfect obedience even to their hereditary princes. For these reasons, Henry was determined never to have recourse to this claim; the only one on which his authority could consistently stand: he rather chose to patch up his title in the best manner he could from other pretensions: and, in the end, he left himself, in the eyes of men of sense, no ground of right but his present possession; a very precarious foundation, which, by its very nature, was liable to be overthrown by every faction of the great, or prejudice of the people. He had indeed a present advantage over his competitor: the heir of the house of Mortimer, who had been declared in parliament heir to the crown, was a boy of seven years of age: his friends consulted his safety, by keeping silence with regard to his title: Henry detained him and his younger brother in an honourable custody at Windsor castle: but he had reason to dread, that, in proportion as that nobleman grew to man's estate, he would draw to him the attachment of the people, and make them reflect on the fraud, violence, and injustice, by which he had been excluded from the throne. Many favourable topics would occur in his behalf: he was a native of England; possessed an extensive interest from the greatness and alliances of his family; however criminal the deposed monarch, this youth was entirely innocent: he was of the same religion, and educated in the same manners with the people, and could not be governed by any separate interest: these views would all concur to favour his claim; and though the abilities of the present prince might ward off any dangerous revolution, it was justly to be apprehended, that his authority could with difficulty be brought to equal that of his predecessors.

Henry, in his very first parliament, had reason to see the danger attending that station which he had assumed, and the obstacles which he would meet



with in governing an unruly aristocracy, always divided by faction, and at present inflamed with the resentments consequent on such recent convulsions. The peers, on their assembling, broke out into violent animosities against each other; forty gauntlets, the pledges of furious battle, were thrown on the floor of the house by noblemen who gave mutual challenges; and the liar and traitor resounded from all quarters. The king had so much authority with these doughty champions, as to prevent all the combats which they threatened; but he was not able to bring them to a proper composure, or an amicable disposition towards each other.

It was not long before these passions broke into action. The earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and lord Spenser, who were now degraded from the respective titles of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Gloucester, conferred on them by Richard, entered into a conspiracy, together with the earl of Salisbury and Lord Lumley, for raising an insurrection, and for seizing the king's person at Windsor; but the treachery of Rutland gave him warning of the danger. He suddenly withdrew to London; and the conspirators, who came to Windsor with a body of 500 horse, found that that they had missed this blow, on which all the success of their enterprise depended. Henry appeared next day at Kingston upon Thames, at the head of 20,000 men, mostly drawn from the city; and his enemies, unable to resist his power, dispersed themselves, with a view of raising their followers in the several counties which were the seat of their interest. But the adherents of the king were hot in the pursuit, and every where opposed themselves to their progress. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized at Cirencester by the citizens; and were next day beheaded without farther ceremony, according to the custom of the times. The citizens of Bristol treated Spenser and Lumley in the same manner. The earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Blount, and Sir Benedict Sely, who were also taken prisoners, suffered death, with many others of the conspirators, by orders from Henry. And when the quarters of these unhappy men were brought to London, no less than eighteen bishops and thirty-two mitred abbots joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent marks of joy and exultation.

But the spectacle, the most shocking to every one who retained any sentiment either of honour or humanity, still remained. The earl of Rutland appeared, carrying on a pole the head of Lord Spenser, his brother-in-law, which he presented in triumph to Henry as a testimony of his loyalty. This infamous man, who was soon after duke of York by the death of his father, and first prince of the blood, had been instrumental in the murder of his uncle the duke of Gloucester; had then deserted Richard, by whom he was trusted; had conspired against the life of Henry, to whom he had sworn allegiance; had betrayed his associates, whom he had seduced into this enterprise; and now displayed, in the face of the world, these badges of his multiplied dishonour.

Henry was sensible, that though the execution of these conspirators might seem to give security to his throne, the animosities, which remain after such bloody scenes, are always dangerous to royal authority; and he therefore determined not to increase, by any hazardous enterprise, those numerous enemies with whom he was every where environed. While a subject, he was believed to have strongly imbibed all the principles of his father, the duke of

Lancaster, and to have adopted the prejudices which the Lollards inspired against the abuses of the established church: but, finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, he thought superstition a necessary implement of public authority; and he resolved, by every expedient, to pay court to the clergy. There were hitherto no penal laws enacted against heresy; an indulgence which had proceeded, not from a spirit of toleration in the Romish church, but from the ignorance and simplicity of the people, which had rendered them unfit either for starting or receiving any new or curious doctrines, and which needed not to be restrained by rigorous penalties. But when the learning and genius of Wickliffe had once broken, in some measure, the fetters of prejudice, the ecclesiastics called aloud for the punishment of his disciples; and the king, who was little scrupulous in his conduct, was easily induced to sacrifice his principles to his interest, and to acquire the favour of the church by that most effectual method, the gratifying of their vengeance against opponents. He engaged the parliament to pass a law for that purpose: it was enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate before the whole people. This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy: William Sautré, rector of St. Osithes in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury; his sentence was ratified by the house of peers; and the king issued his writ for the execution; and the unhappy man atoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire. This is the first instance of that kind in England; and thus one horror more was added to those dismal scenes which at that time were already but too familiar to the people.

But the utmost precaution and prudence of Henry could not shield him from those numerous inquietudes which assailed him from every quarter. The connexions of Richard with the royal family of France made that court exert its activity to recover his authority, or revenge his death; but though the confusions in England tempted the French to engage in some enterprise by which they might distress their ancient enemy, the greater confusions which they experienced at home obliged them quickly to accommodate matters; and Charles, content with recovering his daughter from Henry's hands, laid aside his preparations, and renewed the truce between the kingdoms. The attack of Guienne was also an inviting attempt, which the present factions that prevailed among the French obliged them to neglect. The Gascons, affectionate to the memory of Richard, who was born among them, refused to swear allegiance to a prince that had dethroned and murdered him; and the appearance of a French army on the frontiers would probably have tempted them to change masters. But the earl of Worcester, arriving with some English troops, gave countenance to the partisans of Henry, and overawed their opponents. Religion too was here found a cement to their union with England. The Gascons had been engaged, by Richard's authority, to acknowledge the pope of Rome; and they were sensible, that if they submitted to France, it would be necessary for them to pay obedience to the pope of Avignon, whom they had been taught to detest as a schismatic. Their principles on this head were too fast rooted to admit of any sudden or violent alteration.

The revolution in England proved the occasion of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, or Glendourduy, descended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald lord Gray of Ruthyn, who was closely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppressing his neighbour, and taking possession of his estate. Glendour, provoked at the injustice, and still more at the indignity, recovered possession by the sword: Henry sent assistance to Gray; the Welsh took part with Glendour: a troublesome and tedious war was kindled, which Glendour long sustained by his valour and activity, aided by the natural strength of the country, and the untamed spirit of its inhabitants.

As Glendour committed devastations promiscuously on all the English, he infested the estate of the earl of Marche; and sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to that nobleman, led out the retainers of the family, and gave battle to the Welsh chieftain: His troops were routed, and he was taken prisoner: at the same time the earl himself, who had been allowed to retire to his castle of Wigmore, and who, though a mere boy, took the field with his followers, fell also into Glendour's hands, and was carried by him into Wales. As Henry dreaded and hated all the family of Marche, he allowed the earl to remain in captivity; and though the young nobleman was nearly allied to the Percies, to whose assistance he himself had owed his crown, he refused to the earl of Northumberland permission to treat of his ransom with Glendour.

The uncertainty in which Henry's affairs stood during a long time with France, as well as the confusions incident to all great changes in government, tempted the Scots to make incursions into England; and Henry, desirous of taking revenge upon them, but afraid of rendering his new government unpopular by requiring great supplies from his subjects, summoned at Westminster a council of the peers, without the commons, and laid before them the state of his affairs. The military part of the feudal constitution was now much decayed: there remained only so much of that fabric as affected the civil rights and properties of men: and the peers here undertook, but voluntarily, to attend the king in an expedition against Scotland, each of them at the head of a certain number of his retainers. Henry conducted his army to Edinburgh, of which he easily made himself master; and he there summoned Robert III. to do homage to him for his crown. But finding that the Scots would neither submit nor give him battle, he returned in three weeks, after making this useless bravado; he disbanded his army.

In the subsequent season, Archibald earl of Douglas, at the head of 12,000 men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, and committed devastations on the northern counties. On his return home, he was overtaken by the Percies at Homeldon, on the borders of England, and a fierce battle ensued, where the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himself was taken prisoner; as was Mordac earl of Fife, son of the duke of Albany, and nephew of the Scottish king, with the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney, and many others of the gentry and nobility. When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he sent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners, which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war received in

that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland; but by this policy he gave a fresh disgust to the family of Percy.

The obligations which Henry had owed to Northumberland were of a kind the most likely to produce ingratitude on the one side, and discontent on the other. The sovereign naturally became jealous of that power which had advanced him to the throne; and the subject was not easily satisfied in the returns which he thought so great a favour had merited. Though Henry, on his accession, had bestowed the office of constable on Northumberland for life, and conferred other gifts on that family, these favours were regarded as their due; the refusal of any other request was deemed an injury. The impatient spirit of Harry Percy, and the factious opposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to seek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour: he gave liberty to the earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief: he roused up all his partisans to arms; and such unlimited authority at that time belonged to the great families, that the same men, whom a few years before, he had conducted against Richard, now followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When war was ready to break out, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched down towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour. The king had happily a small army on foot, with which he had intended to act against the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he instantly hurried down, that he might give battle to the rebels. He approached Percy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement.

The evening before the battle, Percy sent a manifesto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, set that prince at defiance, and, in the name of his father and uncle, as well as his own, enumerated all the grievances, of which he pretended, the nation had reason to complain. He upbraided him with the perjury of which he had been guilty, when on landing at Ravenspur, he had sworn upon the gospels, before the earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first dethroning, then murdering that prince, and in usurping on the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom both by lineal succession, and by declarations of parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demise, did of right belong. He complained of his cruel policy in allowing the young earl of Marche, whom he ought to regard as his sovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and even refusing to all his friends permission to treat of his ransom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having sworn that, without the utmost necessity, he would never levy any impositions upon them. And he reproached him with the arts employed in procuring favourable elections into parliament; arts which he himself had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reason of that



prince's arraignment and deposition. This manifesto was well calculated to inflame the quarrel between the parties: the bravery of the two leaders promised an obstinate engagement; and the equality of the armies, being each about 12,000 men, a number which was not unmanageable by the commanders, gave reason to expect a great effusion of blood on both sides, and a very doubtful issue to the combat.

We shall scarcely find any battle in those ages where the shock was more terrible and more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight: his gallant son, whose military achievements were afterwards so renowned, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalized himself on his father's footsteps, and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Percy supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat: and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival, amidst the horror and confusion of the day. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almost incredible: he seemed determined that the king of England should that day fall by his arm: he sought him all over the field of battle: and as Henry, either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his person, or to encourage his own men by the belief of his presence everywhere, had accoutred several captains in the royal garb, the sword of Douglas rendered this honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Percy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen that day, on both sides, near two thousand three hundred gentlemen; but the persons of greatest distinction were on the king's; the earl of Stafford, sir Hugh Shirley, sir Nicholas Gausel, sir Hugh Mortimer, sir John Massey, sir John Calverly. About six thousand private men perished, of whom two thirds were of Percy's army. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners: the former was beheaded at Shrewsbury; the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and merit.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his sickness, had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but being opposed by the earl of Westmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his sole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties: Henry thought proper to accept of the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence: all the other rebels were treated with equal lenity; and, except the earl of Worcester and sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the insurrection, no person engaged in this dangerous enterprise seems to have perished by the hand of the executioner.

But Northumberland, though he had been pardoned, knew that he never should be trusted, and that he was too powerful to be cordially forgiven by a prince whose situation gave him such reasonable grounds of jealousy. It was the effect either of Henry's vigilance or good fortune, or of the narrow genius of his enemies, that no proper concert was ever formed among them: they rose in rebellion one after another; and thereby afforded him an opportunity of suppressing singly those insurrections, which, had they been united, might have proved fatal to his authority. The earl of Nottingham, son

of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Wiltshire, whom Henry, when duke of Lancaster, had beheaded at Bristol, though they had remained quiet while Percy was in the field, still harboured in their breast a violent hatred against the enemy of their families; and they determined in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, to seek revenge against him. They betook themselves to arms before that powerful nobleman was ready to join them; and publishing a manifesto, in which they reproached Henry with his usurpation of the crown, and the murder of the late king, they required that the right line should be restored, and all public grievances be redressed. The earl of Westmoreland, whose power lay in the neighbourhood, approached them with an inferior force, at Shipton, near York; and, being afraid to hazard an action, he attempted to subdue them by a stratagem, which nothing but the greatest folly and simplicity on their part could have rendered successful. He desired a conference with the archbishop and earl between the armies: he heard their grievances with great patience: he begged them to propose the remedies: he approved of every expedient which they suggested: he granted them all their demands: he also engaged that Henry should give them entire satisfaction; and when he saw them pleased with the facility of his concessions, he observed to them, that since amity was now, in effect, restored between them, it were better on both sides to dismiss their forces, which otherwise would prove an insupportable burden to the country. The archbishop and the earl of Nottingham immediately gave directions for that purpose: their troops disbanded upon the field: but Westmoreland, who had secretly issued contrary orders to his army, seized the two rebels without resistance, and carried them to the king, who was advancing with hasty marches to suppress the insurrection. The trial and punishment of an archbishop might have proved a troublesome and dangerous undertaking, had Henry proceeded regularly, and allowed time for an opposition to form itself against that unusual measure: the celerity of the execution alone could here render it safe and prudent. Finding that sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, made some scruple of acting on this occasion, he appointed sir William Fulthorpe for judge; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced sentence of death upon the prelate, which was presently executed. This was the first instance in England of a capital punishment being inflicted on a bishop; whence the clergy of that rank might learn that their crimes, more than those of laics, were not to pass with impunity. The earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the same summary manner: But though many other persons of condition, such as lord Falconberg, sir Ralph Hastings, sir John Colville, were engaged in this rebellion, no others seem to have fallen victims to Henry's severity.

The earl of Northumberland, on receiving this intelligence, fled into Scotland, together with lord Bardolf; and the king, without opposition, reduced all the castles and fortresses belonging to these noblemen. He thence turned his arms against Glendower, over whom his son, the prince of Wales, had obtained some advantages; but that enemy, more troublesome than dangerous, still found means of defending himself in his fastnesses, and of eluding, though not resisting, all the force of England. In a subsequent season, the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf, impatient of their exile, entered

the north, in hopes of raising the people to arms, but found the country in such a posture as rendered all their attempts unsuccessful. Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire, levied some forces, attacked the invaders at Bramham, and gained a victory, in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were slain. This prosperous event, joined to the death of Glendour, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies; and this prince, who had mounted the throne by such unjustifiable means, and held it by such an exceptionable title, had yet, by his valour, prudence, and address, accustomed the people to the yoke, and had obtained a greater ascendancy over his haughty barons than the law alone, not supported by these active qualities, was ever able to confer.

About the same time, fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbour, who, by his situation, was best enabled to disturb his government. Robert III., king of Scots, was a prince, though of slender capacity, extremely innocent and inoffensive in his conduct: but Scotland, at that time, was still less fitted than England for cherishing, or even enduring, sovereigns of that character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of more abilities, at least of a more boisterous and violent disposition, had assumed the government of the state; and, not satisfied with present authority, he entertained the criminal purpose of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw in prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger: James alone, the younger brother of David, stood between that tyrant and the throne; and King Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of sending him to France, and entrusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, the vessel was taken by the English; Prince James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London; and though there subsisted at that time a truce between the kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. Robert, worn out with cares and infirmities, was unable to bear the shock of this last misfortune: and he soon after died, leaving the government in the hands of the duke of Albany. Henry was now more sensible than ever of the importance of the acquisition which he had made: while he retained such a pledge, he was sure of keeping the duke of Albany in dependance; or, if offended, he could easily, by restoring the true heir, take ample revenge upon the usurper. But though the king, by detaining James in the English court, had shown himself somewhat deficient in generosity, he made ample amends by giving that prince an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in some measure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

The hostile dispositions which of late had prevailed between France and England were restrained, during the greater part of this reign, from appearing in action. The jealousies and civil commotions with which both nations were disturbed, kept each of them from taking advantage of the unhappy situation of its neighbour. But as the abilities and good fortune of Henry had sooner been able to compose the English factions, this prince began, in the latter part of his reign, to look abroad, and to foment the animosities between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was, during that period, so much distracted.

He knew that one great source of the national discontent against his predecessor was, the inactivity of his reign; and he hoped, by giving a new direction to the restless and unquiet spirits of his people, to prevent their breaking out in domestic wars and disorders. That he might unite policy with force, he first entered into treaty with the duke of Burgundy, and sent that prince a small body of troops, which supported him against his enemies. Soon after, he hearkened to more advantageous proposals made him by the duke of Orleans, and dispatched a greater body to support that party. But the leaders of the opposite factions having made temporary accommodation, the interests of the English were sacrificed; and this effort of Henry proved, in the issue, entirely vain and fruitless. The declining state of his health, and the shortness of his reign, prevented him from renewing the attempt, which his more fortunate son carried to so great a length against the French monarchy.

Such were the military and foreign transactions of this reign: the civil and parliamentary are somewhat more memorable, and more worthy of our attention. During the two last reigns, the elections of the commons had appeared a circumstance of government not to be neglected; and Richard was even accused of using unwarrantable methods for procuring to his partisans a seat in that house. This practice formed one considerable article of charge against him in his deposition; yet Henry scrupled not to tread in his footsteps, and to encourage the same abuses in elections. Laws were enacted against such undue influence, and even a sheriff was punished for an iniquitous return which he had made: but laws were commonly, at that time, very ill executed; and the liberties of the people, such as they were, stood on a surer basis than on laws and parliamentary elections. Though the house of commons was little able to withstand the violent currents which perpetually ran between the monarchy and aristocracy, and though that house might easily be brought, at a particular time, to make the most unwarrantable concessions to either; the general institutions of the state still remained invariable; the interests of the several members continued on the same footing; the sword was in the hands of the subject; and the government, though thrown into temporary disorder, soon settled itself on its ancient foundations.

During the greater part of this reign, the king was obliged to court popularity; and the house of commons, sensible of their own importance, began to assume powers which had not usually been exercised by their predecessors. In the first year of Henry, they procured a law, that no judge, in concurring with any iniquitous measure, should be excused by pleading the orders of the king, or even the dangers of his own life, from the menaces of the sovereign. In the second year, they insisted on maintaining the practice of not granting any supply before they received an answer to their petitions: which was a tacit manner of bargaining with the prince. In the fifth year, they desired the king to remove from his household four persons who had displeased them, among whom was his own confessor; and Henry, though he told them that he knew of no offence which these men had committed, yet, in order to gratify them, complied with their request. In the sixth year, they voted the king supplies, but appointed treasurers of their own, to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the



house. In the eighth year, they proposed, for the regulation of the government and household, thirty important articles, which were all agreed to; and they even obliged all the members of council, all the judges, and all the officers of the household, to swear to the observance of them. The abridger of the records remarks the unusual liberties taken by the speaker and the house during this period. But the great authority of the commons was but a temporary advantage, arising from the present situation. In a subsequent parliament, when the speaker made his customary application to the throne for liberty of speech, the king, having now overcome all his domestic difficulties, plainly told him, that he would have no novelties introduced, and would enjoy his prerogatives. But on the whole, the limitations of the government seem to have been more sensibly felt, and more carefully maintained, by Henry, than by any of his predecessors.

During this reign, when the house of commons were, at any time, brought to make unwary concessions to the crown, they also shewed their freedom by a speedy retraction of them. Henry, though he entertained a perpetual and well-grounded jealousy of the family of Mortimer, allowed not their name to be once mentioned in parliament; and as none of the rebels had ventured to declare the earl of Marche king, he never attempted to procure, what would not have been refused him, an express declaration against the claim of that nobleman; because he knew that such a declaration, in the present circumstances, would have no authority, and would only serve to revive the memory of Mortimer's title in the minds of the people. He proceeded in his purpose after a more artful and covert manner. He procured a settlement of the crown on himself and his heirs male, thereby tacitly excluding the females and transferring the Salic law into the English government. He thought, that though the house of Plantagenet had at first derived their title from a female, this was a remote event, unknown to the generality of the people; and if he could once accustom them to the practice of excluding women, the title of the earl of Marche would gradually be forgotten and neglected by them. But he was very unfortunate in this attempt. During the long contests with France, the injustice of the Salic law had been so much exclaimed against by the nation, that a contrary principle had taken deep root in the minds of men; and it was now become impossible to eradicate it. The same house of commons, therefore, in a subsequent session, apprehensive that they had overturned the foundations of the English government, and that they had opened the door to more civil wars than might ensue even from the irregular elevation of the house of Lancaster, applied with such earnestness for a new settlement of the crown, that Henry yielded to their request, and agreed to the succession of the princesses of his family. A certain proof that nobody was, in his heart, satisfied with the king's title to the crown, or knew on what principle to rest it.

But though the commons, during this reign, showed a laudable zeal for liberty in their transactions with the crown; their efforts against the church were still more extraordinary, and seemed to anticipate very much the spirit which became so general in a little more than a century afterwards. We know that the credit of these passages rests entirely on one ancient historian; but that historian was contemporary, was a clergyman, and it was contrary to the interests of his order to preserve the

memory of such transactions, much more to forge precedents, which posterity might, some time, be tempted to imitate. This is a truth so evident, that the most likely way of accounting for the silence of the records on this head, is, by supposing that the authority of some churchmen was so great as to procure a rasure, with regard to these circumstances, which the indiscretion of one of that order has happily preserved to us.

In the sixth of Henry, the commons, who had been required to grant supplies, proposed, in plain terms, to the king, that he should seize all the temporalities of the church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigences of the state. They insisted that the clergy possessed a third of the lands of the kingdom; that they contributed nothing to the public burdens; and that their riches tended only to disqualify them from performing their ministerial functions with proper zeal and attention. When this address was presented, the archbishop of Canterbury, who then attended the king, objected that the clergy, though they went not in person to the wars, sent their vassals and tenants in all cases of necessity; while, at the same time, they themselves, who staid at home, were employed night and day in offering up their prayers for the happiness and prosperity of the state. The speaker smiled, and answered, without reserve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a very slender supply. The archbishop, however, prevailed in the dispute: the king discouraged the application of the commons; and the lords rejected the bill which the lower house had framed for stripping the church of her revenues.

The commons were not discouraged by this repulse: in the eleventh of the king they returned to the charge with more zeal than before; they made a calculation of all the ecclesiastical revenues, which, by their account, amounted to 485,000 marks a-year, and contained 18,400 ploughs of land. They proposed to divide this property among fifteen new earls, 1500 knights, 6000 esquires, and a hundred hospitals, besides 20,000*l.* a-year, which the king might take for his own use: and they insisted that the clerical functions would be better performed than at present, by 15,000 parish priests, paid at the rate of seven marks a-piece of yearly stipend. This application was accompanied with an address for mitigating the statutes enacted against the Lollards, which shows from what source the address came. The king gave the commons a severe reply; and, farther to satisfy the church, and to prove that he was quite in earnest, he ordered a Lollard to be burned before the dissolution of the parliament.

We have now related almost all the memorable transactions of this reign, which was busy and active, but produced few events that deserve to be transmitted to posterity. The king was so much employed in defending his crown, which he had obtained by unwarrantable means, and possessed by a bad title, that he had little leisure to look abroad, or perform any action which might much redound to the honour or advantage of the nation.

Lingard says, "Though he was only in his forty-sixth year, he bore about him all the symptoms of declining age. Soon after Archbishop Scroop's insurrection, he became afflicted with the most loathsome eruptions on his face, which, by the common people, were considered as a punishment for the death of that prelate; and a succession of epileptic fits gradually increasing in violence, was now hurrying him to the grave. The prospect of his fate brought, we are told, to his recollection the







1000000

means by which he had acquired, and the blood by which he had preserved, the crown. He began, at length, to doubt the certainty of his favourite maxim; that the success of the enterprise was a proof that it had received the approbation of Heaven. One day, when he was lying in a fit, and to all appearance was dead, the prince conveyed to another room the crown, which, according to custom, had been laid on a cushion by the bed-side. The king returning to himself, sternly asked, who had borne it away; and on the report of his guards, required the immediate return of the prince. Pacified by his dutiful expressions, he asked him with a sigh, "Alas! fair son, what right have you to the crown, when you know your father had none?" "My liege," answered the young Henry, "with the sword you won it, and with the sword I will keep it." After a pause the king faintly replied: "Well, do as you think best. I leave the issue to God, and hope he will have mercy on my soul." Lingard adds, however, that it is not improbable that this story was framed by the friends of the rival family. It is inserted here, as the poetry of Shakspeare has given it a universal interest. Lingard continues, "His last fit seized him, while he was praying in St. Edward's chapel at Westminster. He was carried into the abbot's chamber, and quickly expired on the 20th March, 1413, in the fourteenth year of his reign.

The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he attained the crown, and which had so much aided him in the acquisition of it, was entirely lost many years before the end of his reign; and he governed his people more by terror than by affection, more by his own policy than by their sense of duty or allegiance. When men came to reflect, in cool blood, on the crimes which had led him to the throne; the rebellion against his prince; the deposition of a lawful king, guilty sometimes, perhaps, of oppression, but more frequently of indiscretion; the exclusion of the true heir; the murder of his sovereign and near relation; these were such enormities as drew on him the hatred of his subjects, sanctified all the rebellions against him, and made the executions, though not remarkably severe, which he found necessary for the maintenance of his authority, appear cruel as well as iniquitous to the people. Yet, without pretending to apologize for these crimes, which must ever be held in detestation, it may be remarked, that he was insensibly led into this blameable conduct by a train of incidents, which few men possess virtue enough to withstand. The injustice with which his predecessor had treated him, in first condemning him to banishment, then despoiling him of his patrimony, made him naturally think of revenge, and of recovering his lost rights; the headlong zeal of the people hurried him into the throne; the care of his own security, as well as his ambition, made him an usurper; and the steps have always been so few between the prisons of princes and their graves, that we need not wonder that Richard's fate was no exception to the general rule. All these considerations make Henry's situation, if he retained any sense of virtue, much to be lamented; and the inquietude with which he possessed his envied greatness, and the remorse by which, it is said, he was continually haunted, render him an object of our pity, even when seated upon the throne. But it must be owned, that his prudence and vigilance and foresight in maintaining his power, were admirable: his command of temper remarkable: his courage, both military and political,

without blemish: and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and which rendered his usurpation of it, though pernicious in after-times, rather salutary, during his own reign, to the English nation.

Henry was twice married: by his first wife, Mary Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four sons, Henry his successor to the throne, Thomas, duke of Clarence, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, and the latter to the king of Denmark. His second wife, Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter of the king of Navarre, and widow of the duke of Brittany, brought him no issue.

By an act of the fifth of this reign, it is made felony to cut out any person's tongue, or put out his eyes; crimes which, the act says, were very frequent. This savage spirit of revenge denotes a barbarous people; though, perhaps, it was increased by the prevailing factions and civil commotions.

## CHAP. XXIII.

### HENRY V.

*The King's former disorders—His reformation—The Lollards—Punishment of Lord Cobham—State of France—Invasion of that kingdom—Battle of Azincour—State of France—New invasion of France—Assassination of the duke of Burgundy—Treaty of Troye—Marriage of the King—His death—and character.*

THE many jealousies to which Henry IV.'s situation naturally exposed him, had so infected his temper, that he had entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son, and, during the latter years of his life, he had excluded that prince from all share in public business, and was even displeased to see him at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him a renown, which he thought might prove dangerous to his own authority. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagancies of every kind; and the riot of pleasure, the frolic of debauchery, the outrage of wine, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. This course of life threw him among companions, whose disorders, if accompanied with spirit and humour, he indulged and seconded; and he was detected in many sallies, which, to severer eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his rank and station. There even remains a tradition, that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking the passengers on the streets and highways, and despoiling them of their goods; and he found an amusement in the incidents which the terror and regret of these defenceless people produced on such occasions. This extreme of dissoluteness proved equally disagreeable to his father, as that eager application to business which had at first given him occasion of jealousy; and he saw, in his son's behaviour, the same neglect of decency, the same attachment to low company, which had degraded the personal character of Richard, and which, more than all his errors in government, had tended to overturn his throne. But the nation, in



general, considered the young prince with more indulgence; and so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity, breaking continually through the cloud which a wild conduct threw over his character, they never ceased to hope for his amendment; and they ascribed all the weeds, which shot up in that rich soil, to the want of proper culture and attention in the king and his ministers. There happened an incident which encouraged these agreeable views, and gave much occasion for favourable reflections to all men of sense and candour. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for some disorders; and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence had not overawed the chief justice, he proceeded to insult that magistrate on his tribunal; but Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws, which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behaviour. The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to this sentence, make reparation for his error by acknowledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the midst of its extravagant career.

The memory of this incident and of many others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation, and increased the joy which the death of so unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occasioned. The first steps taken by the young prince confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but strictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his presence; and he thus dismissed them with liberal presents. The wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots found that they had unknowingly been paying the highest court to him; and were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. The chief justice himself, who trembled to approach the royal presence, met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The surprise of those who expected an opposite behaviour, augmented their satisfaction; and the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.

But Henry was anxious not only to repair his own misconduct, but also to make amends for those iniquities into which policy or the necessity of affairs had betrayed his father. He expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, did justice to the memory of that unfortunate prince, even performed his funeral obsequies with pomp and solemnity, and cherished all those who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty and attachment towards him. Instead of continuing the restraints which the jealousy of his father had imposed on the earl of Marche, he received that young nobleman with singular courtesy and favour; and by this magnanimity, so gained on the gentle and unambitious nature of his competitor, that he remained ever after sincerely attached to him, and gave him no disturbance in his future government. The family of Percy was restored to its fortune and honours. The king seemed ambitious to bury all party-distinctions in oblivion: the instruments of the pre-

ceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for the Lancastrian interests, more than from their merits, gave place every where to men of more honourable characters: virtue seemed now to have an open career, in which it might exert itself: the exhortations, as well as example, of the prince gave it encouragement: all men were unanimous in their attachment to Henry; and the defects of his title were forgotten amidst the personal regard which was universally paid to him.

The Lollards were every day increasing in the kingdom, and were become a formed party, which appeared extremely dangerous to the church, and even formidable to the civil authority. The enthusiasm by which these sectaries were generally actuated, the great alterations which they pretended to introduce, the hatred which they expressed against the established hierarchy, gave an alarm to Henry; who, either from a sincere attachment to the ancient religion, or from a dread of the unknown consequences which attend all important changes, was determined to execute the laws against such bold innovators. The head of this sect was sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his valour and his military talents, and had on many occasions acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. His high character and his zeal for the new sect pointed him out to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclesiastical severity; whose punishment would strike a terror into the whole party, and teach them that they must expect no mercy under the present administration. He applied to Henry for a permission to indict Lord Cobham; but the generous nature of the prince was averse to such sanguinary methods of conversion. He represented to the primate, that reason and conviction were the best expedients for supporting truth; that all gentle means ought first to be tried in order to reclaim men from error; and that he himself would endeavour, by a conversation with Cobham, to reconcile him to the Catholic faith. But he found that nobleman obstinate in his opinions, and determined not to sacrifice truths of such infinite moment to his complaisance for sovereigns. Henry's principles of toleration, or rather his love of the practice, could carry him no farther; and he then gave full reins to ecclesiastical severity against the inflexible heresiarch. The primate indicted Cobham; and, with the assistance of his three suffragans, the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. Cobham, who was confined in the tower, made his escape before the day appointed for his execution. The bold spirit of the man, provoked by persecution and stimulated by zeal, was urged to attempt the most criminal enterprises; and his unlimited authority over the new sect proved that he well merited the attention of the civil magistrate. He formed in his retreat very violent designs against his enemies; and dispatching his emissaries to all quarters, appointed a general rendezvous of the party, in order to seize the person of the king at Eltham, and put their persecutors to the sword. Henry, apprized of the intention, removed to Westminster: Cobham was not discouraged by this appointment, but changed the place of rendezvous to the field near St. Giles's: the king, having shut the gates of the city, to prevent any reinforcement to the Lollards from that quarter, came into the field in the night-time, seized such of the conspirators as appeared, and afterwards laid hold of the se-

veral parties who were hastening to the place appointed. It appeared that a few only were in the secret of the conspiracy: the rest implicitly followed their leaders: but upon the trial of the prisoners, the treasonable designs of the sect were rendered certain, both from evidence, and from the confessions of the criminals themselves. Some were executed; the greater number pardoned. Cobham himself, who made his escape by flight, was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor; and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in execution of the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic. This criminal design, which was perhaps somewhat aggravated by the clergy, brought discredit upon the party, and checked the progress of that sect, which had embraced the speculative doctrines of Wickliffe, and at the same time aspired to a reformation of ecclesiastical abuses.

These two points were the great objects of the Lollards; but the bulk of the nation was not affected in the same degree by both of them. Common sense and obvious reflection had discovered to the people the advantages of a reformation in discipline; but the age was not yet so far advanced as to be seized with the spirit of controversy, or to enter into those abstruse doctrines which the Lollards endeavoured to propagate throughout the kingdom. The very notion of heresy alarmed the generality of the people; innovation in fundamental principles was suspicious; curiosity was not, as yet, a sufficient counterpoise to authority: and even many who were the greatest friends to the reformation of abuses, were anxious to express their detestation of the speculative tenets of the Wickliffites, which, they feared, threw disgrace on so good a cause. This turn of thought appears evidently in the proceedings of the parliament which was summoned immediately after the detection of Cobham's conspiracy. That assembly passed severe laws against the new heretics: they enacted, that whoever was convicted of Lollardy, before the ordinary, besides suffering capital punishment according to the laws formerly established, should also forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the two benches, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all the chief magistrates, in every city and borough, should take an oath to use their utmost endeavours for the extirpation of heresy. Yet this very parliament, when the king demanded supply, renewed the offer formerly pressed upon his father, and entreated him to seize all the ecclesiastical revenues, and convert them to the use of the crown. The clergy were alarmed: they could offer the king no bribe which was equivalent: they only agreed to confer on him all the priories alien, which depended on capital abbeys in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to these abbeys when that province remained united to England: and Chicheley, now archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to divert the blow, by giving occupation to the king, and by persuading him to undertake a war against France, in order to recover his lost rights to that kingdom.

It was the dying injunction of the late king to his son, not to allow the English to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions; but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the prince might acquire honour; the nobility, in sharing his dangers, might attach themselves to his person; and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural disposition of Henry sufficiently inclined him to follow this advice, and the civil disorders of France, which had been

prolonged beyond those of England, opened a full career to his ambition.

The death of Charles V. which followed soon after that of Edward III. and the youth of his son, Charles VI. put the two kingdoms for some time in a similar situation; and it was not to be apprehended, that either of them, during a minority, would be able to make much advantage of the weakness of the other. The jealousies also between Charles's three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy, had distracted the affairs of France rather more than those between the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, Richard's three uncles, disordered those of England; and had carried off the attention of the French nation from any vigorous enterprise against foreign states. But in proportion as Charles advanced in years, the factions were composed; his two uncles, the dukes of Anjou, and Burgundy, died; and the king himself, assuming the reins of government, discovered symptoms of genius and spirit which revived the drooping hopes of his country. This promising state of affairs was not of long duration: The unhappy prince fell suddenly into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and though he recovered from his disorder, he was so subject to relapses, that his judgment was gradually but sensibly impaired, and no steady plan of government could be pursued by him. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother, Lewis duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John duke of Burgundy: the propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the former: the latter, who, in right of his mother, had inherited the county of Flanders, which he annexed to his father's extensive dominions, derived a lustre from his superior power: the people were divided between these contending princes: and the king, now resuming, now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular settlement of the state by the final prevalence of either party.

At length, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, seeming to be moved by the cries of the nation, and by the interposition of common friends, agreed to bury all past quarrels in oblivion, and to enter into strict amity: they swore before the altar the sincerity of their friendship; the priest administered the sacrament to both of them; they gave to each other every pledge which could be deemed sacred among men; but all this solemn preparation was only a cover for the basest treachery, which was deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. He procured his rival to be assassinated in the streets of Paris: he endeavoured for some time to conceal the part which he took in the crime. but being detected, he embraced the resolution still more criminal and more dangerous to society, by openly avowing and justifying it. The parliament itself of Paris, the tribunal of justice, heard the harangues of the duke's advocate in defence of the assassination, which he termed tyrannicide; and that assembly, partly influenced by faction, partly overawed by power, pronounced no sentence of condemnation against this detestable doctrine. The same question was afterwards agitated before the council of Constance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble division, in favour of the contrary opinion, was procured from those fathers of the church, the ministers of peace and of religion. But the mischievous effects of that tenet, had they been before anywise doubtful, appeared sufficiently from the present incidents. The commission of this crime, which destroyed all



trust and security, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waste by mutual depredations: assassinations were everywhere committed from the animosity of the several leaders; or, what was equally terrible, executions were ordered without any legal or free trial, by pretended courts of judicature. The whole kingdom was distinguished into two parties, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs—as the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, distracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual scene of blood and violence; the king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace; their faithful ministers were butchered before their face; and it was dangerous for any man, amidst these enraged factions, to be distinguished by a strict adherence to the principles of probity and honour.

During this scene of general violence, there rose into some consideration a body of men, which usually makes no figure in public transactions even during the most peaceable times; and that was the university of Paris, whose opinion was sometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied disputes between the parties. The schism by which the church was at that time divided, and which occasioned frequent controversies in the university, had raised the professors to an unusual degree of importance; and this connexion between literature and superstition had bestowed on the former a weight, to which reason and knowledge are not, of themselves, anywise entitled among men. But there was another society whose sentiments were much more decisive at Paris—the fraternity of butchers, who, under the direction of their ring-leaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the most violent outrages against the opposite party. To counterbalance their power, the Armagnacs made interest with the fraternity of carpenters; the populace ranged themselves on one side or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party.

The advantage which might be made of these confusions, was easily perceived in England; and according to the maxims which usually prevail among nations, it was determined to lay hold of the favourable opportunity. The late king, who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel, by alternately sending assistance to each; but the present sovereign, impelled by the vigour of youth and the ardour of ambition, determined to push his advantages to a greater length, and to carry violent war into that distracted kingdom. But while he was making preparations for this end, he tried to effect his purpose by negotiation; and he sent over ambassadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance; but demanding Catherine, the French king's daughter, in marriage, two millions of crowns as her portion, one million six hundred thousand as arrears of king John's ransom, and the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces which had been ravished from England by the arms of Philip Augustus; together with the superiority of Brittany and Flan-

ders. Such exorbitant demands show that he was sensible of the present miserable condition of France; and the terms offered by the French court, though much inferior, discover their consciousness of the same melancholy truth. They were willing to give him the princess in marriage, to pay him eight hundred thousand crowns, to resign the entire sovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the country of Perigord, Roergue, Xaintongue, the Angoumois, and other territories. As Henry rejected these conditions, and scarcely hoped that his own demands would be complied with, he never intermitted a moment his preparations for war; and having assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, having invited all the nobility and military men of the kingdom to attend him by the hopes of glory and of conquest, he came to the sea-side, with a purpose of embarking on his expedition.

But while Henry was meditating conquests upon his neighbours, he unexpectedly found himself in danger from a conspiracy at home, which was happily detected in its infancy. The earl of Cambridge, second son of the late duke of York, having espoused the sister of the earl of Marche, had zealously embraced the interests of that family; and had held some conferences with Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, about the means of recovering to that nobleman his right to the crown of England. The conspirators, as soon as detected, acknowledged their guilt to the king; and Henry proceeded without delay to their trial and condemnation. The utmost that could be expected of the best king in those ages, was, that he would so far observe the essentials of justice, as not to make an innocent person a victim to his severity: but as to the formalities of law, which are often as material as the essentials themselves, they were sacrificed without scruple to the least interest or convenience. A jury of commoners were summoned: the three conspirators were indicted before them: the constable of Southampton castle swore that they had separately confessed their guilt to him. Without other evidence, Sir Thomas Grey was condemned and executed: but as the earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope pleaded the privilege of their peerage, Henry thought proper to summon a court of eighteen barons, in which the duke of Clarence presided: the evidence given before the jury was read to them: the prisoners, though one of them was a prince of the blood, were not examined, nor produced in court, nor heard in their own defence; but received sentence of death upon this proof, which was every way irregular and unsatisfactory; and the sentence was soon after executed. The earl of Marche was accused of having given his approbation to the conspiracy, and received a general pardon from the king. He was probably either innocent of the crime imputed to him or had made reparation by his early repentance and discovery.

The success which the arms of England have, in different ages, obtained over those of France, have been much owing to the favourable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily seated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbours, and were little exposed to reprisals. They never left their own country but when they were conducted by a king of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the continent; and as all these circumstances concurred at present to favour their enterprise, they had reason to expect from it propor-

tionable success. The duke of Burgundy, expelled France by a combination of the princes, had been secretly soliciting the alliance of England; and Henry knew that this prince, though he scrupled at first to join the inveterate enemy of his country, would willingly, if he saw any probability of success, both assist him with his Flemish subjects, and draw over to the same side all his numerous partisans in France. Trusting therefore to this circumstance, but without establishing any concert with the duke, he put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of 6000 men at arms, and 24,000 foot, mostly archers. He immediately began the siege of that place, which was valiantly defended by d'Estouteville, and under him by de Guित्र, de Gaucourt, and others of the French nobility: but as the garrison was weak, and the fortifications in bad repair, the governor was at last obliged to capitulate; and he promised to surrender the place if he received no succour before the 18th of September. The day came, and there was no appearance of a French army to relieve him. Henry taking possession of the town, placed a garrison in it, and expelled all the French inhabitants, with an intention of peopling it anew with English.

The fatigues of this siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army, that Henry could enter on no farther enterprise, and was obliged to think of returning into England. He had dismissed his transports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts: and he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. A numerous French army of 14,000 men at arms, and 40,000 foot, was by this time assembled in Normandy under the constable d'Albret; a force which, if prudently conducted, was sufficient either to trample down the English in the open field, or to harass and reduce to nothing their small army, before they could finish so long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, cautiously offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur for a safe passage to Calais; but his proposal being rejected, he determined to make his way by valour and conduct through all the opposition of the enemy. That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys, till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the ford of Blanquetague, the same place where Edward, in a like situation, had before escaped from Philip de Valois. But he found the ford rendered impassable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a strong body on the opposite bank, and he was obliged to march higher up the river, in order to seek for a safe passage. He was continually harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; saw bodies of troops on the other side ready to oppose every attempt; his provisions were cut off; his soldiers languished with sickness and fatigue; and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a dangerous situation: when he was so dexterous or so fortunate as to seize by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, which had not been sufficiently guarded, and safely carried over his army.

Henry then bent his march northwards, to Calais; but he was still exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves full in his way, with a purpose of intercepting his retreat.

Lingard gives the following details of the great victory of Azincourt:—"It had long been the policy

of the French commanders to decline an engagement with the English, unless they possessed a decided superiority in numbers or strength of position. On the present occasion the expediency of offering battle was debated in military council, held at Rouen in presence of Charles; and the question was decided in the affirmative by a majority of thirty-five voices to five. As soon as the constable had received his orders, he communicated their purport to Henry by three heralds, who were introduced to him by the duke of York, and delivered their message on their knees. The king answered with apparent indifference, that the will of God would be done. They enquired by what road he intended to march. 'By that which leads straight to Calais,' was his reply: 'and if my enemies attempt to intercept me, it will be at their peril. I shall not seek them; but I will not move a step quicker or slower to avoid them. I could however have wished that they had adopted other counsels, instead of determining to shed the blood of Christians.' It is probable that the last words alluded to a private challenge which the king had sent to the dauphin, and which, if we may believe his solemn declaration, had been made for the sole purpose of sparing the blood of men who had no personal interest in the quarrel. The heralds, who had delivered their message under considerable apprehensions, received a present of 100 crowns, and returned impressed with a deep veneration for the character of the king.

"The English continued their march leisurely and in good order towards Blangi. The deep and rapid stream of the Ternois intersected the road; but a detachment arrived in time to secure the bridge, which the French were preparing to demolish; and the whole army crossed without any molestation. In a short time the duke of York discovered several large masses of the enemy marching in the direction of Azincourt; and Henry, having reconnoitred them from an eminence, gave orders to form in line of battle. The men remained in their ranks till it was dark; but as no enemy approached, they broke up in the evening, and advanced in silence by a white road which lay before them. Fortunately it led to Maisoncelles, a large village, where they found better food, and more comfortable accommodations than they had known for some weeks.

"It was with difficulty that the constable had checked the impetuosity of his followers, who now amounted at the lowest calculation to 100,000 cavalry. But he knew, that in the fatal battles of Creci and Poitiers, the French had been the assailants, and he determined on the present occasion to leave that dangerous honour to the English. To him delay could only bring new accessions of force: to them it was pregnant with famine and inevitable destruction. On this account he had selected a strong position in the fields in front of the village of Azincourt, through which it was necessary for the king of England to cut his way, unless he would consent to yield himself prisoner. His marshals had allotted their stations to the different divisions of his army; and each lord had planted his banner on the spot which he intended to occupy during the battle. The night was cold, dark, and rainy; but numerous fires illumined the horizon; and bursts of laughter and merriment were repeatedly heard from the French lines. The men collected round their banners: spent their time in revelling and debate, discussed the probable events of the next day; and fixed the ransom of the English king and barons. No one suspected the possibility of a defeat; and



yet they could not be ignorant that they lay in the vicinity of the field of Creci.

"To the English it was a night of hope and fear, suspense and anxiety. They had been wasted with disease, broken with fatigue, and weakened by the many privations which must attend the march of an army through a hostile country, and in the presence of a superior force. But they were supported by the spirit and confidence of their gallant leader, and by the proud recollection of the victories won in similar circumstances by their fathers. As men, however, who had staked their lives on the issue of the approaching battle, they spent the intervening moments in making their wills, and in attending to the exercises of religion. The king himself took little repose. He visited the different quarters of the array : sent, as soon as the moon arose, officers to examine the ground : arranged the operations of the next day : ordered bands of music to play in succession during the night ; and before sunrise summoned the men to attend at matins and mass. From prayer he led them into the field, and arranged them after his usual manner in three divisions and two wings ; but so near to each other, that they seemed to form but one body. The archers, on whom he rested his principal hope, were placed in advance of the men at arms. Their well earned reputation in former battles, and their savage appearance on the present day, struck terror into their enemies. Many had stripped themselves naked : the others had bared their arms and breasts, that they might exercise their limbs with more ease and execution. Besides his bow and arrows, his battle-axe or sword, each bore on his shoulder a large stake sharpened at both extremities, which he was instructed to fix obliquely before him in the ground, and thus oppose a rampart of pikes to the charge of the French cavalry. The king himself appeared on a grey palfrey, followed by a train of led horses ornamented with the most gorgeous trappings. His helmet was of polished steel surmounted with a crown of sparkling jewels ; and on his surcoat were emblazoned in gold the arms of England and France. As he rode from banner to banner, cheering and exhorting the men, he chanced to hear an officer express a wish to his comrade that some of the good knights, who were sitting idle in England, might by a miracle be transported to the field of battle. 'No,' exclaimed Henry, 'I would not have a single man more. If God give us the victory, it will be plain that we owe it to his goodness. If he do not, the fewer we are, the less will be our loss to our country. But fight with your usual courage, and God and the justice of our cause will protect us. Before night the pride of our enemies shall be humbled in the dust ; and the greater part of the multitude shall be stretched on the field, or captives in our power.'

"The French were drawn up in the same order, but with this fearful disparity in point of number, that while the English files were but four, theirs were thirty men deep. The constable himself commanded the first division : the dukes of Bar and Alençon the second : the earls of Marle and Falconberg the third. The distance between the two armies scarcely exceeded a quarter of a mile : but the ground was wet and spongy : and D'Albret, faithful to his plan, ordered his men to sit down near their banners, and await in patience the advance of the enemy. Their inactivity disconcerted the king, who expected to be attacked. He improved the opportunity, however, to order a plen-

tiful refreshment to be distributed through the ranks, while two detachments stole away unperceived by the French ; of which one was instructed to lie in ambush in a meadow at Tramecourt on their left flank, and the other to alarm them during the battle by setting fire to the houses in their rear. Just as the king had made every preparation for the attack he was surprised by the approach of three French knights who demanded permission to speak with him. One of them was the baron de Helly, who had been a prisoner in England, and had broken his parole. He took the opportunity to deny the charge, and offered to meet in single combat between the two armies any man who should dare to repeat it. The king, who saw his object, immediately replied : 'This is not a time for single combats. Go tell your countrymen to prepare for battle before night, and doubt not that, for the violation of your parole, you will a second time forfeit your liberty, if not your life.' 'Sir,' returned Helly, 'I shall receive no orders from you. Charles is our sovereign. Him we obey : and for him we shall fight you, whenever we think proper.' 'Away, then,' resumed the king, 'and take care that we are not before you.' Immediately stepping forward, he exclaimed, 'Banners, advance.' At the same moment Sir Thomas Erpingham threw his warner into the air ; and the men, falling on their knees, bit the ground,\* arose, shouted, and ran towards the enemy. At the distance of twenty paces they halted to recover breath, and then repeated the shout. It was echoed back by the detachment in the meadow, which issuing from its concealment, instantly assailed the left flank of the French. At the same moment the archers having planted their stakes, ran before them, discharged their arrows, and returned behind their rampart. The constable had appointed a select battalion of 800 men at arms to break this formidable body. These were quickly despatched : the others, unable to face the incessant showers of arrows, turned their visors aside, and lost the government of their horses, which frantic with pain, plunged in different directions into the close ranks of the first division. It was as a moment of irremediable confusion. Nor did the archers lose the opportunity. Slung their bows behind, and with their swords or battle-axes in their hands, they burst into the mass of the enemy, killed the constable and principal commanders, and in a short time totally dispersed the whole body.

Henry, who had followed with the men at arms, ordered the archers to form again, and immediately charged the second division. The Frenchmen, though the fate of their fellows had checked their presumption, met the shock with courage, and maintained for two hours a most bloody and doubtful contest. The king's life was repeatedly in imminent danger. Seeing his brother, the duke of Clarence, wounded, and lying on the ground, he hastily strode across the body, and bravely repelled the efforts of the assailants, till the prince was safely removed by his own servants. Soon afterwards he was charged by a band of eighteen French knights, who had bound themselves to each other to kill him, or take him prisoner. One of them, with a stroke of his mace, brought the king on his knees,

\* "This singular custom had been introduced by the peasants of Flanders before the great victory, which they gained over the French cavalry at Courtray in 1302. A priest stood in front of the army, holding the consecrated host in his hand, and each man, kneeling down, took a particle of earth in his mouth, as a sign of his desire, and an acknowledgment of his unworthiness, to receive the sacrament.

but was instantly rescued by his guards, and his opponents were all slain. At length the duke of Alençon, the French commander, fought his way to the royal standard. With one stroke he beat the duke of York to the ground; with the second he cleaved the crown on the king's helmet: every arm was instantly uplifted against him. The duke, aware of his danger, exclaimed, "I yield; I am Alençon." Henry held out his hand, but his gallant enemy had already fallen. The death of the duke was followed by the flight of the survivors.

"There still remained the third and most numerous division of the enemy. Though dismayed, it was yet unbroken, and the English were preparing for the charge, when the alarming intelligence arrived, that a powerful force approached the rear of the army. In this emergency the king hastily gave orders that all the prisoners should be put to death; orders which, in most instances, were unfortunately executed before the mistake could be discovered. The force, which had been so greatly magnified, consisted only of 600 peasants, under Robinet de Bournonville and Ysambert d'Agincourt, who had profited of the moment to enter Maisonnelles, plunder the baggage, and drive away the horses of the army. That this enterprise should prove so disastrous to their countrymen, they could not have foreseen; but they were afterwards called to account, and severely punished by their immediate lord, the duke of Burgundy.

"During this interval the ranks of the third division began to waver, and their irresolution was augmented by the flames kindled in their rear by the English detachment. Of the whole number, no more than 600 could be persuaded to follow their leaders, the earls of Falconberg and Marle, who boldly rushed on the conquerors, and found, what they probably sought, captivity, or an honourable death. The English were in no condition to pursue the fugitives. As soon as resistance ceased, the king, with his barons, traversed the field, while the heralds examined the arms and number of the bodies of the slain. He then called to him Mountjoy, the French king at arms, and asked him to whom the victory belonged. 'To you, sir,' replied Mountjoy. 'And what,' continued the king, 'is that castle which I see at a distance?'—'It is called the castle of Azincour,' was the answer. 'Then,' resumed Henry, 'let this battle be known to posterity by the name of the battle of Azincour.'

"The king, impressed with the conviction that he owed his extraordinary success to the protection of Heaven, sent for the clergy, and ordered a service of thanksgiving to be immediately performed in the presence of the whole army. In allusion to their escape from the enemy, they chanted the 114th psalm, 'When Israel came out of Egypt:' and at the verse, 'Not unto us, O Lord: not unto us, but to thy name give the glory,' every man knelt on the ground.

"The blood shed on this day was drawn from the noblest in France. Among the slain were numbered 8000 knights and esquires, more than 100 bannerets, seven counts, the three dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, and the constable and admiral of France. The most distinguished of the prisoners were, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richmond. The loss of the conquerors amounted to 1600 men, with the earl of Suffolk and the duke of York. They left Maisonnelles the next morning, and resumed their march towards Calais. As they crossed the

field of battle, they killed such of the wounded as still retained any appearance of life; and, the moment they were gone, the hope of plunder conducted to the spot thousands of both sexes from the neighbouring villages. The foreign soldiers had carried off every article of value. These native plunderers stripped the slain of their clothes, and left more than 10,000 dead bodies exposed naked on the ground. Among the slain was the Count de Helly. The count of Charolois, son of the duke of Burgundy, ordered them to be interred at his own expense. Those which it was possible to recognise were buried in the nearest churches, or conveyed to the tombs of their ancestors; the rest, to the number of 5800, were deposited in three long and deep pits, dug in the field of battle. This vast cemetery was surrounded by a strong inclosure of thorns and trees, which pointed out to succeeding generations the spot where the resolution of a few Englishmen triumphed over the impetuous but ill-directed valour of their numerous enemies."

Of the slaughter of the prisoners Mackintosh gives the following account:—"A deplorable incident sullied the victory. The English soldiers had made many prisoners, the noblest of the French barons, whose ransoms were to enrich the fortunate adventurers. In the meantime a troop of peasants began to plunder the baggage; rumours of the advance of French reinforcements were spread, and Henry, in an evil hour, too hastily believed that the safety of his small army required the slaughter of his numerous prisoners. He commanded every man to put his prisoners to death. Seeing that the victors were indisposed to renounce the rich ransoms, he directed an officer, at the head of 200 men, to execute the terrible command. The greater part of the noble prisoners were slain, mutilated, disfigured, mortally or painfully wounded, before it was discovered that the whole was a false alarm to which Henry had lent too credulous an ear. He stopped the massacre; but too late for the purity of his name. It is hard to say whether it was a palliation or an aggravation of his barbarous credulity that the number of prisoners, if we may believe Juvenal des Ursins, amounted to 14,000, which was not much less than that of Henry's army."

This battle was fought on the 25th of October, 1415. The numbers are, as usual on such occasions, very variously stated; the French from 100,000 to 140,000, and the English from 10,000 to 20,000. It appears, on the whole, probable, that the English were only in the proportion of one to six. The French were mostly cavalry, and the English foot. Henry fought on foot, and commanded his small force with excellent tact and discipline; whilst the French army consisted of many cavaliers, and a vast collection belonging to different leaders, who were impetuous and uncontrollable.

The place which gives name to this battle was called, by the French, Azincour; by the English, Agincourt; but the former is now more generally received.

The three great battles of Cressy, Poitiers, and Azincour, bear a singular resemblance to each other in their most considerable circumstances. In all of them there appears the same temerity in the English princes, who, without any object of moment, merely for the sake of plunder, had ventured so far into the enemies' country as to leave them no retreat; and unless saved by the utmost imprudence in the French commanders, were, from their very situation, exposed to inevitable destruction. But allow



ance being made for this temerity, which, according to the irregular plans of war followed in those ages, seems to have been, in some measure, unavoidable; there appears, in the day of action, the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness, and precaution, on the part of the English; the same precipitation, confusion, and vain confidence, on the part of the French: and the events were such as might have been expected from such opposite conduct. The immediate consequences, too, of these three great victories were similar. Instead of pushing the French with vigour, and taking advantage of their consternation, the English princes, after their victory, seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leisure to recover from his losses. Henry interrupted not his march a moment after the battle of Azincour; he carried his prisoners to Calais, thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the enemy; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of English troops appeared in France.

The poverty of all the European princes, and the small resources of their kingdoms, were the cause of these continual interruptions in their hostilities; and though the maxims of war were in general destructive, their military operations were mere incursions, which, without any settled plan, they carried on against each other. The lustre, however, attending the victory of Azincour, procured some supplies from the English parliament, though still unequal to the expenses of a campaign. They granted Henry an entire fifteenth of moveables; and they conferred on him, for life, the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the subsidies on the exportation of wool and leather. This concession is more considerable than that which had been granted to Richard II., by his last parliament, and which was afterwards, on his deposition, made so great an article of charge against him.

But during this interruption of hostilities from England, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war; and the several parties became every day more enraged against each other. The duke of Burgundy, confident that the French ministers and generals were entirely discredited by the misfortune at Azincour, advanced with a great army to Paris, and attempted to re-instate himself in possession of the government, as well as of the person of the king. But his partisans in that city were overawed by the court, and kept in subjection; the duke despaired of success; and he retired with his forces, which he immediately disbanded in the low countries. He was soon after invited to make a new attempt, by some violent quarrels which broke out in the royal family. The queen Isabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, who had been hitherto an inveterate enemy to the Burgundian faction, had received a great injury from the other party, which the implacable spirit of that princess was never able to forgive. The public necessities obliged the count of Armagnac, created constable of France in the place of d'Albret, to seize the great treasures which Isabella had amassed: and when she expressed her displeasure at this injury, he inspired into the weak mind of the king some jealousies concerning her conduct, and pushed him to seize and put to the torture, and afterwards throw into the Seine, Boisbourdon, her favourite, whom he accused of a commerce of gallantry with that princess. The queen herself was sent to Tours, and confined under a guard; and, after suffering these multiplied insults, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspon-

dence with the duke of Burgundy. As her son, the dauphin Charles, a youth of sixteen, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, she extended her animosity to him, and sought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred. She had soon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpose effectual. The duke of Burgundy, in concert with her, entered France at the head of a great army: he made himself master of Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Montreuil, and other towns in Picardy; Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troye, and Auxerre, declared themselves of his party. He got possession of Beaumont, Pontoise, Vernon, Meulant, Montheri, towns in the neighbourhood of Paris; and carrying farther his progress towards the west, he seized Etampes, Chartres, and other fortresses, and was at last able to deliver the queen, who fled to Troye, and openly declared against those ministers who, she said, detained her husband in captivity.

Meanwhile the partisans of Burgundy raised a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to that faction. Lile-Adam, one of the duke's captains, was received into the city in the night-time, and headed the insurrection of the people, which in a moment became so impetuous, that nothing could oppose it. The person of the king was seized; the dauphin made his escape with difficulty. Great numbers of the faction of Armagnac were immediately butchered; the count himself, and many persons of note, were thrown into prison; murders were daily committed from private animosity, under pretence of faction; and the populace, not satiated with their fury, and deeming the course of public justice too dilatory, broke into the prisons, and put to death the count of Armagnac, and all the other nobility who were there confined.

While France was in such furious combustion, and was so ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry, having collected some treasure, and levied an army, landed in Normandy, at the head of 25,000 men, and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. He made himself master of Falaise; Evereux and Caen submitted to him; Pont de l'Arche opened its gates; and Henry, having subdued all the lower Normandy, and having received a reinforcement of 15,000 men from England, formed the siege of Rouen, which was defended by a garrison of 4000 men, seconded by the inhabitants, to the number of 15,000. The cardinal des Ursins here attempted to incline him towards peace, and to moderate his pretensions; but the king replied to him in such terms as shewed that he was fully sensible of all his present advantages. "Do you not see," said he, "that God has led me hither as by the hand? France has no sovereign; I have just pretensions to that kingdom: every thing is here in the utmost confusion; no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof, that the Being who disposes of empires, has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?"

But though Henry had opened his mind to this scheme of ambition, he still continued to negotiate with his enemies, and endeavoured to obtain more secure, though less considerable advantages. He made, at the same time, offers of peace to both parties; to the queen and duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who, having possession of the king's person, carried the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin on the other, who, being the undoubted heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by every one that paid any regard to the true interests of their country. These two parties also carried on a continual

negociation with each other. The terms proposed on all sides were perpetually varying: the events of the war, and the intrigues of the cabinet, intermingled with each other: and the fate of France remained long in this uncertainty. After many negotiations, Henry offered the queen and the duke of Burgundy to make peace with them, to espouse the Princess Catharine, and to accept of all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Brignigni, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire sovereignty. These terms were submitted to: There remained only some circumstances to adjust, in order to the entire completion of the treaty: but in this interval the duke of Burgundy secretly finished his treaty with the dauphin; and these two princes agreed to share the royal authority during king Charles's lifetime, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies.

This alliance, which seemed to cut off from Henry all hopes of farther success, proved, in the issue, the most favourable event that could have happened for his pretensions. Whether the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were ever sincere in their mutual engagements, is uncertain; but very fatal effects resulted from their momentary and seeming union. The two princes agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of rendering effectual their common attack on the English; but how both or either of them could with safety venture upon this conference, it seemed somewhat difficult to contrive. The assassination perpetrated by the duke of Burgundy, and still more, his open avowal of the deed, and defence of the doctrine, tended to dissolve all the bands of civil society; and even men of honour, who detested the example, might deem it just, on a favourable opportunity, to retaliate upon the author. The duke, therefore, who neither dared to give, nor could pretend to expect, any trust, agreed to all the contrivances for mutual security which were proposed by the ministers of the dauphin. The two princes came to Montreuil: the duke lodged in the castle; the dauphin in the town, which was divided from the castle by the river Yonne: the bridge between them was chosen for the place of interview: two high rails were drawn across the bridge: the gates on each side were guarded, one by the officers of the dauphin, the other by those of the duke: the princes were to enter into the intermediate space by the opposite gates, accompanied each by ten persons; and, with all these marks of diffidence, to conciliate their mutual friendship. But it appeared that no precautions are sufficient where laws have no place, and where all principles of honour are utterly abandoned. Tannegui de Chatel, and others of the dauphin's retainers, had been zealous partisans of the duke of Orleans, and they determined to seize the opportunity of revenging on the assassin the murder of that prince: they no sooner entered the rails, than they drew their swords and attacked the duke of Burgundy: his friends were astonished, and thought not of making any defence; and all of them either shared his fate, or were taken prisoners by the retinue of the dauphin.

The extreme youth of this prince made it doubtful whether he had been admitted into the conspiracy: but as the deed was committed under his eye, by his most intimate friends, who still retained their connexions with him, the blame of the action, which was certainly more unfortunate than criminal, fell entirely upon him. The whole state of affairs was every where changed by this unexpected incident. The city of Paris, passionately devoted to the fa-

mily of Burgundy, broke out into the highest fury against the dauphin. The court of king Charles entered from interest into the same views; and as all the ministers of that monarch had owed their preferment to the late duke, and foresaw their downfall if the dauphin should recover possession of his father's person, they were concerned to prevent, by any means, the success of his enterprise. The queen, persevering in her unnatural animosity against her son, increased the general flame, and inspired into the king, as far as he was susceptible of any sentiment, the same prejudices by which she herself had long been actuated. But above all, Philip count of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, thought himself bound, by every tie of honour and of duty, to revenge the murder of his father, and to prosecute the assassin to the utmost extremity. And in this general transport of rage, every consideration of national and family interest was buried in oblivion by all parties: the subjection to a foreign enemy, the expulsion of the lawful heir, the slavery of the kingdom, appeared but small evils if they led to the gratification of the present passion.

The king of England had, before the death of the duke of Burgundy, profited extremely by the distractions of France, and was daily making a considerable progress in Normandy. He had taken Rouen after an obstinate siege: he had made himself master of Pontois and Gisors: he even threatened Paris, and by the terror of his arms had obliged the court to remove to Troye; and in the midst of his successes, he was agreeably surprised to find his enemies, instead of combining against him for their mutual defence, disposed to rush into his arms, and to make him the instrument of their vengeance upon each other. A league was immediately concluded at Arras between him and the duke of Burgundy. This prince, without stipulating any thing for himself, except the prosecution of his father's murder and the marriage of the duke of Bedford with his sister, was willing to sacrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition; and he agreed to every demand made by that monarch. In order to finish this astonishing treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger, Henry went to Troye, accompanied by his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester; and was there met by the duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen made him incapable of seeing anything but through the eyes of those who attended him; as they, on their part, saw every thing through the medium of their passions. The treaty, being already concerted among the parties, was immediately drawn, signed, and ratified: Henry's will seemed to be a law throughout the whole negociation: Nothing was attended to but his advantages.

The principal articles of the treaty were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catharine; that King Charles, during his life-time, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entrusted with the present administration of the government; that that kingdom should pass to his heirs general; that France and England should for ever be united under one king, but still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France, should swear, that they would both adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as regent; that this prince should unite his arms to those of King Charles.



and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles the pretended dauphin; and that these three princes should make no peace or truce with him but by common consent and agreement.

Such was the tenor of this famous treaty; a treaty which, as nothing but the most violent animosity could dictate it, so nothing but the power of the sword could carry into execution. It is hard to say whether its consequences, had it taken effect, would have proved more pernicious to England or to France. It must have reduced the former kingdom to the rank of a province: it would have entirely disjoined the succession of the latter, and have brought on the destruction of every descendant of the royal family; as the houses of Orleans, Anjou, Alençon, Brittany, Bourbon, and of Burgundy itself, whose titles were preferable to that of the English princes, would, on that account, have been exposed to perpetual jealousy and persecution from the sovereign. There was even a palpable deficiency in Henry's claim, which no art could palliate. For, besides the insuperable objections to which Edward III's pretensions were exposed, he was not heir to that monarch: if female succession were admitted, the right had devolved on the house of Mortimer. Allowing that Richard II. was a tyrant, and that Henry IV's merits in deposing him were so great towards the English, as to justify that nation in placing him on the throne; Richard had nowise offended France, and his rival had merited nothing of that kingdom: it could not possibly be pretended that the crown of France was become an appendage to that of England; and that the prince who, by any means, got possession of the latter, was, without farther question, entitled to the former. So that, on the whole, it must be allowed that Henry's claim to France was, if possible, still more unintelligible than the title by which his father had mounted the throne of England.

But though all these considerations were overlooked, amidst the hurry of passion by which the courts of France and Burgundy were actuated, they would necessarily revive during times of more tranquillity; and it behoved Henry to push his present advantages, and allow men no leisure for reason or reflection. In a few days after, he espoused the princess Catharine: he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himself in possession of that capital: he obtained, from the parliament and the three estates, a ratification of the treaty of Troye: he supported the duke of Burgundy in procuring a sentence against the murderers of his father: and he immediately turned his arms, with success, against the adherents of the dauphin, who, as soon as he heard of the treaty of Troye, took on him the style and authority of regent, and appealed to God and his sword for the maintenance of his title.

The first place that Henry subdued was Sens, which opened its gates after a slight resistance. With the same facility he made himself master of Montereau. The defence of Melun was more obstinate: Barbasan, the governor, held out for the space of four months against the besiegers; and it was famine alone which obliged him to capitulate. Henry stipulated to spare the lives of all the garrison, except such as were accomplices in the murder of the duke of Burgundy; and as Barbasan himself was suspected to be of the number, his punishment was demanded by Philip: but the king had the generosity to intercede for him, and to prevent his execution.

The necessity of providing supplies, both of men

and money, obliged Henry to go over to England, and he left the duke of Exeter, his uncle, governor of Paris during his absence. The authority which naturally attends success, procured from the English parliament a subsidy of a fifteenth; but, if we may judge by the scantiness of the supply, the nation was nowise sanguine on their king's victories; and in proportion as the prospect of their union with France became nearer, they began to open their eyes, and to see the dangerous consequences with which that event must necessarily be attended. It was fortunate for Henry, that he had other resources besides pecuniary supplies from his native subjects. The provinces which he had already conquered maintained his troops; and the hopes of farther advantages allured to his standard all men of ambitious spirits in England, who desired to signalize themselves by arms. He levied a new army of twenty-four thousand archers and four thousand horsemen, and marched them to Dover, the place of rendezvous. Every thing had remained in tranquillity at Paris under the duke of Exeter; but there had happened in another quarter of the kingdom, a misfortune which hastened the king's embarkation.

The detention of the young king of Scots in England had hitherto proved advantageous to Henry; and, by keeping the regent in awe, had preserved, during the whole course of the French war, the northern frontier in tranquillity. But when intelligence arrived in Scotland of the progress made by Henry, and the near prospect of his succession to the crown of France, the nation was alarmed, and foresaw their own inevitable ruin, if the subjection of their ally left them to combat alone a victorious enemy, who was already so much superior in power and riches. The regent entered into the same views; and though he declined an open rupture with England, he permitted a body of seven thousand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, his second son, to be transported into France for the service of the dauphin. To render this aid ineffectual, Henry had, in his former expedition, carried over the king of Scots, whom he obliged to send orders to his countrymen to leave the French service; but the Scottish general replied, that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity, and that a prince, while in the hands of his enemy, was nowise entitled to authority. These troops, therefore, continued still to act under the earl of Buchan; and were employed by the dauphin to oppose the progress of the duke of Clarence in Anjou. The two armies encountered at Baugé: the English were defeated: the duke himself was slain by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scotch knight, who commanded a company of men at arms: and the earls of Somerset, Dorset, and Huntingdon, were taken prisoners. This was the first action that turned the tide of success against the English; and the dauphin, that he might both attach the Scotch to his service, and reward the valour and conduct of the earl of Buchan, honoured that nobleman with the office of constable.

But the arrival of the king of England with so considerable an army, was more than sufficient to repair this loss. Henry was received at Paris with great expressions of joy; so obstinate were the prejudices of the people: and he immediately conducted his army to Chartres, which had long been besieged by the dauphin. That prince raised the siege on the approach of the English; and being resolved to decline a battle, he retired with his army. Henry made himself master of Dreux without a blow: he

laid siege to Meaux at the solicitation of the Parisians, who were much incommoded by the garrison of that place. This enterprise employed the English arms during the space of eight months: the bastard of Vaurus, governor of Meaux, distinguished himself by an obstinate defence; but was at last obliged to surrender at discretion. The cruelty of this officer was equal to his bravery: he was accustomed to hang, without distinction, all the English and Burgundians who fell into his hands: and Henry, in revenge of his barbarity, ordered him immediately to be hanged on the same tree which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions.

This success was followed by the surrender of many other places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which held for the dauphin: that prince was chased beyond the Loire, and he almost totally abandoned all the northern provinces: he was even pursued into the south by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruction. Notwithstanding the bravery and fidelity of his captains, he saw himself unequal to his enemies in the field; and found it necessary to temporise, and to avoid all hazardous actions with a rival, who had gained so much the ascendant over him. And to crown all the other prosperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings no less pompous, and no less sincere, at Paris than at London. The infant prince seemed to be universally regarded as the future heir of both monarchies.

But the glory of Henry, when it had nearly reached the summit, was stopped short by the hand of nature; and all his mighty projects vanished into smoke. He was seized with a fatal disease, which is described by different writers as a dysentery, a fistula, and a pleurisy. When he was sensible that his distemper was mortal, and that his end was approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few noblemen more, whom he had honoured with his friendship; and he delivered to them, in great tranquillity, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He entreated them to continue, towards his infant son, the same fidelity and attachment which they had always professed to himself during his lifetime, and which had been cemented by so many mutual good offices. He expressed his indifference on the approach of death; and though he regretted that he must leave unfinished a work so happily begun, he declared himself confident, that the final acquisition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valour. He left the regency of that kingdom to his elder brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger, the duke of Gloucester; and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick. He recommended to all of them a great attention to maintain the friendship of the duke of Burgundy; and advised them never to give liberty to the French princes taken at Azincour, till his son were of age, and could himself hold the reins of government. And he conjured them, if the success of their arms should not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never, at least, to make peace with that kingdom, unless the enemy, by the cession of Normandy, and its annexation to the crown of England, made compensation for all the hazard and expense of his enterprise.

He next applied himself to his devotions, and ordered his chaplain to recite the seven penitential psalms. When that passage of the fifty-first psalm

was read, "build thou the walls of Jerusalem," he interrupted the chaplain, and declared his serious intention, after he should have fully subdued France, to conduct a crusade against the infidels, and recover possession of the Holy Land. So ingenious are men in deceiving themselves, that Henry forgot, in those moments, all the blood spilt by his ambition; and received comfort from this late and feeble resolve, which, as the mode of these enterprises was now past, he certainly would never have carried into execution. He expired in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the tenth of his reign.

This prince possessed many eminent virtues; and if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unstained by any considerable blemish. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field: the boldness of his enterprises was no less remarkable than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. The English, dazzled by the lustre of his character still more than by that of his victories, were reconciled to the defects in his title: the French almost forgot that he was an enemy; and his care in maintaining justice in his civil administration, and preserving discipline in his armies, made some amends to both nations for the calamities inseparable from those wars in which his short reign was almost entirely occupied. That he could forgive the earl of Marche, who had a better title to the crown than himself, is a sure indication of his magnanimity; and that the earl relied so entirely on his friendship, is no less a proof of his established character for candour and sincerity. There remain in history few instances of such mutual trust; and still fewer where neither party found reason to repent it.

The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His stature was somewhat above the middle size; his countenance beautiful; his limbs genteel and slender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises. He left, by his queen, Catherine of France, only one son, not full nine months old; whose misfortunes, in the course of his life, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father.

In less than two months after Henry's death, Charles VI. of France, his father-in-law, terminated his unhappy life. He had, for several years, possessed only the appearance of royal authority: yet was this mere appearance of considerable advantage to the English; and divided the duty and affections of the French between them and the dauphin. This prince was proclaimed and crowned king of France at Poitiers, by the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the place where this ceremony is usually performed, was at that time in the hands of his enemies.

Catherine of France, Henry's widow, married, soon after his death, a Welsh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country: she bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the eldest was created earl of Richmond; the second, earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

The long schism, which had divided the Latin church for near forty years, was finally terminated in this reign by the council of Constance; which deposed the Pope, John XXIII., for his crimes, and elected Martin V. in his place, who was acknowledged by almost all the kingdoms of Europe. This



great and unusual act of authority in the council gave the Roman pontiffs ever after a mortal antipathy to those assemblies. The same jealousy which had long prevailed in most European countries, between the civil aristocracy and monarchy, now also took place between these powers in the ecclesiastical body. But the great separation of the bishops in the several states, and the difficulty of assembling them, gave the pope a mighty advantage, and made it more easy for him to centre all the powers of the hierarchy in his own person. The cruelty and treachery which attended the punishment of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the unhappy disciples of Wickliffe, who, in violation of a safe conduct, were burned alive for their errors by the council of Constance, prove this melancholy truth, that toleration is none of the virtues of priests in any form of ecclesiastical government. But as the English nation had little or no concern in these great transactions, we are here the more concise in relating them.

## CHAP. XXIV.

### HENRY VI.

*Government during the minority—State of France—Military operations—Battle of Verneuil—Siege of Orleans—The maid of Orleans—The siege of Orleans raised—The king of France crowned at Rheims—Prudence of the duke of Bedford—Execution of the maid of Orleans—Defection of the duke of Burgundy—Death of the duke of Bedford—Decline of the English in France—Truce with France—Marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou—Murder of the duke of Gloucester—State of France—Renewal of the war with France—The English expelled France.*

**DURING** the reigns of the Lancastrian princes, the authority of parliament seems to have been more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more regarded, than during any former period; and the two preceding kings, though men of great spirit and abilities, abstained from such exertions of prerogative, as even weak princes, whose title was undisputed, were tempted to think they might venture upon with impunity. The long minority, of which there was now the prospect, encouraged still farther the lords and commons to extend their influence; and without paying much regard to the verbal destination of Henry V. they assumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole administration. They declined altogether the name of "Regent" with regard to England: they appointed the duke of Bedford protector or guardian of that kingdom, a title which they supposed to imply less authority: they invested the duke of Gloucester with the same dignity during the absence of his elder brother; and, in order to limit the power of both these princes, they appointed a council, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be determined. The person and education of the infant prince was committed to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, his great uncle, and the legitimated son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; a prelate, who, as his family could never have any pretensions to the crown, might safely, they thought, be intrusted with that important charge. The two princes, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, who seemed injured by this plan of government, yet, being persons of great

integrity and honour, acquiesced in any appointment which tended to give security to the public; and as the wars in France appeared to be the object of the greatest moment, they avoided every dispute which might throw an obstacle in the way of foreign conquests.

When the state of affairs between the English and French kings was considered with a superficial eye, every advantage seemed to be on the side of the former; and the total expulsion of Charles appeared to be an event which might naturally be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Though Henry was yet in his infancy, the administration was devolved on the duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age, whose experience, prudence, valour, and generosity, qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. The whole power of England was at his command; he was at the head of armies enured to victory; he was seconded by the most renowned generals of the age, the earls of Somerset, Warwick, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Arundel, Sir John Talbot, and Sir John Fastolf; and besides Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, he was master of the capital and of almost all the northern provinces, which were well enabled to furnish him with supplies both of men and money, and to assist and support his English forces.

But Charles, notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages, derived partly from his situation, partly from his personal character, which promised him success, and served, first to controul, then to overbalance the superior force and opulence of his enemies. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy: all Frenchmen who knew the interests, or desired the independence of their country, turned their eyes towards him as its sole resource: the exclusion given him by the imbecility of his father, and the forced or precipitate consent of the states, had plainly no validity: that spirit of faction which had blinded the people could not long hold them in so gross a delusion; their national and inveterate hatred against the English, the authors of all their calamities, must soon revive, and inspire them with indignation, at bending their necks under the yoke of that hostile people; great nobles and princes, accustomed to maintain an independence against their native sovereigns, would never endure a subjection to strangers; and though most of the princes of the blood were, since the fatal battle of Azincour, detained prisoners in England, the inhabitants of their demesnes, their friends, their vassals, all declared a zealous attachment to the king, and exerted themselves in resisting the violence of foreign invaders.

Charles himself, though only in his twentieth year, was of a character well calculated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments; and, perhaps, from the favour which naturally attends youth, was the more likely, on account of his tender age, to acquire the good-will of his native subjects. He was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition, of easy and familiar manners, and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged, from affection, the services of his followers, even while his low fortunes might make it their interest to desert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon in them those sallies of discontent to which princes in his situation are so frequently exposed. The love of pleasure often seduced him into inde-



Henry VI.

H E N R Y VI.





lence; but, amidst all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth; and, by exerting at intervals his courage and activity, he proved, that his general remissness proceeded not from the want either of a just spirit of ambition, or of personal valour.

Though the virtues of this amiable prince lay some time in obscurity, the duke of Bedford knew that his title alone made him formidable, and that every foreign assistance would be requisite, ere an English regent could hope to complete the conquest of France; an enterprise which, however it might seem to be much advanced, was still exposed to many and great difficulties. The chief circumstance which had procured to the English all their present advantages was, the resentment of the duke of Burgundy against Charles; and as that prince seemed intent rather on gratifying his passion than consulting his interests, it was the more easy for the regent, by demonstrations of respect and confidence, to retain him in the alliance of England. He bent, therefore, all his endeavours to that purpose; he gave the duke every proof of friendship and regard; he even offered him the regency of France, which Philip declined; and, that he might corroborate national connections by private ties, he concluded his own marriage with the princess of Burgundy, which had been stipulated by the treaty of Arras.

Being sensible, that, next to the alliance of Burgundy, the friendship of the duke of Brittany was of the greatest importance towards forwarding the English conquests; and that, as the provinces of France, already subdued, lay between the dominions of these two princes, he could never hope for any security without preserving his connexions with them; he was very intent on strengthening himself also from that quarter. The duke of Brittany, having received many just reasons of displeasure from the ministers of Charles, had already acceded to the treaty of Troye, and had, with other vassals of the crown, done homage to Henry V. in quality of heir to the kingdom: but, as the regent knew that the duke was much governed by his brother, the count of Richemont, he endeavoured to fix his friendship, by paying court and doing services to this haughty and ambitious prince.

Arthur, count of Richemont, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Azincour, had been treated with great indulgence by the late king, and had even been permitted on his parole to take a journey into Brittany, where the state of affairs required his presence. The death of that victorious monarch happened before Richemont's return; and this prince pretended, that as his word was given personally to Henry V. he was not bound to fulfil it towards his son and successor: a chicane which the regent, as he could not force him to compliance, deemed it prudent to overlook. An interview was settled at Amiens between the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Brittany, at which the count of Richemont was also present: the alliance was renewed between these princes; and the regent persuaded Philip to give in marriage to Richemont his eldest sister, widow of the deceased dauphin, Lewis, the elder brother of Charles. Thus Arthur was connected both with the regent and the duke of Burgundy, and seemed engaged by interest to prosecute the same object, in forwarding the success of the English arms.

While the vigilance of the duke of Bedford was employed in gaining or confirming these allies, whose vicinity rendered them so important, he did not overlook the state of more remote countries. The duke

of Albany, regent of Scotland, had died; and his power had devolved on Murdac, his son, a prince of a weak understanding and indolent disposition, who, far from possessing the talents requisite for the government of that fierce people, was not even able to maintain authority in his own family, or restrain the petulance and insolence of his sons. The ardour of the Scots to serve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and distinction, and where the regent's brother enjoyed the dignity of constable, broke out afresh under his feeble administration; new succours daily came over, and filled the armies of the French king; the earl of Douglas conducted a reinforcement of 5000 men to his assistance; and it was justly to be dreaded that the Scots, by commencing open hostilities in the north, would occasion a diversion still more considerable of the English power, and would ease Charles, in part, of that load by which he was at present so grievously oppressed. The duke of Bedford, therefore, persuaded the English council to form an alliance with James their prisoner; to free that prince from his long captivity, and to connect him with England, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerset, and cousin of the young king. As the Scottish regent, tired of his present dignity, which he was not able to support, was now become entirely sincere in his applications for James's liberty; the treaty was soon concluded: a ransom of forty thousand pounds was stipulated; and the king of Scots was restored to the throne of his ancestors, and proved, in his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever governed that kingdom. He was murdered, in 1437, by his traitorous kinsman the earl of Athole. His affections inclined to the side of France; but the English had never reason, during his life-time, to complain of any breach of the neutrality of Scotland.

But the regent was not so much employed in these political negotiations as to neglect the operations of war, from which alone he could hope to succeed in expelling the French monarch. Though the chief seat of Charles's power lay in the southern provinces beyond the Loire, his partisans were possessed of some fortresses in the northern, and even in the neighbourhood of Paris; and it behoved the duke of Bedford first to clear these countries from the enemy, before he could think of attempting more distant conquests. The castle of Dorsoy was taken after a siege of six weeks: that of Noyelle and the town of Rüe, in Picardy, underwent the same fate; Pont sur Seine, Vertus, Montaigu, were subjected by the English arms; and a more considerable advantage was soon after gained by the united forces of England and Burgundy. John Stuart, constable of Scotland, and the lord of Estissac, had formed the siege of Crevant, in Burgundy; the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, with the count of Toulougeon, were sent to its relief: a fierce and well-disputed action ensued; the Scots and French were defeated; the constable of Scotland and the count of Ventadour were taken prisoners; and above a thousand men, among whom was Sir William Hamilton, were left on the field of battle. The taking of Gaillon, upon the Seine, and of la Charite, upon the Loire, was the fruit of this victory; and as this latter place opened an entrance into the southern provinces, the acquisition of it appeared, on that account, of the greater importance to the duke of Bedford, and seemed to promise a successful issue to the war.

The more Charles was threatened with an invasion in those provinces which adhered to him, the



more necessary it became that he should retain possession of every fortress which he still held within the quarters of the enemy. The duke of Bedford had besieged in person, during the space of three months, the town of Yvri, in Normandy; and the brave governor, unable to make any longer defence, was obliged to capitulate; and he agreed to surrender the town, if, before a certain term, no relief arrived. Charles, informed of these conditions, determined to make an attempt for saving the place. He collected, with some difficulty, an army of 14,000 men, of whom one half were Scots; and he sent them thither under the command of the earl of Buchan, constable of France, who was attended by the earl of Douglas, his countryman, the duke of Alençon, the *mareschal de la Fayette*, the count of Aumale, and the viscount of Narbonne. When the constable arrived within a few leagues of Yvri, he found that he was come too late, and that the place had already surrendered. He immediately turned to the left, and sat down before Verneuil, which the inhabitants, in spite of the garrison, delivered up to him. Buchan might now have returned in safety, and with the glory of making an acquisition no less important than the place which he was sent to relieve: but, hearing of Bedford's approach, he called a council of war, in order to deliberate concerning the conduct which he should hold in this emergency. The wiser part of the council declared for a retreat, and represented, that all the past misfortunes of the French had proceeded from their rashness in giving battle when no necessity obliged them; that this army was the last resource of the king, and the only defence of the few provinces which remained to him; and that every reason invited him to embrace cautious measures, which might leave time for his subjects to return to a sense of their duty, and give leisure for discord to arise among his enemies, who, being united by no common band of interest or motive of alliance, could not long persevere in their animosity against him. All these prudential considerations were overborne by a vain point of honour, not to turn their backs to the enemy; and they resolved to await the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

The numbers were nearly equal in this action; and as the long continuance of war had introduced discipline, which, however imperfect, sufficed to maintain some appearance of order in such small armies, the battle was fierce, and well disputed, and attended with bloodshed on both sides. The constable drew up his forces under the walls of Verneuil, and resolved to abide the attack of the enemy: but the impatience of the viscount of Narbonne, who advanced precipitately, and obliged the whole line to follow him in some hurry and confusion, was the cause of the misfortune which ensued. The English archers, fixing their palisades before them, according to their usual custom, sent a volley of arrows amidst the thickest of the French army; and though beaten from their ground, and obliged to take shelter among the baggage, they soon rallied, and continued to do great execution upon the enemy. The duke of Bedford, meanwhile, at the head of the men at arms, made impression on the French, broke their ranks, chased them off the field, and rendered the victory entirely complete and decisive. The constable himself perished in battle, as well as the earl of Douglas and his son, the counts of Aumale, Tonnerre, and Ventadour, with many other considerable nobility. The duke of Alençon, the *mareschal de la Fayette*, the lords of Gaucour and Mortemar, were taken prisoners. There fell about four thousand

of the French, and sixteen hundred of the English; a loss esteemed at that time so unusual on the side of the victors, that the duke of Bedford forbade all rejoicings for his success. Verneuil was surrendered next day by capitulation.

The condition of the king of France now appeared very terrible, and almost desperate. He had lost the flower of his army and the bravest of his nobles in this fatal action: he had no resource either for recruiting or subsisting his troops: he wanted money even for his personal subsistence; and though all parade of a court was banished, it was with difficulty he could keep a table, supplied with the plainest necessities, for himself and his few followers: every day brought him intelligence of some loss or misfortune: towns which were bravely defended were obliged at last to surrender for want of relief or supply: he saw his partisans entirely chased from all the provinces which lay north of the Loire: and he expected soon to lose, by the united efforts of his enemies, all the territories of which he had hitherto continued master; when an incident happened which saved him on the brink of ruin, and lost the English such an opportunity for completing their conquests as they never afterwards were able to recalc.

Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, and heir of those provinces, had espoused John, duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy; but having made this choice from the usual motives of princes, she soon found reason to repent of the unequal alliance. She was a princess of a masculine spirit and uncommon understanding; the duke of Brabant was of a sickly complexion and weak mind: she was in the vigour of her age; he had only reached his fifteenth year. These causes had inspired her with such contempt for her husband, which soon proceeded to antipathy, that she determined to dissolve a marriage, where, it is probable, nothing but the ceremony had as yet intervened. The court of Rome was commonly very open to applications of this nature, when seconded by power and money; but, as the princess foresaw great opposition from her husband's relations, and was impatient to effect her purpose, she made her escape into England, and threw herself under the protection of the duke of Gloucester. That prince, with many noble qualities, had the defect of being governed by an impetuous temper and vehement passions; and he was rashly induced, as well by the charms of the countess herself, as by the prospect of possessing her rich inheritance, to offer himself to her as a husband. Without waiting for a papal dispensation; without endeavouring to reconcile the duke of Burgundy to the measure, he entered into a contract of marriage with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to put himself in possession of her dominions. Philip was disgusted with so precipitate a conduct: he resented the injury done to the duke of Brabant, his near relation: he dreaded to have the English established on all sides of him; and he foresaw the consequences which must attend the extensive and uncontrolled dominion of that nation, if, before the full settlement of their power, they insulted and injured an ally, to whom they had already been so much indebted, and who was still so necessary for supporting them in their farther progress. He encouraged, therefore, the duke of Brabant to make resistance: he engaged many of Jaqueline's subjects to adhere to that prince: he himself marched troops to his support: and as the duke of Gloucester still persevered in his purpose, a sharp war was suddenly kindled in the Low Countries. The quarrel

soon became personal as well as political. The English prince wrote to the duke of Burgundy, complaining of the opposition made to his pretensions; and though, in the main, he employed amicable terms in his letter, he took notice of some falsehoods into which, he said, Philip had been betrayed during the course of these transactions. This unguarded expression was highly resented: the duke of Burgundy insisted that he should retract it: and mutual challenges and defiance passed between them on this occasion.

The duke of Bedford could easily foresee the bad effects of so ill-timed and imprudent a quarrel. All the succours which he expected from England, and which were so necessary in this critical emergence, were intercepted by his brother, and employed in Holland and Hainault: the forces of the duke of Burgundy, which he also depended on, were diverted by the same wars: and, besides this double loss, he was in imminent danger of alienating, for ever, that confederate, whose friendship was of the utmost importance, and whom the late king had enjoined him, with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment. He represented all these topics to the duke of Gloucester: he endeavoured to mitigate the resentment of the duke of Burgundy: he interposed with his good offices between these princes: but was not successful in any of his endeavours; and he found that the impetuosity of his brother's temper was still the chief obstacle to all accommodation. For this reason, instead of pushing the victory gained at Verneuil, he found himself obliged to take a journey into England, and to try, by his counsels and authority, to moderate the measures of the duke of Gloucester.

There had likewise broken out some differences among the English ministry, which had proceeded to great extremities, and which required the regent's presence to compose them. The bishop of Winchester, to whom the care of the king's person and education had been entrusted, was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous character; and, as he aspired to the government of affairs, he had continual disputes with his nephew, the protector; and he gained frequent advantages over the vehement and impolitic temper of that prince. The duke of Bedford employed the authority of parliament to reconcile them; and these rivals were obliged to promise, before that assembly, that they would bury all quarrels in oblivion. Time also seemed to open expedients for composing the difference with the duke of Burgundy. The credit of that prince had procured a bull from the pope; by which not only Jaqueline's contract with the duke of Gloucester was annulled; but it was also declared, that even in the case of the duke of Brabant's death, it should never be lawful for her to espouse the English prince. Humphrey, despairing of success, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived some time with him as his mistress. The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before she could recover possession of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in case she should die without issue, and to promise never to marry without his consent. But though the affair was thus terminated to the satisfaction of Philip, it left a disagreeable impression on his mind: it excited an extreme jealousy of the English, and opened his eyes to his true interests: and as nothing out of his animosity against Charles had engaged him in alliance with them, it counterbalanced that passion by another of the same kind, which in the end

became prevalent, and brought him back, by degrees, to his natural connexions with his family and his native country.

About the same time the duke of Brittany began to withdraw himself from the English alliance. His brother, the count of Richemont, though connected by marriage with the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, was extremely attached by inclination to the French interest; and he willingly hearkened to all the advances which Charles made him for obtaining his friendship. The staff of constable, vacant by the earl of Buchan's death, was offered him; and, as his martial and ambitious temper aspired to the command of armies, which he had in vain attempted to obtain from the duke of Bedford, he not only accepted that office, but brought over his brother to an alliance with the French monarch. The new constable, having made this one change in his measures, firmly adhered, ever after, to his engagements with France. Though his pride and violence, which would admit of no rival in his master's confidence, and even prompted him to assassinate the other favourites, had so much disgusted Charles, that he once banished him the court, and refused to admit him to his presence, he still acted with vigour for the service of that monarch, and obtained, at last, by his perseverance, the pardon of all past offences.

In this situation the duke of Bedford, on his return, found the affairs of France after passing eight months in England. The duke of Burgundy was much disgusted. The duke of Brittany had entered into engagements with Charles, and had done homage to that prince for his duchy. The French had been allowed to recover from the astonishment into which their frequent disasters had thrown them. An incident too had happened, which served extremely to raise their courage. The earl of Warwick had besieged Montargis with a small army of three thousand men, and the place was reduced to extremity, when the bastard of Orleans undertook to throw relief into it. This general, who was natural son to the prince assassinated by the duke of Burgundy, and who was afterwards created count of Dunois, conducted a body of sixteen hundred men to Montargis; and made an attack on the enemy's trenches with so much valour, prudence, and good fortune, that he not only penetrated into the place, but gave a severe blow to the English, and obliged Warwick to raise the siege. This was the first signal action that raised the fame of Dunois, and opened him the road to those great honours which he afterwards attained.

But the regent, soon after his arrival, revived the reputation of the English arms, by an important enterprise which he happily achieved. He secretly brought together, in separate detachments, a considerable army to the frontiers of Brittany; and fell so unexpectedly upon that province, that the duke, unable to make resistance, yielded to all the terms required of him: he renounced the French alliance; he engaged to maintain the treaty of Troye; he acknowledged the duke of Bedford for regent of France; and promised to do homage for his duchy to King Henry. And the English prince, having thus freed himself from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, resolved on an undertaking which, if successful, would, he hoped, cast the balance between the two nations, and prepare the way for the final conquest of France.

The city of Orleans was so situated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and those possessed by Charles, that it opened an easy entrance to either; and as the duke of Bedford intended to



make a great effort for penetrating into the south of France, it behoved him to begin with this place, which, in the present circumstances, was become the most important in the kingdom. He committed the conduct of the enterprise to the earl of Salisbury, who had newly brought him a reinforcement of six thousand men from England, and who had much distinguished himself, by his abilities, during the course of the present war. Salisbury passing the Loire, made himself master of several small places, which surrounded Orleans on that side; and as his intentions were thereby known, the French king used every expedient to supply the city with a garrison and provisions, and enable it to maintain a long and obstinate siege. The lord of Gaucourt, a brave and experienced captain, was appointed governor: many officers of distinction threw themselves into the place: the troops which they conducted were inured to war, and were determined to make the most obstinate resistance: and even the inhabitants, disciplined by the long continuance of hostilities, were well qualified, in their own defence, to second the efforts of the most veteran forces. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this scene; where, it was reasonably supposed, the French were to make their last stand for maintaining the independence of their monarchy, and the rights of their sovereign.

The earl of Salisbury at last approached the place with an army which consisted only of ten thousand men; and not being able, with so small a force, to invest so great a city, that commanded a bridge over the Loire; he stationed himself on the southern side towards Sologne, leaving the other, towards the Beausse, still open to the enemy. He there attacked the fortifications which guarded the entrance to the bridge; and, after an obstinate resistance, he carried several of them; but was himself killed by a cannon ball as he was taking a view of the enemy. The earl of Suffolk succeeded to the command; and being reinforced with great numbers of English and Burgundians, he passed the river with the main body of his army, and invested Orleans on the other side. As it was now the depth of winter, Suffolk, who found it difficult in that season to throw up intrenchments all round, contented himself, for the present, with erecting redoubts at different distances, where his men were lodged in safety, and were ready to intercept the supplies which the enemy might attempt to throw into the place. Though he had several pieces of artillery in his camp (and this is among the first sieges in Europe where cannon were found to be of importance), the art of engineering was hitherto so imperfect that Suffolk trusted more to famine than to force for subduing the city; and he purposed in the spring to render the circumvallation more complete by drawing intrenchments from one redoubt to another. Numberless feats of valour were performed both by the besiegers and besieged during the winter: bold sallies were made, and repulsed with equal boldness: convoys were sometimes introduced and often intercepted: the supplies were still unequal to the consumption of the place: and the English seemed daily, though slowly, to be advancing towards the completion of their enterprise.

But while Suffolk lay in this situation, the French parties ravaged all the country around: and the besiegers, who were obliged to draw their provisions from a distance, were themselves exposed to the danger of want and famine. Sir John Fastolf was bringing up a large convoy of every kind of stores,

which he escorted with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men; when he was attacked by a body of four thousand French, under the command of the counts of Clermont and Dunois. Fastolf drew up his troops behind the waggons; but the French generals, afraid of attacking him in that posture, planted a battery of cannon against him, which threw every thing into confusion, and would have insured them the victory, had not the impatience of some Scottish troops, who broke the line of battle, brought on an engagement, in which Fastolf was victorious. The count of Dunois was wounded; and about five hundred French were left on the field of battle. This action, which was of great importance in the present conjuncture, was commonly called the battle of "Herrings;" because the convoy brought a great quantity of that kind of provisions, for the use of the English army during the Lent season.

Charles seemed now to have but one expedient for saving this city, which had been so long invested. The duke of Orleans, who was still prisoner in England, prevailed on the protector and the council to consent that all his demesnes should be allowed to preserve a neutrality during the war, and should be sequestered, for greater security, into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. This prince, who was much less cordial in the English interests than formerly, went to Paris and made the proposal to the duke of Bedford; but the regent coldly replied, that he was not of a humour to beat the bushes, while others ran away with the game: an answer which so disgusted the duke that he recalled all the troops of Burgundy that acted in the siege. The place, however, was every day more and more closely invested by the English: great scarcity began already to be felt by the garrison and inhabitants: Charles, in despair of collecting an army which should dare to approach the enemy's entrenchments, not only gave the city for lost, but began to entertain a very dismal prospect with regard to the general state of his affairs. He saw that the country, in which he had hitherto, with great difficulty, subsisted, would be laid entirely open to the invasion of a powerful and victorious enemy; and he already entertained thoughts of retiring with the remains of his forces into Languedoc and Dauphiny, and defending himself as long as possible in those remote provinces. But it was fortunate for this good prince, that, as he lay under the dominion of the fair, the women whom he consulted had the spirit to support his sinking resolution in this desperate extremity. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princess of great merit and prudence, vehemently opposed this measure, which she foresaw would discourage all his partisans, and serve as a general signal for deserting a prince who seemed himself to despair of success. His mistress too, the fair Agnes Sorel, who lived in entire amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances, and threatened that, if he thus pusillanimously threw away the sceptre of France, she would seek in the court of England a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. Love was able to rouse in the breast of Charles that courage which ambition had failed to excite: he resolved to dispute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy; and rather to perish with honour in the midst of his friends, than yield ingloriously to his bad fortune: when relief was unexpectedly brought him by another female of a very different character, who gave rise to one of the most singular revolutions that is to be met with in history

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl of twenty-seven years of age, called Joan d'Arc, who was servant in a small inn, and who in that station had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests, to ride them without a saddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices, which, in well-frequented inns, commonly fall to the share of the men-servants. This girl was of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any singularity; whether that she had met with no occasion to excite her genius, or that the unskilful eyes of those who conversed with her had not been able to discern her uncommon merit. It is easy to imagine, that the present situation of France was an interesting object even to persons of the lowest rank, and would become the frequent subject of conversation. A young prince expelled his throne by the sedition of native subjects, and by the arms of strangers, could not fail to move the compassion of all his people whose hearts were uncorrupted by faction; and the peculiar character of Charles, so strongly inclined to friendship and the tender passions, naturally rendered him the hero of that sex whose generous minds know no bounds in their affections. The siege of Orleans, the progress of the English before that place, the great distress of the garrison and inhabitants, the importance of saving this city and its brave defenders, had turned thither the public eye; and Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present distresses. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in such a path; and, thinking herself destined by Heaven to this office, she threw aside all that bashfulness and timidity so natural to her sex, her years, and her low station. She went to Vaucouleurs; procured admission to Baudricourt, the governor; informed him of her inspirations and intentions; and conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, who spoke through her, but to second those heavenly revelations which impelled her to this glorious enterprise. Baudricourt treated her at first with some neglect; but, on her frequent returns to him, and importunate solicitations, he began to remark something extraordinary in the maid, and was inclined, at all hazards, to make so easy an experiment. It is uncertain whether this gentleman had discernment enough to perceive that great use might be made with the vulgar of so uncommon an engine; or, what is more likely, in that credulous age, was himself a convert to this visionary: but he adopted, at last, the schemes of Joan; and he gave her some attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon.

It is the business of history to distinguish between the miraculous and the marvellous; to reject the first in all narrations merely profane and human; to doubt the second; and, when obliged by unquestionable testimony, as in the present case, to admit of something extraordinary, to receive as little of it as is consistent with the known facts and circumstances. It is pretended, that Joan, immediately on her admission, knew the king, though she had never seen his face before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aside

every thing in his dress and apparel which might distinguish him; that she offered him, in the name of the supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed; and, on his expressing doubts of her mission, revealed to him, before some sworn confidants, a secret which was unknown to all the world beside himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected. This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad, in order to captivate the vulgar. The more the king and his ministers were determined to give into the illusion, the more scruples they pretended. An assembly of grave doctors and theologians cautiously examined Joan's mission, and pronounced it undoubted and supernatural. She was sent to the parliament, then residing at Poitiers; and was interrogated before that assembly: the presidents, the counsellors, who came persuaded of her imposture, went away convinced of her inspiration. A ray of hope began to break through that despair in which the minds of all men were before enveloped. Heaven had now declared itself in favour of France, and had laid bare its outstretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders. Few could distinguish between the impulse of inclination and the force of conviction; and none would submit to the trouble of so disagreeable a scrutiny.

After these artificial precautions and preparations had been for some time employed, Joan's requests were at last complied with: she was armed cap-a-pie, mounted on horseback, and shown in that martial habiliment before the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former occupation, was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission; and she was received with the loudest acclamations by the spectators. Her former occupation was even denied; she was no longer the servant of an inn; she was converted into a shepherdess, an employment much more agreeable to the imagination. To render her still more interesting, near ten years were subtracted from her age; and all the sentiments of love and of chivalry were thus united to those of enthusiasm, in order to inflame the fond fancy of the people with prepossessions in her favour.

When the engine was thus dressed up in full splendour, it was determined to essay its force against the enemy. Joan was sent to Blois, where a large convoy was prepared for the supply of Orleans, and an army of 10,000 men, under the command of St. Sever, assembled to escort it. She ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out on the enterprise; she banished from the camp all women of bad fame; she displayed in her hands a consecrated banner, where the Supreme Being was represented grasping the globe of earth, and surrounded with flower de lices; and she insisted, in right of her prophetic mission, that the convoy should enter Orleans by the direct road from the side of Beausse: but the count of Dunois, unwilling to submit the rules of the military art to her inspirations, ordered it to approach by the other side of the river, where he knew the weakest part of the English army was stationed.

Previous to this attempt, the maid had written to



the regent, and to the English generals before Orleans, commanding them, in the name of the omnipotent Creator, by whom she was commissioned, immediately to raise the siege, and to evacuate France; and menacing them with Divine vengeance in case of their disobedience. All the English affected to speak with derision of the maid, and of her heavenly commission; and said, that the French king was indeed reduced to a sorry pass when he had recourse to such ridiculous expedients; but they felt their imagination secretly struck with the vehement persuasion which prevailed in all around them; and they waited with an anxious expectation, not unmixed with horror, for the issue of these extraordinary preparations.

As the convoy approached the river, a sally was made by the garrison on the side of Beausse, to prevent the English general from sending any detachment to the other side: the provisions were peaceably embarked in boats, which the inhabitants of Orleans had sent to receive them: the maid covered with her troops the embarkation: Suffolk did not venture to attack her: and the French general carried back the army in safety to Blois, an alteration of affairs which was already visible to all the world, and which had a proportional effect on the minds of both parties.

The maid entered the city of Orleans arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard, and was received as a celestial deliverer by all the inhabitants. They now believed themselves invincible under her influence; and Dunois himself, perceiving such a mighty alteration both in friends and foes, consented that the next convoy, which was expected in a few days, should enter by the side of Beausse. The convoy approached: no sign of resistance appeared in the besiegers: the waggons and troops passed without interruption between the redoubts of the English: a dead silence and astonishment reigned among those troops, formerly so elated with victory, and so fierce for the combat.

The earl of Suffolk was in a situation very unusual and extraordinary, and which might well confound the man of the greatest capacity and firmest temper. He saw his troops overawed, and strongly impressed with the idea of a Divine influence accompanying the maid. Instead of banishing these vain terrors by hurry, and action, and war, he waited till the soldiers should recover from the panic; and he thereby gave leisure for those prepossessions to sink still deeper into their minds. The military maxims, which are prudent in common cases, deceived him in these unaccountable events. The English felt their courage daunted and overwhelmed, and thence inferred a Divine vengeance hanging over them. The French drew the same inference from an inactivity so new and unexpected. Every circumstance was now reversed in the opinions of men, on which all depends: the spirit resulting from a long course of uninterrupted success was on a sudden transferred from the victors to the vanquished.

The maid called aloud that the garrison should remain no longer on the defensive; and she promised her followers the assistance of Heaven in attacking those redoubts of the enemy which had so long kept them in awe, and which they had never hitherto dared to insult. The generals seconded her ardour: an attack was made on one redoubt, and it proved successful: all the English who defended the entrenchments were put to the sword, or taken prisoners: and Sir John Talbot himself, who had drawn together, from the other redoubts, some

troops to bring them relief, durst not appear in the open field against so formidable an enemy.

Nothing, after this success, seemed impossible to the maid and her enthusiastic votaries. She urged the generals to attack the main body of the English in their entrenchments; but Dunois, still unwilling to hazard the fate of France by too great temerity, and sensible that the least reverse of fortune would make all the present visions evaporate, and restore every thing to its former condition, checked her vehemence, and proposed to her first to expel the enemy from their forts on the other side of the river, and thus lay the communication with the country entirely open, before she attempted any more hazardous enterprise. Joan was persuaded, and these forts were vigorously assailed. In one attack the French were repulsed: the maid was left almost alone; she was obliged to retreat, and join the runaways; but, displaying her sacred standard, and animating them with her countenance, her gestures, her exhortations, she led them back to the charge, and overpowered the English in their entrenchments. In the attack of another fort, she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; she retreated a moment behind the assailants; she pulled out the arrow with her own hands; she had the wound quickly dressed; and she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy.

By all these successes, the English were entirely chased from their fortifications on that side. They had lost above six thousand men in these different actions; and what was still more important, their wonted courage and confidence was wholly gone, and had given place to amazement and despair. The maid returned triumphant over the bridge, and was again received as the guardian angel of the city. After performing such miracles, she convinced the most obdurate incredulity of her divine mission: men felt themselves animated as by a superior energy, and thought nothing impossible to that divine hand which so visibly conducted them. It was in vain even for the English generals to oppose with their soldiers the prevailing opinion of supernatural influence: they themselves were probably moved by the same belief: the utmost they dared to advance was, that Joan was not an instrument of God; she was only the implement of the devil: but as the English had felt, to their sad experience, that the devil might be allowed sometimes to prevail, they derived not much consolation from the enforcing of this opinion.

It might prove extremely dangerous to Suffolk, with such intimidated troops, to remain any longer in the presence of so courageous and victorious an enemy; he therefore raised the siege, and retreated with all the precaution imaginable. The French resolved to push their conquests, and to allow the English no leisure to recover their consternation. Charles formed a body of six thousand men, and sent them to attack Jergeau, whither Suffolk had retired with a detachment of his army. The siege lasted ten days; and the place was obstinately defended. Joan displayed her wonted intrepidity on the occasion. She descended into the fosse in leading the attack; and she there received a blow on the head with a stone, by which she was confounded and beaten to the ground; but she soon recovered herself; and in the end rendered the assault successful: Suffolk was obliged to yield himself prisoner to a Frenchman called Renaud; but, before he submitted, he asked his adversary, whether he were a gentleman? On receiving a satisfactory answer, he

demanded, whether he were a knight? Renaud replied, that he had not yet attained that honour. "Then I make you one," replied Suffolk; upon which he gave him the blow with his sword, which dubbed him into that fraternity; and he immediately surrendered himself his prisoner.

The remainder of the English army was commanded by Fastolfe, Scales, and Talbot, who thought of nothing but of making their retreat as soon as possible into a place of safety; while the French esteemed the overtaking them equivalent to a victory. So much had the events which passed before Orleans altered every thing between the two nations. The vanguard of the French, under Richemont and Xaintrailles, attacked the rear of the enemy at the village of Patay. The battle lasted not a moment: the English were discomfited, and fled: the brave Fastolfe himself showed the example of flight to his troops; and the order of the garter was taken from him, as a punishment for this instance of cowardice. Two thousand men were killed in this action, and both Talbot and Scales taken prisoners.

In the account of all these successes, the French writers, to magnify the wonder, represent the maid (who was now known by the appellation of "the Maid of Orleans") as not only active in combat, but as performing the office of general; directing the troops, conducting the military operations, and swaying the deliberations in all councils of war. It is certain, that the policy of the French court endeavoured to maintain this appearance with the public: but it is much more probable, that Dunois and the wiser commanders prompted her in all her measures, than that a country girl, without experience or education, could, on a sudden, become expert in a profession which requires more genius and capacity than any other active scene of life. It is sufficient praise that she could distinguish the persons on whose judgment she might rely; that she could seize their hints and suggestions, and, on a sudden, deliver their opinions as her own; and that she could curb, on occasion, that visionary and enthusiastic spirit with which she was actuated, and could temper it with prudence and discretion.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promise to Charles: the crowning of him at Rheims was the other: and she now vehemently insisted that he should forthwith set out on that enterprise. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared the most extravagant in the world. Rheims lay in a distant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garrisons; and no man could be so sanguine as to imagine that such an attempt could so soon come within the bounds of possibility. But as it was extremely the interest of Charles to maintain the belief of something extraordinary and divine in these events, and to avail himself of the present consternation of the English, he resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophesies, and to lead his army upon this promising adventure. Hitherto he had kept remote from the scene of war: as the safety of the state depended upon his person, he had been persuaded to restrain his military ardour: but observing this prosperous turn of affairs, he now determined to appear at the head of his armies, and to set the example of valour to all his soldiers. And the French nobility saw at once their young sovereign assuming a new and more brilliant character, seconded by fortune, and conducted by

the hand of heaven; and they caught fresh zeal to exert themselves in replacing him on the throne of his ancestors.

Charles set out for Rheims at the head of twelve thousand men: he passed by Troye, which opened its gates to him: Chalons imitated the example: Rheims sent him a deputation with its keys, before his approach to it; and he scarcely perceived, as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. The ceremony of his coronation was here performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon had brought to King Clovis from Heaven on the first establishment of the French monarchy: the maid of Orleans stood by his side in complete armour, and displayed her sacred banner, which had so often dissipated and confounded his fiercest enemies: and the people shouted with the most unfeigned joy on viewing such a complication of wonders. After the completion of the ceremony, the maid threw herself at the king's feet, embraced his knees, and with a flood of tears, which pleasure and tenderness extorted from her, she congratulated him on this singular and marvellous event.

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects, and seemed, in a manner, to receive anew, from a heavenly commission, his title to their allegiance. The inclinations of men swaying their belief, no one doubted of the inspirations and prophetic spirit of the maid: so many incidents, which passed all human comprehension, left little room to question a superior influence: and the real and undoubted facts brought credit to every exaggeration, which could scarcely be rendered more wonderful. Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Provins, and many other towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood, immediately after Charles's coronation submitted to him on the first summons; and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of their duty and affection.

Nothing can impress us with a higher idea of the address and resolution of the duke of Bedford, than his being able to maintain himself in so perilous a situation, and to preserve some footing in France, after the defection of so many places, and amidst the universal inclination of the rest to imitate that contagious example. This prince seemed present every where by his vigilance and foresight: he employed every resource which fortune had yet left him: he put all the English garrisons in a posture of defence: he kept a watchful eye over every attempt among the French towards an insurrection: he retained the Parisians in obedience, by alternately employing caresses and severity; and knowing that the duke of Burgundy was already wavering in his fidelity, he acted with so much skill and prudence, as to renew, in this dangerous crisis, his alliance with that prince; an alliance of the utmost importance to the credit and support of the English government.

The small supplies which he received from England set the talents of this great man in a still stronger light. The ardour of the English for foreign conquests was now extremely abated by time and reflection: the parliament seems even to have become sensible of the danger which might attend their farther progress: no supply of money could be obtained by the regent during his greatest distresses: and men enlisted slowly under his standard, or soon deserted, by reason of the wonderful accounts which had reached England, of the magic, and sorcery, and diabolical power of the maid of Orleans. It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the bishop



of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of five thousand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a crusade against the Hussites. He was persuaded to lend these troops to his nephew during the present difficulties; and the regent was thereby enabled to take the field, and to oppose the French king, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris.

The extraordinary capacity of the duke of Bedford appeared also in his military operations. He attempted to restore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to the face of the enemy; but he chose his posts with so much caution, as always to decline a combat, and to render it impossible for Charles to attack him. He still attended that prince in all his movements; covered his own towns and garrisons; and kept himself in a posture to reap advantage from every imprudence or false step of the enemy. The French army, which consisted mostly of volunteers, who served at their own expense, soon after retired, and was disbanded: Charles went to Bourges, the ordinary place of his residence; but not till he had made himself master of Compiègne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, Lagni, St. Denis, and of many places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which the affections of the people had put into his hands.

The regent endeavoured to revive the declining state of his affairs by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris. All the vassals of the crown who lived within the provinces possessed by the English, swore a new allegiance, and did homage to him. But this ceremony was cold and insipid, compared with the lustre which had attended the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the duke of Bedford expected more effect from an accident, which put into his hands the person that had been the author of all his calamities.

The maid of Orleans, after the coronation of Charles, declared to the count of Dunois, that her wishes were now fully gratified, and that she had no farther desire than to return to her former condition, and to the occupation and course of life which became her sex: but that nobleman, sensible of the great advantages which might still be reaped from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere, till, by the final expulsion of the English, she had brought all her prophecies to their full completion. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into the town of Compiègne, which was at that time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk; and the garrison, on her appearance, believed themselves thenceforth invincible. But their joy was of short duration. The maid, next day after her arrival, headed a sally upon the quarters of John of Luxembourg; she twice drove the enemy from their entrenchments: finding their numbers to increase every moment she ordered a retreat; when hard pressed by the pursuers, she turned upon them, and made them again recoil; but being here deserted by her friends, and surrounded by the enemy, she was at last, after exerting the utmost valour, taken prisoner by the Burgundians. The common opinion was, that the French officers, finding the merit of every victory ascribed to her, had, in envy to her renown, by which they themselves were so much eclipsed, willingly exposed her to this fatal accident.

The envy of her friends, on this occasion, was not a greater proof of her merit, than the triumph of her enemies. A complete victory would not have given

more joy to the English and their partisans. The service of *Te Deum*, which has so often been profaned by princes, was publicly celebrated, on this fortunate event, at Paris. The duke of Bedford fancied, that, by the captivity of that extraordinary woman, who had blasted all his successes, he should again recover his former ascendant over France; and, to push farther the present advantage, he purchased the captive from John of Luxembourg, and formed a prosecution against her, which, whether it proceeded from vengeance or policy, was equally barbarous and dishonourable.

There was no possible reason, why Joan should not be regarded as a prisoner of war, and be entitled to all the courtesy and good usages which civilised nations practise towards enemies on these occasions. She had never, in her military capacity, forfeited, by any act of treachery or cruelty, her claim to that treatment: she was unstained by any civil crime: even the virtues and the very decorums of her sex had ever been rigidly observed by her: and though her appearing in war, and leading armies to battle, may seem an exception, she had thereby performed such signal service to her prince, that she had abundantly compensated for this irregularity; and was, on that very account, the more an object of praise and admiration. It was necessary, therefore, for the duke of Bedford to interest religion some way in the prosecution; and to cover, under that cloak, his violation of justice and humanity.

The bishop of Beauvais, a man wholly devoted to the English interests, presented a petition against Joan, on pretence that she was taken within the bounds of his diocese; and he desired to have her tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic: the university of Paris was so mean as to join in the same request: several prelates, among whom the cardinal of Winchester was the only Englishman, were appointed her judges: they held their court in Rouën, where the young king of England then resided: and the maid, clothed in her former military apparel, but loaded with irons, was produced before this tribunal.

She first desired to be eased of her chains: her judges answered, that she had once already attempted an escape, by throwing herself from a tower: she confessed the fact, maintained the justice of her intention, and owned that, if she could, she would still execute that purpose. All her other speeches shewed the same firmness and intrepidity: though harassed with interrogatories during the course of near four months, she never betrayed any weakness or womanish submission; and no advantage was gained over her. The point which her judges pushed most vehemently was her visions and revelations, and intercourse with departed saints; and they asked her whether she would submit to the church the truth of these inspirations: she replied, that she would submit them to God, the fountain of truth. They then exclaimed that she was a heretic, and denied the authority of the church. She appealed to the pope: they rejected her appeal.

They asked her why she put trust in her standard, which had been consecrated by magical incantations: she replied, that she put trust in the Supreme Being alone, whose image was impressed upon it. They demanded why she carried in her hand that standard at the anointment and coronation of Charles at Rheims: she answered, that the person who had shared the danger was entitled to share the glory. When accused of going to war, contrary to the decorums of her sex, and of assuming government and

command over men, she scrupled not to reply, that her sole purpose was to defeat the English, and to expel them the kingdom. In the issue, she was condemned for all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by heresy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm.

Joan, so long surrounded by inveterate enemies, who treated her with every mark of contumely; brow-beaten and overawed by men of superior rank, and men invested with the ensigns of a sacred character, which she had been accustomed to revere, felt her spirit at last subdued; and those visionary dreams of inspiration, in which she had been buoyed up by the triumphs of success and the applauses of her own party, gave way to the terrors of that punishment to which she was sentenced. She publicly declared herself willing to recant; she acknowledged the illusion of those revelations which the church had rejected; and she promised never more to maintain them. Her sentence was then mitigated: she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

Enough was now done to fulfil all political views, and to convince both the French and the English that the opinion of Divine influence, which had so much encouraged the one and daunted the other, was entirely without foundation. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies was not satisfied with this victory. Suspecting that the female dress, which she had now consented to wear, was disagreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel, and watched for the effects of that temptation upon her. On the sight of a dress in which she had acquired so much renown, and which, she once believed, she wore by the particular appointment of Heaven, all her former ideas and passions revived, and she ventured in her solitude to clothe herself again in the forbidden garment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation; her fault was interpreted to be no less than a relapse into heresy: no recantation would now suffice, and no pardon could be granted her. She was condemned to be burned in the marketplace of Rouën, and the infamous sentence was accordingly executed. This admirable heroine, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on pretence of heresy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated, by that dreadful punishment, the signal services which she had rendered to her prince and to her native country.

The affairs of the English, far from being advanced by this execution, went every day more and more to decay: the great abilities of the regent were unable to resist the strong inclination which had seized the French to return under the obedience of their rightful sovereign, and which that act of cruelty was ill fitted to remove. Chartres was surprised by a stratagem of the count of Dunois. A body of the English, under Lord Willoughby, was defeated at St. Celerin upon the Sarte: the fair in the suburbs of Caën, seated in the midst of the English territories, was pillaged by de Lore, a French officer: the duke of Bedford himself was obliged, by Dunois, to raise the siege of Lagni, with some loss of reputation: and all these misfortunes, though light, yet, being continued and uninterrupted, brought discredit on the English, and menaced them with an approaching revolution. But the chief detriment which the regent sustained, was

by the death of his duchess, who had hitherto preserved some appearance of friendship between him and her brother, the duke of Burgundy; and his marriage soon afterwards with Jaqueline of Luxembourg was the beginning of a breach between them. Philip complained, that the regent had never had the civility to inform him of his intentions, and that so sudden a marriage was a slight on his sister's memory. The cardinal of Winchester mediated a reconciliation between these princes, and brought both of them to St. Omer's for that purpose. The duke of Bedford here expected the first visit, both as he was son, brother and uncle to a king, and because he had already made such advances as to come into the duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him: but Philip, proud of his great power and independent dominions, refused to pay this compliment to the regent: and the two princes, unable to adjust the ceremonial, parted without seeing each other. A bad prognostic of their cordial intentions to renew past amity.

Nothing could be more repugnant to the interests of the house of Burgundy, than to unite the crowns of France and England on the same head; an event which, had it taken place, would have reduced the duke to the rank of a petty prince, and have rendered his situation entirely dependant and precarious. The title also to the crown of France, which, after the failure of the elder branches, might accrue to the duke or his posterity, had been sacrificed by the treaty of Troye; and strangers and enemies were thereby irrevocably fixed upon the throne. Revenge alone had carried Philip into these impolitic measures; and a point of honour had hitherto induced him to maintain them. But as it is the nature of passion gradually to decay, while the sense of interest maintains a permanent influence and authority; the duke had, for some years, appeared sensibly to relent in his animosity against Charles, and to hearken willingly to the apologies made by that prince for the murder of the late duke of Burgundy. His extreme youth was pleaded in his favour; his incapacity to judge for himself; the ascendant gained over him by his ministers; and his inability to resent a deed, which, without his knowledge, had been perpetrated by those under whose guidance he was then placed. The more to flatter the pride of Philip, the king of France had banished from his court and presence Tanegui de Chatel, and all those who were concerned in that assassination; and had offered to make every other atonement which could be required of him. The distress which Charles had already suffered had tended to gratify the duke's revenge; the miseries to which France had been so long exposed had begun to move his compassion; and the cries of all Europe admonished him, that his resentment, which might hitherto be deemed pious, would, if carried farther, be universally condemned as barbarous and unrelenting. While the duke was in this disposition, every disgust which he received from England made a double impression upon him; the entreaties of the count of Richemont and the duke of Bourbon, who had married his two sisters, had weight; and he finally determined to unite himself to the royal family of France, from which his own was descended. For this purpose a congress was appointed at Arras, under the mediation of deputies from the pope and the council of Basle: the duke of Burgundy came thither in person: the duke of Bourbon, the count of Richemont, and other persons of high rank, appeared as ambassadors from France; and the Eng-



ish having also been invited to attend, the cardinal of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich and St. David, the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, with others, received from the protector and council a commission for that purpose.

The conferences were held in the abbey of St. Vaast; and began with discussing the proposals of the two crowns, which were so wide of each other as to admit of no hopes of accommodation. France offered to cede Normandy with Guienne, but both of them loaded with the usual homage and vassalage to the crown. As the claims of England upon France were universally unpopular in Europe, the mediators declared the offers of Charles very reasonable; and the cardinal of Winchester, with the other English ambassadors, without giving a particular detail of their demands, immediately left the congress. There remained nothing but to discuss the mutual pretensions of Charles and Philip. These were easily adjusted: the vassal was in a situation to give law to his superior; and he exacted conditions, which, had it not been for the present necessity, would have been deemed, to the last degree, dishonourable and disadvantageous to the crown of France. Besides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the murder of the duke of Burgundy, Charles was obliged to cede all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the Low Countries; he yielded several other territories; he agreed, that these and all the other dominions of Philip should be held by him, during his life, without doing any homage, or swearing fealty to the present king; and he freed his subjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed this treaty. Such were the conditions upon which France purchased the friendship of the duke of Burgundy.

The duke sent a herald to England with a letter, in which he notified the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, and apologised for his departure from that of Troye. The council received the herald with great coldness: they even assigned him his lodgings in a shoemaker's house, by way of insult; and the populace were so incensed, that, if the duke of Gloucester had not given him guards, his life had been exposed to danger when he appeared in the streets. The Flemings and other subjects of Philip were insulted, and some of them murdered by the Londoners; and every thing seemed to tend towards a rupture between the two nations. These violences were not disagreeable to the duke of Burgundy; as they afforded him a pretence for the farther measures which he intended to take against the English, whom he now regarded as implacable and dangerous enemies.

A few days after the duke of Bedford received intelligence of this treaty, so fatal to the interests of England, he died at Rouen; a prince of great abilities, and of many virtues; and whose memory, except from the barbarous execution of the Maid of Orleans, was unsullied by any considerable blemish. Isabella, queen of France, died a little before him, despised by the English, detested by the French, and reduced in her latter years to regard, with an unnatural horror, the progress and successes of her own son, in recovering possession of his kingdom. This period was also signalized by the death of the earl of Arundel, a great English general, who, though he commanded 3000 men, was foiled by Xantrilles at the head of six hundred, and soon after expired of the wounds which he received in the action.

The violent factions, which prevailed between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester,

prevented the English from taking the proper measures for repairing these multiplied losses, and threw all their affairs into confusion. The popularity of the duke, and his near relation to the crown, gave him advantages in the contest, which he often lost by his open and unguarded temper, unfit to struggle with the politic and interested spirit of his rival. The balance, meanwhile, of these parties kept every thing in suspense: foreign affairs were much neglected; and though the duke of York, son to that earl of Cambridge who was executed in the beginning of the last reign, was appointed successor to the duke of Bedford, it was seven months before his commission passed the seals; and the English remained so long in an enemy's country, without a proper head or governor.

The new governor, on his arrival, found the capital already lost. The Parisians had always been more attached to the Burgundian than to the English interest; and after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, their affections, without any farther control, universally led them to return to their allegiance under their native sovereign. The constable, together with Lile-Adam, the same person who had before put Paris into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, was introduced in the night-time by intelligence with the citizens: Lord Willoughby, who commanded only a small garrison of 1500 men, was expelled: this nobleman discovered valour and presence of mind on the occasion; but unable to guard so large a place against such multitudes, he retired into the Bastille, and being there invested, he delivered up that fortress, and was contented to stipulate for the safe retreat of his troops into Normandy.

In the same season, the duke of Burgundy openly took part against England, and commenced hostilities by the siege of Calais, the only place which now gave the English any sure hold of France, and still rendered them dangerous. As he was beloved among his own subjects, and had acquired the epithet of "Good," from his popular qualities, he was able to interest all the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the success of this enterprise; and he invested that place with an army, formidable from its numbers, but without experience, discipline, or military spirit. On the first alarm of this siege, the duke of Gloucester assembled some forces, sent a defiance to Philip, and challenged him to wait the event of a battle, which he promised to give, as soon as the wind would permit him to reach Calais. The warlike genius of the English had at that time rendered them terrible to all the northern parts of Europe; especially to the Flemings, who were more expert in manufactures than in arms; and the duke of Burgundy, being already foiled in some attempts before Calais, and observing the discontent and terror of his own army, thought proper to raise the siege, and to retreat before the arrival of the enemy.

The English were still masters of many fine provinces in France; but retained possession, more by the extreme weakness of Charles, than by the strength of their own garrisons, or the force of their armies. Nothing indeed can be more surprising than the feeble efforts made, during the course of several years, by these two potent nations against each other; while the one struggled for independence, and the other aspired to a total conquest of its rival. The general want of industry, commerce, and police, in that age, had rendered all the European nations, and France and England no less than the others, unfit for bearing the burthens of war, when it was prolonged beyond one season; and the continuance

of hostilities had, long ere this time, exhausted the force and patience of both kingdoms. Scarcely could the appearance of an army be brought into the field on either side; and all the operations consisted in the surprisal of places, in the rencounter of detached parties, and in incursions upon the open country; which were performed by small bodies, assembled on a sudden from the neighbouring garrisons. In this method of conducting the war, the French king had much the advantage: the affections of the people were entirely on his side; intelligence was early brought him of the state and motions of the enemy: the inhabitants were ready to join in any attempts against the garrisons; and thus ground was continually, though slowly, gained upon the English. The duke of York, who was a prince of abilities, struggled against these difficulties during the course of five years; and being assisted by the valour of Lord Talbot, soon after created earl of Shrewsbury, he performed actions which acquired him honour, but merit not the attention of posterity. It would have been well, had this feeble war, in sparing the blood of the people, prevented likewise all other oppressions; and had the fury of men, which reason and justice cannot restrain, thus happily received a check from their impotence and inability. But the French and English, though they exerted such small force, were, however, stretching beyond their resources, which were still smaller; and the troops, destitute of pay, were obliged to subsist by plundering and oppressing the country, both of friends and enemies. The fields in all the north of France, which was the seat of war, were laid waste and left uncultivated. The cities were gradually depopulated, not by the blood spilt in battle, but by the more destructive pillage of the garrisons: and both parties weary of hostilities, which decided nothing, seemed at last desirous of peace, and they set on foot negotiations for that purpose. But the proposals of France, and the demands of England, were still so wide of each other, that all hope of accommodation immediately vanished. The English ambassadors demanded restitution of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, together with the final cession of Calais and its district; and required the possession of these extensive territories without the burden of any fealty or homage on the part of their prince: the French offered only part of Guienne, part of Normandy, and Calais, loaded with the usual burdens. It appeared in vain to continue the negotiation, while there was so little prospect of agreement. The English were still too haughty to stoop from the vast hopes which they had formerly entertained, and to accept of terms more suitable to the present condition of the two kingdoms.

The duke of York soon after resigned his government to the earl of Warwick, a nobleman of reputation, whom death prevented from long enjoying his dignity. The duke upon the demise of that nobleman, returned to his charge, and during his administration, a truce was concluded between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, which had become necessary for the commercial interests of their subjects. The war with France continued in the same languid and feeble state as before.

The captivity of five princes of the blood, taken prisoners in the battle of Azincour, was a considerable advantage which England long enjoyed over its enemy; but this superiority was now entirely lost. Some of these princes had died; some had been ransomed; and the duke of Orleans, the most powerful among them, was the last that remained in the

hands of the English. He offered the sum of 54,000 nobles for his liberty; and when this proposal was laid before the council of England, as every question was there an object of faction, the party of the duke of Gloucester, and that of the cardinal of Winchester, were divided in their sentiments with regard to it. The duke reminded the council of the dying advice of the late king, that none of these prisoners should on any account be released, till his son should be of sufficient age to hold himself the reins of government. The cardinal insisted on the greatness of the sum offered, which, in reality, was near equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary supplies that the parliament, during the course of seven years, granted for the support of the war. And he added, that the release of this prince was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to the English interests; by filling the court of France with faction, and giving a head to those numerous malcontents whom Charles was at present able, with great difficulty, to restrain. The cardinal's party, as usual, prevailed: the duke of Orleans was released, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years: and the duke of Burgundy, as a pledge of his entire reconciliation with the family of Orleans, facilitated to that prince the payment of his ransom. It must be confessed, that the princes and nobility, in those ages, went to war on very disadvantageous terms. If they were taken prisoners, they either remained in captivity during life, or purchased their liberty at the price which the victors were pleased to impose, and which often reduced their families to want and beggary.

The sentiments of the cardinal, some time after, prevailed in another point of still greater moment. That prelate had always encouraged every proposal of accommodation with France; and had represented the utter impossibility, in the present circumstances, of pushing farther the conquests in that kingdom, and the great difficulty of even maintaining those which were already made. He insisted on the extreme reluctance of the parliament to grant supplies; the disorders in which the English affairs in Normandy were involved; the daily progress made by the French king; and the advantage of stopping his hand by a temporary accommodation, which might leave room for time and accidents to operate in favour of the English. The duke of Gloucester, high-spirited and haughty, and educated in the lofty pretensions which the first successes of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, could not yet be induced to relinquish all hopes of prevailing over France; much less could he see, with patience, his own opinion thwarted and rejected by the influence of his rival in the English council. But, notwithstanding his opposition, the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman who adhered to the cardinal's party, was dispatched to Tours, in order to negotiate with the French ministers. It was found impossible to adjust the terms of a lasting peace; but a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, which left every thing on the present footing between the parties. The numerous disorders under which the French government laboured, and which time alone could remedy, induced Charles to assent to this truce; and the same motives engaged him afterwards to prolong it. But Suffolk, not content with executing this object of his commission, proceeded also to finish another business; which seems rather to have been implied than expressed in the powers that had been granted him.

In proportion as Henry advanced in years, his



character became fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the most harmless, inoffensive, simple manners; but of the most slender capacity; he was fitted both by the softness of his temper and the weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of choosing him a queen; and each party was ambitious of having him receive one from their hand; as it was probable that this circumstance would decide for ever the victory between them. The duke of Gloucester proposed a daughter of the count of Armagnac; but had not credit to effect his purpose. The cardinal and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, descended from the count of Anjou, brother of Charles V., who had left these magnificent titles, but without any real power or possessions, to his posterity. This princess herself was the most accomplished of her age both in body and mind; and seemed to possess those qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the ascendancy over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. Of a masculine, courageous spirit, of an enterprising temper, endowed with solidity as well as vivacity of understanding, she had not been able to conceal these great talents even in the privacy of her father's family; and it was reasonable to expect, that when she should mount the throne, they would break out with still superior lustre. The earl of Suffolk, therefore, in concert with his associates of the English council, made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. But this nobleman, besides pre-occupying the princess's favour, by being the chief means of her advancement, endeavoured to ingratiate himself with her and her family, by very extraordinary concessions: though Margaret brought no dowry with her, he ventured, of himself, without any direct authority from the council, but probably with the approbation of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou her uncle, who was prime minister and favourite of the French king, and who had already received from his master the grant of that province as his appanage.

The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the thanks of parliament for his services in concluding it. The princess fell immediately into close connexions with the cardinal and his party, the dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, and Buckingham; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester.

This generous prince, worsted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not suited, but possessing in a high degree the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto borne without violating public peace, but which it was impossible a person of his spirit and humanity could ever forgive. His duchess, the daughter of Reginald, lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft, and it was pretended that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke a priest, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magi-

cal manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age; and the duchess was brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of this crime, so opposite to all common sense, seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence: the prisoners were pronounced guilty; the duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; the others were executed. But, as these violent proceedings were ascribed solely to the malice of the duke's enemies, the people, contrary to their usual practice in such marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy sufferers; and increased their esteem and affection towards a prince, who was thus exposed, without protection, to those mortal injuries.

These sentiments of the public made the cardinal of Winchester and his party sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whose popularity might become dangerous, and whose resentment they had so much cause to apprehend. In order to effect their purpose, a parliament was summoned to meet, not at London, which was supposed to be too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmundsbury, where they expected that he would lie entirely at their mercy. As soon as he appeared, he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison. He was soon after found dead in his bed; and though it was pretended that his death was natural, and though his body, which was exposed to public view, bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. An artifice formerly practised in the cases of Edward II., Richard II., and Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, could deceive nobody. The reason of this assassination of the duke seems, not that the ruling party apprehended his acquittal in parliament on account of his innocence, which, in such times, was seldom much regarded, but that they imagined his public trial and execution would have been more invidious than his private murder, which they pretended to deny. Some gentlemen of his retinue were afterwards tried as accomplices in his treasons, and were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. They were hanged and cut down; but just as the executioner was proceeding to quarter them, their pardon was produced, and they were recovered to life. The most barbarous kind of mercy that can possibly be imagined.

Lingard doubts the murder of the duke, and gives as his reason, that Whethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's, a writer who had received many benefits from the duke, and was much attached to him, at a time when he had nothing to hope or fear, though he severely condemns his opponents, yet says he died a natural death. Mackintosh, with Hume, speaks decisively of the "murder" of Gloucester. It must be remembered, that if he was not murdered, the aspersions cast upon Cardinal Beaufort, a catholic dignitary, are removed.

This duke is said to have received a better education than was usual in his age, to have founded one of the first public libraries in England, and to have been a great patron of learned men. Among other advantages which he reaped from this turn of mind, it tended much to cure him of credulity, of which the following instance is given by Sir Thomas More. There was a man who pretended, that, though he was born blind, he had recovered his sight by touch-

ing the shrine of St. Alban's. The duke, happening soon after to pass that way, questioned the man, and, seeming to doubt of his sight, asked him the colours of several cloaks, worn by persons of his retinue. The man told them very readily. "You are a knave," cried the prince; "had you been born blind, you could not so soon have learned to distinguish colours;" and immediately ordered him to be set in the stocks as an impostor.

The cardinal of Winchester died six weeks after his nephew, whose murder was universally ascribed to him as well as to the duke of Suffolk, and which, it is said, gave him more remorse in his last moments than could naturally be expected from a man hardened, during the course of a long life, in falsehood and in politics. What share the queen had in this guilt, is uncertain: her usual activity and spirit made the public conclude, with some reason, that the duke's enemies durst not have ventured on such a deed without her privy. But there happened, soon after, an event, of which she and her favourite, the duke of Suffolk, bore incontestibly the whole odium.

That article of the marriage treaty, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, had probably been hitherto kept secret; and, during the life-time of the duke of Gloucester, it might have been dangerous to venture on the execution of it. But, as the court of France strenuously insisted on performance, orders were now dispatched, under Henry's hand, to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, commanding him to surrender that place to Charles of Anjou. Surienne, either questioning the authenticity of the order, or regarding his government as his sole fortune, refused compliance; and it became necessary for a French army, under the count of Dunois, to lay siege to the city. The governor made as good a defence as his situation could permit; but, receiving no relief from Edmund duke of Somerset, who was at that time governor of Normandy, he was at last obliged to capitulate, and to surrender not only Mans, but all the other fortresses of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the crown of England.

The bad effects of this measure stopped not here. Surienne, at the head of all his garrisons, amounting to 2500 men, retired into Normandy, in expectation of being taken into pay, and of being quartered in some towns of that province. But Somerset, who had no means of subsisting such a multitude, and who was probably incensed at Surienne's disobedience, refused to admit him; and this adventurer, not daring to commit depredations on the territories either of the king of France or of England, marched into Brittany, seized the town of Fougères, repaired the fortifications of Pontorson and St. James de Beuvron, and subsisted his troops by the ravages which he exercised on that whole province. The duke of Brittany complained of this violence to the king of France, his liege lord: Charles remonstrated with the duke of Somerset. That nobleman replied, that the injury was done without his privy, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his companions. Though this answer ought to have appeared satisfactory to Charles, who had often felt severely the licentious, independent spirit of such mercenary soldiers, he never would admit of the apology. He still insisted that these plunderers should be recalled, and that reparation should be made to the duke of Brittany for all the damages which he had sustained: and, in order to render an accommodation absolutely impracticable, he made

the estimation of damages amount to no less a sum than 1,600,000 crowns. He was sensible of the superiority which the present state of his affairs gave him over England; and he determined to take advantage of it.

No sooner was the truce concluded between the two kingdoms, than Charles employed himself, with great industry and judgment, in repairing those numberless ills to which France, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domestic, had so long been exposed. He restored the course of public justice; he introduced order into the finances; he established discipline in his troops; he repressed faction in his court; he revived the languid state of agriculture and the arts; and, in the course of a few years, he rendered his kingdom flourishing within itself, and formidable to its neighbours. Meanwhile, affairs in England had taken a very different turn. The court was divided into parties, which were enraged against each other: the people were discontented with the government: conquests in France, which were an object more of glory than of interest, were overlooked amidst domestic incidents, which engrossed the attention of all men: the governor of Normandy, ill supplied with money, was obliged to dismiss the greater part of his troops, and to allow the fortifications of the towns and castles to become ruinous: and the nobility and people of that province had, during the late open communication with France, enjoyed frequent opportunities of renewing connexions with their ancient master, and of concerting the means for expelling the English. The occasion, therefore, seemed favourable to Charles for breaking the truce. Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies; one commanded by the king himself, a second by the duke of Brittany, a third by the duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the count of Dunois. The places opened their gates almost as soon as the French appeared before them: Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Ponto de Mer, Gisors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Lisieux, Fecamp, Coutances, Belesme, Pont de l'Arche, fell in an instant into the hands of the enemy. The duke of Somerset, so far from having an army which could take the field, and relieve these places, was not able to supply them with the necessary garrisons and provisions. He retired, with the few troops of which he was master, into Rouën; and thought it sufficient, if, till the arrival of succours from England, he could save that capital from the general fate of the province. The king of France, at the head of a formidable army, 50,000 strong, presented himself before the gates: the dangerous example of revolt had infected the inhabitants, and they called aloud for a capitulation. Somerset, unable to resist, at once, both the enemies within and from without, retired with his garrison into the palace and castle, which, being places not tenable, he was obliged to surrender: he purchased a retreat to Harfleur by the payment of 56,000 crowns, by engaging to surrender Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Honfleur, and other places in the higher Normandy, and by delivering hostages for the performance of articles. The governor of Honfleur refused to obey his orders; upon which the earl of Shrewsbury, who was one of the hostages, was detained prisoner; and the English were thus deprived of the only general capable of recovering them from their present distressed situation. Harfleur made a better defence under Sir Thomas Curson, the governor; but was finally obliged to open its gates to Dunois. Succours at last appeared from England under Sir Thomas Kyriel, and



landed at Cherbourg: but these came very late, amounted only to 4000 men, and were soon after put to rout at Fournigni by the count of Clermont. This battle, or rather skirmish, was the only action fought by the English for the defence of their dominions in France, which they had purchased at such an expense of blood and treasure. Somerset, shut up in Caën without any prospect of relief, found it necessary to capitulate: Falaise opened its gates, on condition that the earl of Shrewsbury should be restored to liberty: and Cherbourg, the last place of Normandy which remained in the hands of the English, being delivered up, the conquest of that important province was finished in a twelvemonth by Charles, to the great joy of the inhabitants and of his whole kingdom.

A like rapid success attended the French arms in Guienne; though the inhabitants of that province were, from long custom, better inclined to the English government. Dunois was despatched thither, and met with no resistance in the field, and very little from the towns. Great improvements had been made, during this age, in the structure and management of artillery, and none in fortification; and the art of defence was by that means more unequal, than either before or since, to the art of attack. After all the small places about Bourdeaux were reduced, that city agreed to submit, if not relieved by a certain time; and as no one in England thought seriously of these distant concerns, no relief appeared; the place surrendered; and Bayonne being taken soon after, this whole province, which had remained united to England since the accession of Henry II. was, after a period of three centuries, finally swallowed up in the French monarchy.

Though no peace or truce was concluded between France and England, the war was, in a manner, at an end. The English, torn in pieces by the civil dissensions which ensued, made but one feeble effort more for the recovery of Guienne: and Charles, occupied at home in regulating the government, and fencing against the intrigues of his factious son, Lewis the Dauphin, scarcely ever attempted to invade them in their island, or to retaliate upon them, by availing himself of their intestine confusions.

The comprehensive remarks of Sir James Mackintosh give us just an idea of the spirit of the age, and the progress of European society, that we incorporate his masterly sketch:—

“An historian who rests for a little space between the termination of the Plantagenet wars in France, and the commencement of the civil wars of the two branches of that family in England, may naturally look around him, reviewing some of the more important events which had passed, and casting his eye onward to the then unmarked preparations for the mighty mutations which were to affect the relations of states towards each other, their internal rule and condition, and to produce an influence on the character and lot of the European and even of the human race.

“A very few particulars only can be selected as specimens from so vast a mass.

“The foundations of the political system of the European commonwealth were now laid. A glance over the map of Europe in 1453 will satisfy an observer that the territories of different nations were then fast approaching to the shape and extent which they retain at this day. The English islanders had only one town of the Continent remaining in their hands. The Mahometans of Spain were on the eve of being reduced under the Christian authority.

Italy had, indeed, lost her liberty, but had escaped the ignominy of a foreign yoke. Muscovy was emerging from the long domination of the Tartars. Venice, Hungary, and Poland, three states now placed under foreign masters, then guarded the eastern frontier of Christendom against the Ottoman barbarians, whom the absence of foresight, of mutual confidence, and a disregard of safety and honour which disgraced western governments, had just suffered to master Constantinople and to subjugate the eastern Christians. France had consolidated the greater part of her central and commanding territories. In the transfer of the Netherlands to the house of Austria originated the French jealousy of that power, then rising into importance in south-eastern Germany. The empire was daily becoming a looser confederacy under a nominal ruler whose small remains of authority every day contributed to lessen.

“The internal or constitutional history of the European nations threatened in almost every Continental country the fatal establishment of absolute monarchy, from which the free and generous spirit of the northern barbarians did not protect their degenerate posterity. In the Netherlands, an ancient gentry, and burghers enriched by traffick, held their still limited princes in check. In Switzerland, the patricians of a few towns, together with the gallant peasantry of the Alpine valleys, escaped a master. But parliaments and diets, states-general and cortes, were gradually disappearing from view, or reduced from august assemblies to insignificant formalities, and Europe seemed on the eve of exhibiting nothing to the disgusted eye but the dead uniformity of imbecile despotism, dissolute courts, and cruelly oppressed nations.

“In the mean time the almost unobserved advancement and diffusion of knowledge were paying the way for discoveries, of which the high results will be contemplated only by unborn ages. The mariner's compass had conducted the Portuguese to distant points on the coast of Africa, and was about to lead them through the unploughed ocean to the famous regions of the East. Civilized men, hitherto cooped up on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, now visited the whole of their subject planet, and became its more undisputed sovereigns. The man was then born, who, with two undecked boats and one frail sloop, containing with difficulty a hundred and twenty persons, dared to stretch across an unpassed ocean, which had hitherto bounded the imaginations as well as the enterprises of men; and who, instead of that India renowned in legend and in story, of which he was in quest, laid open a new world, which under the hands of the European race was one day to produce governments, laws, manners, modes of civilization, and states of society, almost as different as its native plants and animals from those of ancient Europe. Who could then—who can even now—foresee all the prodigious effects of these discoveries on the fortunes of mankind?

“The moment was fast approaching, though unseen by civil and spiritual rulers, when a Saxon monk was to proclaim (without his own knowledge and against his opinions) the right of every man to think for himself on all subjects, the increasing duty of exercising that right in proportion to the sacredness and awfulness of the subject, the injustice and tyranny of all laws which forbid men to aid their judgment by discussion, and to disclose to others what they prized as invaluable truths. The discovery of the free exercise of reason, thus unconsciously and undesignedly made, was the parent of every other

invention and improvement; but it could not have been, perhaps, effected at that time without another occurrence, which strikingly illustrates the contrast between the lasting and the momentary importance of the facts which affect the temporary greatness of single states, and those advances in civilization in which the whole race of man partakes.

"Paris, as has already been stated, was evacuated by the English in 1435. The conquest of Bayonne, in 1453, completed their expulsion from France. Few events could then have been deemed of more moment. Had statesmen been as voluminous writers as they now are, their correspondence could scarcely have handled any other matters. Of these events, once thus momentous, a well-educated man might now mistake the date to the extent of ten or twenty years. In the very year of the evacuation of Paris, as we learn from the records of the city of Strasburg, a lawsuit was carried on there between John Gutenberg, a gentleman of Mentz, celebrated for mechanical ingenuity, and Drizehn, a burgher of the city, who was his partner in a copying machine, of which Gutenberg reserved to himself the secret of the contrivance. No litigation could seem more base and mechanical to the barbarous barons of Suabia and Alsace. But the copying machine was the printing-press, which has changed the condition of mankind. The single and very simple operation of Gutenberg's invention in reducing the price of books, has augmented tenfold the mass of reason employed in human pursuits, and multiplied, beyond the possibility of calculation, the chances of active genius and wisdom."

## CHAP. XXV.

### HENRY VI.

*Claim of the duke of York to the crown—The earl of Warwick—Impeachment of the duke of Suffolk—His banishment—and death—Popular insurrection—The parties of York and Lancaster—First armament of the duke of York—First battle of St. Alban—Battle of Blore-heath—of Northampton—A parliament—Battle of Wakefield—Death of the duke of York—Battle of Mortimer's Cross—Second Battle of St. Alban—Edward IV. assumes the crown.*

A weak prince, seated on the throne of England, had never failed, how gentle soever and innocent, to be infested with faction, discontent, rebellion, and civil commotions; and as the incapacity of Henry appeared every day in a fuller light, these dangerous consequences began, from past experience, to be universally and justly apprehended. Men also of unquiet spirits, no longer employed in foreign wars, whence they were now excluded by the situation of the neighbouring states, were more likely to excite intestine disorders, and, by their emulation, rivalry, and animosities, to tear the bowels of their native country. But though these causes alone were sufficient to breed confusion, there concurred another circumstance of the most dangerous nature: a pretender to the crown appeared: the title itself of the weak prince, who enjoyed the name of sovereignty, was disputed; and the English were now to pay the severe, though late, penalty of their turbulence under Richard II., and of their levity in violating, without any necessity or just reason, the lineal succession of their monarchs.

All the males of the house of Mortimer were extinct: but Anne, the sister of the last earl of Marche,

having espoused the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V., had transmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her son, Richard, duke of York. This prince, thus descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III., stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, third son of that monarch; and that claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than those of the duke of York. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild disposition: he had enjoyed an opportunity of displaying these virtues in his government of France; and though recalled from that command by the intrigues and superior interest of the duke of Somerset, he had been sent to suppress a rebellion in Ireland; had succeeded much better in that enterprise than his rival in the defence of Normandy; and had even been able to attach to his person and family the whole Irish nation, whom he was sent to subdue. In the right of his father, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood; and by this station he gave a lustre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer, which, though of great nobility, was equalled by other families in the kingdom, and had been eclipsed by the royal descent of the house of Lancaster. He possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many successions, those of Cambridge and York on the one hand, with those of Mortimer on the other: which last inheritance had before been augmented by a union of the estate of Clarence and Ulster with the patrimonial possessions of the family of Marche. The alliances too of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility, and had procured him many connexions in that formidable order.

The family of Nevil was, perhaps, at this time the most potent, both from their opulent possessions, and from the characters of the men, that has ever appeared in England. For, besides the earl of Westmoreland, and the Lords Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny; the earls of Salisbury and Warwick were of that family, and were of themselves, on many accounts, the greatest noblemen in the kingdom. The earl of Salisbury, brother-in-law to the duke of York, was the eldest son by a second marriage to the earl of Westmoreland; and inherited by his wife, daughter and heir of Montacute, earl of Salisbury, killed before Orleans, the possessions and title of that great family. His eldest son, Richard, had married Anne, the daughter and heir of Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who died governor of France; and by this alliance he enjoyed the possessions, and had acquired the title, of that other family, one of the most opulent, most ancient, and most illustrious in England. The personal qualities also of these two earls, especially of Warwick, enhanced the splendour of their nobility, and increased their influence over the people. This latter nobleman, commonly known, from the subsequent events, by the appellation of the "King-maker," had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, by the hospitality of his table, by the magnificence, and still more by the generosity of his expense, and by the spirited and bold manner which attended him in all his actions. The undesigning frankness and openness of his character rendered his conquest over men's affections the more certain and infallible: his presents were regarded as sure testimonies of esteem and friendship; and his professions as the



overflowings of his genuine sentiments. No less than 30,000 persons are said to have daily lived at his board, in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England: the military men, allured by his munificence and hospitality, as well as by his bravery, were zealously attached to his interests: the people in general bore him an unlimited affection: his numerous retainers were more devoted to his will, than to the prince or to the laws: and he was the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty barons, who formerly overawed the crown, and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government.

But the duke of York, besides the family of Nevil, had many other partisans among the great nobility. Courtney, earl of Devonshire, descended from a very noble family of that name in France, was attached to his interests: Moubray, duke of Norfolk, had, from his hereditary hatred to the family of Lancaster, embraced the same party: and the discontents which universally prevailed among the people, rendered every combination of the great the more dangerous to the established government.

Though the people were never willing to grant the supplies necessary for keeping possession of the conquered provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loss of these boasted acquisitions; and fancied, because a sudden irruption could make conquests, that, without steady counsels and a uniform expense, it was possible to maintain them. The voluntary cession of Maine to the queen's uncle had made them suspect treachery in the loss of Normandy and Guienne. They still considered Margaret as a Frenchwoman and a latent enemy of the kingdom. And when they saw her father and all her relations active in promoting the success of the French, they could not be persuaded that she, who was all powerful in the English council, would very zealously oppose them in their enterprises.

But the most fatal blow given to the popularity of the crown, and to the interests of the house of Lancaster, was, by the assassination of the virtuous duke of Gloucester, whose character, had he been alive, would have intimidated the partisans of York; but whose memory, being extremely cherished by the people, served to throw an odium on all his murderers. By this crime the reigning family suffered a double prejudice: it was deprived of its firmest support; and it was loaded with all the infamy of that imprudent and barbarous assassination.

As the duke of Suffolk was known to have had an active hand in the crime, he partook deeply of the hatred attending it; and the clamours, which necessarily rose against him, as prime minister, and declared favourite of the queen, were thereby augmented to a tenfold pitch, and became absolutely uncontrollable. The great nobility could ill brook to see a subject exalted above them; much more one who was only great grandson to a merchant, and who was of a birth so much inferior to theirs. The people complained of his arbitrary measures; which were, in some degree, a necessary consequence of the irregular power then possessed by the prince, but which the least disaffection easily magnified into tyranny. The great acquisitions which he daily made were the object of envy; and as they were gained at the expense of the crown, which was itself reduced to poverty, they appeared, on that account, to all indifferent persons, the more exceptionable and invidious.

The revenues of the crown, which had long been disproportioned to its power and dignity, had been

extremely dilapidated during the minority of Henry; both by the rapacity of the courtiers, which the king's uncles could not control, and by the necessary expenses of the French war, which had always been very ill supplied by the grants of parliament. The royal demesnes were dissipated; and at the same time the king was loaded with a debt of 372,000*l.*, a sum so great, that the parliament could never think of discharging it. This unhappy situation forced the ministers upon many arbitrary measures. The household itself could not be supported without stretching to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of universal robbery upon the people: the public clamour rose high upon this occasion, and no one had the equity to make allowance for the necessity of the king's situation. Suffolk, once become odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the administration, was universally imputed to his tyranny and injustice.

This nobleman, sensible of the public hatred under which he laboured, and foreseeing an attack from the commons, endeavoured to overawe his enemies by boldly presenting himself to the charge, and by insisting upon his own innocence, and even upon his merits, and those of his family, in the public service. He rose in the house of peers; took notice of the clamours propagated against him; and complained, that, after serving the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after living abroad seventeen years without once returning to his native country; after losing a father and three brothers in the wars with France; after being himself a prisoner, and purchasing his liberty by a great ransom; it should yet be suspected, that he had been debauched from his allegiance by that enemy whom he had ever opposed with such zeal and fortitude, and that he had betrayed his prince, who had rewarded his services by the highest honours and greatest offices that it was in his power to confer. This speech did not answer the purpose intended. The commons, rather provoked at his challenge, opened their charge against him, and sent up to the peers an accusation of high treason, divided into several articles. They insisted that he had persuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force, in order to depose the king and to place upon the throne his own son, John de la Pole, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the only daughter of the late John duke of Somerset, and to whom, he imagined, he would by that means acquire a title to the crown: that he had contributed to the release of the duke of Orleans, in hopes that that prince would assist king Charles in expelling the English from France, and recovering full possession of his kingdom: that he had afterwards encouraged that monarch to make open war on Normandy and Guienne, and had promoted his conquests by betraying the secrets of England, and obstructing the succours intended to be sent to those provinces: and that he had, without any powers or commission, promised by treaty to cede the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, and had accordingly ceded it: which proved in the issue the chief cause of the loss of Normandy.

It is evident, from a review of these articles, that the commons adopted, without inquiry, all the popular clamours against the duke of Suffolk, and charged him with crimes, of which none but the vulgar could seriously believe him guilty. Nothing can be more incredible than that a nobleman, so little eminent by his birth and character, could think of acquiring the crown to his family, and of depo-

sing Henry by foreign force, and together with him, Margaret his patron, a princess of so much spirit and penetration. Suffolk appealed to many noblemen in the house, who knew that he had intended to marry his son to one of the co-heirs of the earl of Warwick, and was disappointed in his views only by the death of that lady: and he observed, that Margaret of Somerset could bring to her husband no title to the crown: because she herself was not so much as comprehended in entail settled by act of parliament. It is easy to account for the loss of Normandy and Guienne, from the situation of affairs in the two kingdoms, without supposing any treachery in the English ministers; and it may safely be affirmed, that greater vigour was requisite to defend these provinces from the arms of Charles VII. than to conquer them at first from his predecessor. It could never be the interest of any English minister to betray and abandon such acquisitions; much less of one who was so well established in his master's favour, who enjoyed such high honours and ample possessions in his own country, who had nothing to dread but the effects of popular hatred, and who could never think, without the most extreme reluctance, of becoming a fugitive and exile in a foreign land. The only article which carries any face of probability, is his engagement for the delivery of Maine to the queen's uncle: But Suffolk maintained, with great appearance of truth, that this measure was approved of by several at the council table; and it seems hard to ascribe to it, as is done by the commons, the subsequent loss of Normandy, and expulsion of the English. Normandy lay open on every side to the invasion of the French: Maine, an inland province, must soon after have fallen without any attack: and as the English possessed in other parts more fortresses than they could garrison or provide for, it seemed no bad policy to contract their force, and to render the defence practicable, by reducing it within a narrower compass.

The commons were probably sensible that this charge of treason against Suffolk would not bear a strict scrutiny; and they therefore, soon after, sent up against him a new charge of misdemeanors, which they also divided into several articles. They affirmed, among other imputations, that he had procured exorbitant grants from the crown, had embezzled the public money, had conferred offices on improper persons, had perverted justice by maintaining iniquitous causes, and had procured pardons for notorious offenders. The articles are mostly general; but are not improbable: and as Suffolk seems to have been a bad man and a bad minister, it will not be rash in us to think that he was guilty, and that many of these articles could have been proved against him. The court was alarmed at the prosecution of a favourite minister, who lay under such a load of popular prejudices; and an expedient was fallen upon to save him from present ruin. The king summoned all the lords, spiritual and temporal, to his apartment: the prisoner was produced before them, and asked what he could say in his own defence? He denied the charge; but submitted to the king's mercy: Henry expressed himself not satisfied with regard to the first impeachment for treason; but in consideration of the second, for misdemeanors, he declared, that by virtue of Suffolk's own submission, not by any judicial authority, he banished him the kingdom during five years. The lords remained silent; but as soon as they returned to their own house, they entered a protest, that this sentence should nowise infringe their privileges;

and that, if Suffolk had insisted upon his right, and had not voluntarily submitted to the king's commands, he was entitled to a trial by his peers in parliament.

It was easy to see that these irregular proceedings were meant to favour Suffolk, and that, as he still possessed the queen's confidence, he would, on the first favourable opportunity, be restored to his country, and be reinstated in his former power and credit. A captain of a vessel was therefore employed by his enemies to intercept him in his passage to France: he was seized near Dover; his head struck off on the side of a long-boat; and his body thrown into the sea. No inquiry was made after the actors and accomplices in this atrocious deed of violence.

The duke of Somerset succeeded to Suffolk's power in the ministry, and credit with the queen; and as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been lost, the public, who always judge by the event, soon made him equally the object of their animosity and hatred. The duke of York was absent in Ireland during all these transactions; and, however it might be suspected that his partisans had excited and supported the prosecution against Suffolk, no immediate ground of complaint could, on that account, lie against him. But there happened, soon after, an incident which roused the jealousy of the court, and discovered to them the extreme danger to which they were exposed from the pretensions of that popular prince.

The humours of the people, set afloat by the parliamentary impeachment, and by the fall of so great a favourite as Suffolk, broke out in various commotions, which were soon suppressed; but there arose one in Kent, which was attended with more dangerous consequences. A man of low condition, one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, observed, on his return to England, the discontents of the people; and he laid on them the foundation of projects which were at first crowned with surprising success. He took the name of John Mortimer, intending, as is supposed, to pass himself for a son of that Sir John Mortimer who had been sentenced to death by parliament, and executed, in the beginning of this reign, without any trial or evidence, merely upon an indictment of high treason given in against him.\* On the first mention of that popular name, the common people of Kent, to the number of 20,000, flocked to Cade's standard, and he excited their zeal by publishing complaints against the numerous abuses in government, and demanding a redress of grievances. The court, not yet fully sensible of the danger, sent a small force against the rioters, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, who was defeated and slain in an action near Sevenoaks; and Cade, advancing with his followers towards London, encamped on Blackheath. Though elated by his victory, he still maintained the appearance of moderation, and, sending to the court a plausible list of grievances, he promised, that when these should be redressed, and when Lord Say, the treasurer, and Cromer, sheriff of Kent, should be punished for their malversations, he would immediately lay down

\* wonders that such a piece of injustice should have been committed in peaceable times: he might have added, and by such virtuous princes as Bedford and Gloucester. But it is to be presumed that Mortimer was guilty, though his condemnation was highly irregular and illegal. The people had at this time a very feeble sense of law and a constitution; and power was very imperfectly restrained by these limits. When the proceedings of a parliament were so irregular it is easy to imagine that those of a king would be more so.



his arms. The council, who observed that nobody was willing to fight against men so reasonable in their pretensions, carried the king, for present safety, to Kenilworth; and the city immediately opened its gates to *Cade*, who maintained, during some time, great order and discipline among his followers. He always led them into the field during the night-time, and published severe edicts against plunder and violence of every kind: but being obliged, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put these men to death without a legal trial, he found that, after the commission of this crime, he was no longer master of their riotous disposition, and that all his orders were neglected. They broke into a rich house, which they plundered; and the citizens, alarmed at this act of violence, shut their gates against them, and, being seconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by Lord Scales, governor of the tower, they repulsed the rebels with great slaughter. The Kentishmen were so discouraged by the blow, that, upon receiving a general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they retreated towards Rochester, and there dispersed. The pardon was soon after annulled, as extorted by violence: a price was set on Cade's head, who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex; and many of his followers were capitally punished for their rebellion.

It was imagined by the court, that the duke of York had secretly instigated Cade to this attempt, in order to try, by that experiment, the dispositions of the people towards his title and family: and as the event had so far succeeded to his wish, the ruling party had greater reason than ever to apprehend the future consequences of his pretensions. At the same time they heard that he intended to return from Ireland; and fearing that he meant to bring an armed force along with him, they issued orders, in the king's name, for opposing him, and for barring him entrance into England. But the duke refuted his enemies by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue: the precautions of the ministers served only to show him their jealousy and malignity against him: he was sensible that his title, by being dangerous to the king, was also become dangerous to himself: he now saw the impossibility of remaining in his present situation, and the necessity of proceeding forward in support of his claim. His partisans, therefore, were instructed to maintain, in all companies, his right by succession, and by the established laws and constitution of the kingdom: these questions became every day more and more the subject of conversation: the minds of men were insensibly sharpened against each other by disputes, before they came to more dangerous extremities: and various topics were pleaded in support of the pretensions of each party.

The partisans of the house of Lancaster maintained, that though the elevation of Henry IV. might at first be deemed somewhat irregular, and could not be justified by any of those principles on which that prince chose to rest his title, it was yet founded on general consent, was a national act, and was derived from the voluntary approbation of a free people, who, being loosened from their allegiance by the tyranny of the preceding government, were moved by gratitude, as well as by a sense of public interest, to entrust the sceptre into the hands of their deliverer: that, even if that establishment were allowed to be at first invalid, it had acquired solidity by time—the only principle which ultimately gives authority to government, and removes those

scruples which the irregular steps attending almost all revolutions naturally excite in the minds of the people: that the right of succession was a rule admitted only for general good, and for the maintenance of public order; and could never be pleaded to the overthrow of national tranquillity, and the subversion of regular establishments: that the principles of liberty, no less than the maxims of internal peace, were injured by these pretensions of the house of York; and if so many reiterated acts of the legislature, by which the crown was entailed on the present family, were now invalidated, the English must be considered, not as a free people, who could dispose of their own government, but as a troop of slaves, who were implicitly transmitted by succession from one master to another: that the nation was bound to allegiance under the house of Lancaster by moral, no less than by political duty; and were they to infringe those numerous oaths of fealty which they had sworn to Henry and his predecessors, they would thenceforth be thrown loose from all principles, and it would be found difficult ever after to fix and restrain them: that the duke of York himself had frequently done homage to the king as his lawful sovereign, and had thereby, in the most solemn manner, made an indirect renunciation of those claims with which he now dares to disturb the tranquillity of the public: that, even though the violation of the rights of blood, made on the deposition of Richard, was perhaps rash and imprudent, it was too late to remedy the mischief; the danger of a disputed succession could no longer be obviated; the people, accustomed to a government, which, in the hands of the late king, had been so glorious, and in that of his predecessor so prudent and salutary, would still ascribe a right to it; by causing multiplied disorders, and by shedding an inundation of blood, the advantage would only be obtained of exchanging one pretender for another; and the house of York itself, if established on the throne, would, on the first opportunity, be exposed to those revolutions which the giddy spirit excited in the people gave so much reason to apprehend; and that though the present king enjoyed not the shining talents which had appeared in his father and grandfather, he might still have a son who should be endowed with them; he was himself eminent for the most harmless and inoffensive manners; and if active princes were dethroned on pretence of tyranny, and indolent ones on the plea of incapacity, there would thenceforth remain, in the constitution, no established rule of obedience to any sovereign.

These strong topics, in favour of the house of Lancaster, were opposed by arguments no less convincing on the side of the house of York. The partisans of this latter family asserted, that the maintenance of order in the succession of princes, far from doing injury to the people, or invalidating their fundamental title to good government, was established only for the purposes of government, and served to prevent those numberless confusions which must ensue, if no rule were followed but the uncertain and disputed views of present convenience and advantage: that the same maxims which ensured the public peace, were also salutary to national liberty; the privileges of the people could only be maintained by the observance of laws; and if no account were made of the rights of the sovereign, it could less be expected that any regard would be paid to the property and freedom of the subject: that it was never too late to correct any pernicious precedent; an unjust establishment, the longer it stood, acquired the

greater sanction and validity; it could, with more appearance of reason, be pleaded as an authority for a like injustice; and the maintenance of it, instead of favouring public tranquillity, tended to disjoint every principle by which human society was supported: that usurpers would be happy, if their present possession of power, or their continuance for a few years, could convert them into legal princes; but nothing would be more miserable than the people, if all restraints on violence and ambition were thus removed, and a full scope given to the attempts of every turbulent innovator: that time, indeed, might bestow solidity on a government whose first foundations were the most infirm; but it required both a long course of time to produce this effect, and the total extinction of those claimants, whose title was built on the original principles of the constitution: that the deposition of Richard II. and the advancement of Henry IV. were not deliberate national acts, but the result of the levity and violence of the people, and proceeded from those very defects in human nature, which the establishment of political society, and of an order in succession, was calculated to prevent: that the subsequent entails of the crown were a continuance of the same violence and usurpation: they were not ratified by the legislature, since the consent of the rightful king was still wanting; and the acquiescence, first of the family of Mortimer, then of the family of York, proceeded from present necessity, and implied no renunciation of their pretensions: that the restoration of the true order of succession could not be considered as a change which familiarised the people to revolutions; but as the correction of a former abuse, which had itself encouraged the giddy spirit of innovations, rebellion, and disobedience: and that, as the original title of Lancaster stood only in the person of Henry IV. on present convenience, even this principle, unjustifiable as it was, when not supported by laws, and warranted by the constitution, had now entirely gone over to the other side; nor was there any comparison between a prince utterly unable to sway the sceptre, and blindly governed by corrupt ministers, or by an imperious queen, engaged in foreign and hostile interests; and a prince of mature years, of approved wisdom and experience, a native of England, the lineal heir of the crown, who, by his restoration would replace every thing on ancient foundations.

So many plausible arguments could be urged on both sides of this interesting question, that the people were extremely divided in their sentiments; and though the noblemen of the greatest power and influence seem to have espoused the party of York, the opposite cause had the advantage of being supported by the present laws, and by the immediate possession of royal authority. There were also many great noblemen in the Lancastrian party, who balanced the power of their antagonists, and kept the nation in suspense between them. The earl of Northumberland adhered to the present government: the earl of Westmoreland, in spite of his connexions with the duke of York, and with the family of Nevil, of which he was the head, was brought over to the same party; and the whole north of England, the most warlike part of the kingdom, was, by means of these two potent noblemen, warmly engaged in the interests of Lancaster. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and his brother Henry, were great supporters of that cause; as were also Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Clifford, Dudley, Scables, Audley, and other noblemen.

While the kingdom was in this situation, it might naturally be expected that so many turbulent barons, possessed of so much independent authority, would immediately have flown to arms, and have decided the quarrel, after their usual manner, by war and battle, under the standards of the contending princes. But there still were many causes which retarded these desperate extremities, and made a long train of faction, intrigue, and cabal, precede the military operations. By the gradual progress of arts in England, as well as in other parts of Europe, the people were now become of some importance; laws were beginning to be respected by them; and it was requisite, by various pretences, previously to reconcile their minds to the overthrow of such an ancient establishment as that of the house of Lancaster, ere their concurrence could reasonably be expected. The duke of York himself, the new claimant, was of a moderate and cautious character, an enemy to violence, and disposed to trust rather to time and policy, than to sanguinary measures, for the success of his pretensions. The very imbecility itself of Henry tended to keep the factions in suspense, and make them stand long in awe of each other: it rendered the Lancastrian party unable to strike any violent blow against their enemies; it encouraged the Yorkists to hope, that, after banishing the king's ministers, and getting possession of his person, they might gradually undermine his authority, and be able, without the perilous expedient of a civil war, to change the succession by parliamentary and legal authority.

The dispositions which appeared in a parliament assembled soon after the arrival of the duke of York from Ireland, favoured these expectations of his partisans, and both discovered an unusual boldness in the commons, and were a proof of the general discontents which prevailed against the administration. The lower house, without any previous enquiry or examination, without alleging any other ground of complaint than common fame, ventured to present a petition against the duke of Somerset, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, sir John Sutton, Lord Dudley, and several others of inferior rank; and they prayed the king to remove them for ever from his person and councils, and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. This was a violent attack, somewhat arbitrary, and supported but by few precedents, against the ministry; yet the king durst not openly oppose it: he replied, that, except the lords, he would banish all the others from court during a year, unless he should have occasion for their service in suppressing any rebellion. At the same time he rejected a bill which had passed both houses, for attainting the late duke of Suffolk, and which, in several of its clauses, discovered a very general prejudice against the measures of the court.

The duke of York, trusting to these symptoms, raised an army of 10,000 men, with which he marched towards London; demanding a reformation in the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerset from all power and authority. He unexpectedly found the gates of the city shut against him; and, on his retreating into Kent, he was followed by the king, at the head of a superior army; in which several of Richard's friends, particularly Salisbury and Warwick, appeared; probably with a view of mediating between the parties, and of seconding, on occasion, the duke of York's pretensions. A parley ensued; Richard still insisted upon the removal of Somerset, and his submitting to a trial in parlia-



ment: the court pretended to comply with his demand, and that nobleman was put in arrest: the duke of York was then persuaded to pay his respects to the king in his tent; and, on repeating his charge against the duke of Somerset, he was surprised to see that minister step from behind the curtain, and offer to maintain his innocence. Richard now found that he had been betrayed; that he was in the hands of his enemies; and that it was become necessary, for his own safety, to lower his pretensions. No violence, however, was attempted against him: the nation was not in a disposition to hear the destruction of so popular a prince: he had many friends in Henry's camp; and his son, who was not in the power of the court, might still be able to revenge his death on all his enemies: he was therefore dismissed; and he retired to his seat of Wigmore on the borders of Wales.

While the duke of York lived in this retreat, there happened an incident, which, by increasing the public discontents, proved favourable to his pretensions. Several Gascon lords, affectionate to the English government, and disgusted at the new dominion of the French, came to London, and offered to return to their allegiance under Henry. The earl of Shrewsbury, with a body of 8000 men, was sent over to support them. Bourdeaux opened its gates to him: he made himself master of Fronsac, Castillon, and some other places: affairs began to wear a favourable aspect; but, as Charles hastened to resist this dangerous invasion, the fortunes of the English were soon reversed: Shrewsbury, a venerable warrior, above fourscore years of age, fell in battle; his conquests were lost; Bourdeaux was again obliged to submit to the French king; and all hopes of recovering the province of Gascony were for ever extinguished.

Though the English might deem themselves happy to be fairly rid of distant dominions which were of no use to them, and which they never could defend against the growing power of France, they expressed great discontent on the occasion; and they threw all the blame on the ministry, who had not been able to effect impossibilities. While they were in this disposition, the queen's delivery of a son, who received the name of Edward, was deemed no joyful incident; and as it removed all hopes of the peaceable succession of the duke of York—who was otherwise, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted since the accession of the house of Lancaster—next heir to the crown, it had rather a tendency to inflame the quarrel between the parties. But the duke was incapable of violent counsels; and even when no visible obstacle lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own scruples from mounting it. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell at this time into a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecility, that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, destitute of this support, found themselves unable to resist the York party; and they were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the tower; and appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament. That assembly also, taking into consideration the state of the kingdom, created him protector during pleasure. Men who thus entrusted sovereign authority to one that had such evident and strong pretensions to the crown, were not surely averse to his taking immediate and full possession of it: yet the duke, instead of push-

ing them to make farther concessions, appeared somewhat timid and irresolute, even in receiving the power which was tendered to him. He desired that it might be recorded in parliament, that this authority was conferred on him from their own free motion, without any application on his part: he expressed his hopes that they would assist him in the exercise of it: he made it a condition of his acceptance, that the other lords who were appointed to be of his council, should also accept of the trust and should exercise it: and he required that all the powers of his office should be specified and defined by act of parliament. This moderation of Richard was certainly very unusual and very amiable; yet was it attended with bad consequences, in the present juncture, and, by giving time to the animosities of faction to rise and ferment, it proved the source of all those furious wars and commotions which ensued.

The enemies of the duke of York soon found it in their power to take advantage of his excessive caution. Henry, being so far recovered from his distemper as to carry the appearance of exercising the royal power, they moved him to resume his authority, to annul the protectorship of the duke, to release Somerset from the tower, and to commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, sensible of the dangers which might attend his former acceptance of the parliamentary commission, should he submit to the annulling of it, levied an army; but still without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Alban's, in which the Yorkists were superior, and without suffering any material loss, slew about 5000 of their enemies; among whom were the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, lord Clifford, and many other persons of distinction. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness: he was only obliged (which he regarded as no hardship) to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival.

This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years, which was signalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which, at that time, men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit, which was considered as a point of honour, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and every moment widened the breach between the parties. Yet affairs did not immediately proceed to the last extremities: the nation was kept some time in suspense: the vigour and spirit of queen Margaret, supporting her small power, still proved a balance to the great authority of Richard, which was checked by his irresolute temper. A parliament, which was soon after assembled, plainly discovered, by the contrariety of their proceedings, the contrariety of the motives by which they were actuated. They granted the Yorkists a general indemnity; and they restored the protectorship to the duke, who, in accepting it, still persevered in all his former precautions: but at the same time they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the continuance of the

protectorship to the majority of his son Edward, who was vested with the usual dignities of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. The only decisive act, passed in this parliament, was a full resumption of all the grants which had been made since the death of Henry V. and which had reduced the crown to great poverty.

It was not found difficult to wrest power from hands so little tenacious as those of the duke of York. Margaret, availing herself of that prince's absence, produced her husband before the house of lords; and, as his state of health permitted him at that time to act his part with some tolerable decency, he declared his intentions of resuming the government, and of putting an end to Richard's authority. This measure being unexpected, was not opposed by the contrary party: the house of lords, who were many of them disgusted with the late act of resumption, assented to Henry's proposal: and the king was declared to be reinstated in sovereign authority. Even the duke of York acquiesced in this irregular act of the peers; and no disturbance ensued. But that prince's claim to the crown was too well known, and the steps which he had taken to promote it, were too evident, ever to allow sincere trust and confidence to have place between the parties. The court retired to Coventry, and invited the duke of York and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick to attend the king's person. When they were on the road they received intelligence that designs were formed against their liberties and lives. They immediately separated themselves: Richard withdrew to his castle of Wigmore: Salisbury to Middleham in Yorkshire: and Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been committed to him after the battle of St. Alban's, and which, as it gave him the command of the only regular military force maintained by England, was of the utmost importance in the present juncture. Still, men of peaceable dispositions, and among the rest, Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, thought it not too late to interpose with their good offices, in order to prevent that effusion of blood with which the kingdom was threatened; and the awe in which each party stood of the other, rendered the mediation for some time successful. It was agreed that all the great leaders on both sides should meet in London, and be solemnly reconciled. The duke of York and his partisans came thither with numerous retainers, and took up their quarters near each other for mutual security. The leaders of the Lancastrian party used the same precaution. The mayor, at the head of 5000 men, kept a strict watch night and day; and was extremely vigilant in maintaining peace between them. Terms were adjusted, which removed not the ground of difference. An outward reconciliation only was procured: and in order to notify this accord to the whole people, a solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, where the duke of York led Queen Margaret, and a leader of one party marched hand in hand with a leader of the opposite. The less real cordiality prevailed, the more were the exterior demonstrations of amity redoubled. But it was evident, that a contest for a crown could not thus be peaceably accommodated; that each party watched only for an opportunity of subverting the other; and that much blood must yet be spilt, ere the nation could be restored to perfect tranquillity, or enjoy a settled and established government.

Even the smallest accident, without any formed design, was sufficient, in the present disposition of

men's minds, to dissolve the seeming harmony between the parties; and had the intentions of the leaders been ever so amicable, they would have found it difficult to restrain the animosity of their followers. One of the king's retainers insulted one of the earls of Warwick's: their companions on both sides took part in the quarrel: a fierce combat ensued: the earl apprehended his life to be aimed at: he fled to his government of Calais; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by war and arms.

The earl of Salisbury, marching to join the duke of York, was overtaken at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, who commanded much superior forces; and a small rivulet, with steep banks, ran between the armies. Salisbury here supplied his defect in numbers by a stratagem; a refinement, of which there occur few instances in the English civil wars, where a headlong courage, more than military conduct, is commonly to be remarked. He feigned a retreat, and allured Audley to follow him with precipitation: but when the van of the royal army had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly turned upon them, and, partly by the surprise, partly by the division, of the enemy's forces, put this body to rout: the example of flight was followed by the rest of the army; and Salisbury, obtaining a complete victory, reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkists at Ludlow.

The earl of Warwick brought over to this rendezvous a choice body of veterans from Calais, on whom it was thought the fortune of the war would much depend; but this reinforcement occasioned, in the issue, the immediate ruin of the duke of York's party. When the royal army approached, and a general action was every hour expected, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans, deserted to the king in the night-time; and the Yorkists were so dismayed at this instance of treachery, which made every man suspicious of his fellow, that they separated next day, without striking a stroke: the duke fled to Ireland: the earl of Warwick, attended by many of the other leaders, escaped to Calais, where his great popularity among all orders of men, particularly among the military, soon drew to him partisans, and rendered his power very formidable. The friends of the house of York, in England, kept themselves every where in readiness to rise on the first summons from their leaders.

After meeting with some successes at sea, Warwick landed in Kent, with the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Marche, eldest son of the duke of York; and being met by the primate, by Lord Cobham, and other persons of distinction, he marched, amidst the acclamations of the people, to London. The city immediately opened its gates to him, and his troops increasing on every day's march, he soon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought at Northampton, and was soon decided against the royalists by the infidelity of Lord Grey, of Ruthin, who, commanding Henry's van, deserted to the enemy during the heat of action, and spread a consternation through the troops. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Beaumont and Egremont, and Sir William Lucie, were killed in the action or pursuit: the slaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility: the common people were spared by orders of the earls of Warwick and Marche. Henry himself, that empty shadow of a king, was again taken prisoner; and, as the innocence and simplicity of his



manners, which bore the appearance of sanctity, had procured him the tender regard of the people, the earl of Warwick and the other leaders took care to distinguish themselves by their respectful demeanour towards him.

A parliament was summoned in the king's name, and met at Westminster, where the duke of York soon after appeared from Ireland. He had never hitherto advanced openly any claim to the crown: he had only complained of ill ministers, and demanded a redress of grievances: and even in the present crisis, when the parliament was surrounded by his victorious army, he showed such a regard to law and liberty, as is unusual during the prevalence of a party in any civil dissensions, and was still less to be expected in those violent and licentious times. He advanced towards the throne, and, being met by the archbishop of Canterbury, who asked him whether he had yet paid his respects to the king, he replied, that he knew of none to whom he owed that title. He then stood near the throne, and, addressing himself to the house of peers, he gave them a deduction of his title by descent, mentioned the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved their way to sovereign power, insisted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry, exhorted them to return into the right path by doing justice to the lineal successor, and thus pleaded his cause before them as his natural and legal judges. This cool and moderate manner of demanding a crown intimidated his friends and encouraged his enemies: the lords remained in suspense; and no one ventured to utter a word on the occasion. Richard, who had probably expected that the peers would have invited him to place himself on the throne, was much disappointed at their silence; but desiring them to reflect on what he had proposed to them, he departed the house. The peers took the matter into consideration with as much tranquillity as if it had been a common subject of debate: they desired the assistance of some considerable members among the commons in their deliberations: they heard, in several successive days, the reasons alleged for the duke of York: they even ventured to propose objections to his claim, founded on former entails of the crown, and on the oaths of fealty sworn to the house of Lancaster: they also observed, that, as Richard had all along borne the arms of York, not those of Clarence, he could not claim as successor to the latter family: and, after receiving answers to these objections, derived from the violence and power by which the house of Lancaster supported their present possession of the crown, they proceeded to give a decision. Their sentence was calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties: they declared the title of the duke of York to be certain and indefeasible; but, in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown without dispute or controversy during the course of thirty-eight years, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the administration of the government, meanwhile, should remain with Richard; that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy; that every one should swear to maintain his succession, and it should be treason to attempt his life; and that all former settlements of the crown, in this and the two last reigns, should be abrogated and rescinded. The duke acquiesced in this decision: Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not oppose it: even if he had enjoyed his liberty, he would not probably have felt any violent reluctance

against it: and the act thus passed with the unanimous consent of the whole legislative body. Though the mildness of this compromise is chiefly to be ascribed to the moderation of the duke of York, it is impossible not to observe in those transactions visible marks of a higher regard to law, and of a more fixed authority, enjoyed by parliament, than has appeared in any former period of English history.

It is probable that the duke, without employing either menaces or violence, could have obtained from the commons a settlement more consistent and uniform: but as many, if not all the members of the upper house had received grants, concessions, or dignities, during the last sixty years, while the house of Lancaster was possessed of the government; they were afraid of invalidating their own titles by too sudden and violent an overthrow of that family; and in thus temporising between the parties, they fixed the throne on a basis upon which it could not possibly stand. The duke, apprehending his chief danger to arise from the genius and spirit of Queen Margaret, sought a pretence for banishing her the kingdom: he sent her, in the king's name, a summons to come immediately to London; intending, in case of her disobedience, to proceed to extremities against her. But the queen needed not this menace to excite her activity in defending the rights of her family. After the defeat at Northampton, she fled with her infant son to Durham, thence to Scotland; but soon returning, she applied to the northern barons, and employed every means to procure their assistance. Her affability, insinuation, and address, qualities in which she excelled; her caresses, her promises, wrought a powerful effect on every one who approached her: the admiration of her great qualities was succeeded by compassion towards her helpless condition: the nobility of that quarter, who regarded themselves as the most warlike in the kingdom, were moved by indignation to find the southern barons pretend to dispose of the crown and settle the government: and that they might allure the people to their standard, they promised them the spoils of all the provinces on the other side of the Trent. By these means, the queen had collected an army twenty thousand strong, with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends, nor apprehended by her enemies.

The duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of 5000 men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection. When, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself so much outnumbered by the enemy, he threw himself into Sandal castle, which was situated in the neighbourhood; and he was advised by the earl of Salisbury and other prudent counselors to remain in that fortress, till his son, the earl of Marche, who was levying forces in the borders of Wales, could advance to his assistance. But the duke, though deficient in political courage, possessed personal bravery in an eminent degree; and notwithstanding his wisdom and experience, he thought that he should be for ever disgraced, if, by taking shelter behind walls, he should for a moment resign the victory to a woman. He descended into the plain, and offered battle to the enemy, which was instantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was sufficient alone to decide the victory; but the queen, by sending a detachment, who fell on the back of the duke's army, rendered her advantage still more certain and undisputed. The duke himself was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the slain, the head was cut off by Mar

garet's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in derision of his pretended title. His son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, was brought to Lord Clifford; and that barbarian, in revenge of his father's death, who had perished in the battle of St. Alban's, murdered in cool blood, and with his own hands, this innocent prince, whose exterior figure, as well as other accomplishments, are represented by historians as extremely amiable. The earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction, by martial law at Pomfret. There fell near three thousand Yorkists in this battle (according to Lingard only 2000): the duke himself was greatly and justly lamented by his own party; a prince who merited a better fate, and whose errors in conduct proceeded entirely from such qualities as render him the more an object of esteem and affection. He perished in the fiftieth year of his age, and left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

The queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She sent the smaller division, under Jarper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half brother to the king, against Edward, the new duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore, in Herefordshire, with the loss of near 4000 men: his army was dispersed; he himself escaped by flight; but his father, Sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. This barbarous practice, being once begun, was continued by both parties, from a spirit of revenge, which covered itself under the pretence of retaliation.

Margaret compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the earl of Warwick. That nobleman, on the approach of the Lancastrians, led out his army, reinforced by a strong body of the Londoners, who were affectionate to his cause; and he gave battle to the queen at St. Alban's. While the armies were warmly engaged, Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, withdrew from the combat; and this treacherous conduct, of which there are many instances in those civil wars, decided the victory in favour of the queen. About 2300 of the vanquished perished in the battle and pursuit; and the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party. This weak prince was sure to be almost equally a prisoner whichever faction had the keeping of him; and scarcely any more decorum was observed by one than by the other, in their method of treating him. Lord Bonville, to whose care he had been entrusted by the Yorkists, remained with him after the defeat, on assurances of pardon given him by Henry: but Margaret, regardless of her husband's promise, immediately ordered the head of that nobleman to be struck off by the executioner. Sir Thomas Kiriell, a brave warrior, who had signalized himself in the French wars, was treated in the same manner.

The queen made no great advantage of this victory: young Edward advanced upon her from the other side; and collecting the remains of Warwick's army, was soon in a condition of giving her battle with superior forces. She was sensible of her danger while she lay between the enemy and the city of London; and she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north. Edward entered the capital

amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new scene to his party. This prince, in the bloom of youth, (then nineteen years of age,) remarkable for the beauty of his person, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himself so much possessed of public favour, that, elated with the spirit natural to his age, he resolved no longer to confine himself within those narrow limits which his father had prescribed to himself, and which had been found by experience so prejudicial to his cause. He determined to assume the name and dignity of king; to insist openly on his claim; and thenceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But as a national consent, or the appearance of it, still seemed, notwithstanding his plausible title, requisite to precede this bold measure; and as the assembling of a parliament might occasion too many delays, and be attended with other inconveniences; he ventured to proceed in a less regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw obstacles in the way of his elevation. His army was ordered to assemble in St. John's Fields; great numbers of people surrounded them; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the rival family; and the people were then asked, whether they would have Henry of Lancaster for king? They unanimously exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, eldest son of the late duke of York? They expressed their assent by loud and joyful acclamations. A great number of bishops, lords, magistrates, and other persons of distinction, were next assembled at Baynard's castle, who ratified the popular election; and the new king was on the subsequent day, March 4th, 1461, proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward IV.

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI., a monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the most splendid prospects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. The revolution was unhappy for his people, as it was the source of civil wars; but was almost entirely indifferent to Henry himself, who was utterly incapable of exercising his authority, and who, provided he personally met with good usage, was equally easy, as he was equally enslaved, in the hands of his enemies and of his friends. His weakness and his disputed title were the chief causes of the public calamities: but whether his queen, and his ministers, were not also guilty of some great abuses of power it is not easy for us at this distance of time to determine; there remain no proofs on record of any considerable violation of the laws, except in the assassination of the duke of Gloucester, which was a private crime, formed no precedent, and was too much of a piece with the usual ferocity and cruelty of the times.

Lingard, speaking of Henry, says "he was a prince whose personal character commanded the respect of his very enemies, and whose misfortunes still claim the sympathy of the reader. He was virtuous and religious, humane, forgiving, and benevolent; but nature had denied him that health of body and fortitude of mind which could have enabled him to struggle through the peculiar difficulties of his situation. It would be unjust to ascribe those difficulties to his misconduct: they arose from causes over which he had no control—the original defect in his descent, the duration



of his minority, the dissensions of his uncles, and the frequent recurrence of corporal debility, generally accompanied with the privation of reason. Some of these causes, however, gave birth to proceedings, most interesting to those who wish to investigate the principles of our ancient constitution. From them it appears that, though the king, in case of temporary absence from the realm, might appoint a regent with delegated authority during his absence, yet he could not, without the concurrence of the three estates, provide for the government during the minority of his successor: that whenever the reigning monarch, either through extreme youth or mental disease, was incapable of performing the functions of royalty, the exercise of his authority devolved exclusively on the house of peers, who appointed the great officers of state and the members of the council, giving to them powers to transact the ordinary business of government, but resuming those powers as often as they themselves were assembled either in parliament or in a great council; and that the recognition of these doctrines was required from the first princes of the blood, the dukes of Bedford, Gloucester, and York, who at different times acknowledged that, during the king's minority or incapacity, they were entitled to no more authority than any other peer, unless it were conferred upon them by the whole body. For the same reason, when the succession to the crown was disputed, the claims of each party were brought before the house of lords, as the only legitimate tribunal which possessed the authority to pronounce on so important a question. The commons neither presumed, nor would have been suffered, to interfere. They might indeed represent the urgency of the case to the upper house, might all be made acquainted with its resolutions, and if an act of parliament were necessary, might give their assent; but the nomination of the protector and the counsellors was made, and their powers were determined, by the peers alone; and the functions of the two houses were accurately distinguished in the language of the statutes, which attribute the appointment to the king by the advice and assent of the lords, and with the assent only of the commons."

An account of the changes in the constitution, and the other miscellaneous transactions, will be found in the appendix belonging to this period.

## CHAP. XXVI.

### EDWARD IV.

*Battle of Towton—Henry escapes into Scotland—A parliament—Battle of Hexham—Henry taken prisoner and confined in the Tower—King's marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Gray—Warwick disgusted—Alliance with Burgundy—Insurrection in Yorkshire—Battle of Banbury—Warwick and Clarence banished—Warwick and Clarence return—Edward IV. expelled—Henry VI. restored—Edward IV. returns—Battle of Barnet, and death of Warwick—Battle of Tewkesbury, and murder of Prince Edward—Death of Henry VI.—Invasion of France—Peace of Pecquigni—Trial and execution of the duke of Clarence—Death and character of Edward IV.*

YOUNG Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havoc, and devastation, as must conduct him to the full possession of that crown, which he claimed from hereditary right, but which

he had assumed from the tumultuary election alone of his own party. He was bold, active, enterprising; and his hardness of heart and severity of character rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion, which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody revenges upon his enemies. The very commencement of his reign gave symptoms of his sanguinary disposition. Two of the old chroniclers give the following example of his prompt and despotic conduct: a tradesman of London, who kept a shop of the Crown, having said that he would make his son heir to the Crown; this harmless pleasantry was interpreted to be spoken in derision of Edward's assumed title; and he was condemned and executed for the offence. The scaffold, as well as the field, incessantly streamed with the noblest blood of England, spilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The people, divided in their affections, took different symbols of party: the partisans of the house of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction; those of York were denominated from the white; and these civil wars were thus known, over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two roses.

The license in which Queen Margaret had been obliged to indulge her troops infused great terror and aversion into the city of London and all the southern parts of the kingdom; and as she there expected an obstinate resistance, she had prudently retired northwards among her own partisans. The same license, joined to the zeal of faction, soon brought great multitudes to her standard; and she was able in a few days, to assemble an army, sixty thousand strong, in Yorkshire. The king and the earl of Warwick hastened with an army of forty thousand men to check her progress; and when they reached Pomfret they dispatched a body of troops, under the command of Lord Fitzwalter, to secure the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Ayre, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter took possession of the post assigned him; but was not able to maintain it against Lord Clifford, who attacked him with superior numbers. The Yorkists were chased back with great slaughter; and Lord Fitzwalter himself was slain in the action.

The earl of Warwick dreading the consequences of this disaster, at a time when a decisive action was every hour expected, immediately ordered his horse to be brought to him, which he stabbed before the whole army; and, kissing the hilt of his sword, swore that he was determined to share the fate of the meanest soldier. And, to show the greater security, a proclamation was at the same time issued, giving to every one full liberty to retire; but menacing the severest punishment to those who should discover any symptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle. Lord Falconberg was sent to recover the post which had been lost: he passed the river some miles above Ferrybridge, and, falling unexpectedly on Lord Clifford, revenged the former disaster by the defeat of the party and the death of their leader.

The hostile armies met between Towton and Tadcaster; Towton is three miles to the south-east of Tadcaster in the West-riding of Yorkshire. A fierce and bloody battle ensued. While the Yorkists were advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of snow, which driving full in the faces of their enemies, blinded them; and this advantage was improved by a stratagem of Lord Falconberg's. That nobleman ordered some infantry to advance before the line, and, after having sent a volley of



J. G. S. 1475

EDWARD IV.





flight arrows, as they were called, amidst the enemy, immediately to retire. The Lancastrians, imagining that they were within reach of the opposite army, discharged all their arrows, which thus fell short of the Yorkists. After the quivers of the enemy were emptied, Edward advanced his line, and did execution with impunity on the dismayed Lancastrians: the bow however was soon laid aside, and the sword decided the combat, which ended in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter. The routed army was pursued to Tadcaster with great bloodshed and confusion; and above thirty-six thousand men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit: among these were the earl of Westmoreland, and his brother, Sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the Lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonshire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought a prisoner to Edward, and was, soon after, beheaded by martial law at York. His head was fixed on a pole erected over a gate of that city; and the head of Duke Richard, and that of the earl of Salisbury, were taken down, and buried with their bodies. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied by the duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's sister, had taken part with the Lancastrians, and by Henry duke of Somerset, who had commanded in the unfortunate battle of Towton, and who was the son of that nobleman killed in the first battle of St. Alban's.

Notwithstanding the great animosity which prevailed between the kingdoms, Scotland had never exerted itself with vigour to take advantage, either of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which arose between the contending families. James I., more laudably employed in civilizing his subjects, and taming them to the salutary yoke of law and justice, avoided all hostilities with foreign nations; and though he seemed interested to maintain a balance between France and England, he gave no farther assistance to the former kingdom in its greatest distresses, than permitting, and perhaps encouraging, his subjects to enlist in the French service. After the murder of that excellent prince, the minority of his son and successor James II., and the distractions incident to it, retained the Scots in the same state of neutrality; and the superiority visibly acquired by France, rendered it then unnecessary for her ally to interfere in her defence. But, when the quarrel commenced between the houses of York and Lancaster, and became absolutely incurable but by the total extinction of one party; James who had now risen to man's estate, was tempted to seize the opportunity, and he endeavoured to recover those places which the English had formerly conquered from his ancestors. He laid siege to the castle of Roxborough in 1460, and had provided himself with a small train of artillery for that enterprise: but his cannon were so ill framed, that one of them burst as he was firing it, and put an end to his life in the flower of his age. His son and successor, James III. was also a minor on his succession: the usual distractions ensued in the government: the queen-dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aspired to the regency: the family of Douglas opposed her pretensions: and Queen Margaret, when she fled into Scotland, found

there a people little less divided by faction than those by whom she had been expelled. Though she pleaded the connexions between the royal family of Scotland and the house of Lancaster, by the young king's grandmother, a daughter of the earl of Somerset; she could engage the Scottish council to go no farther than to express their good wishes in her favour: but on her offer to deliver them immediately the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of king James, she found a better reception; and the Scots promised the assistance of their arms to reinstate her family upon the throne. But, as the danger from that quarter seemed not very urgent to Edward, he did not pursue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat; but returned to London, where a parliament was summoned for settling the government.

On the meeting of this assembly, Edward found the good effects of his vigorous measure in assuming the crown, as well as of his victory at Towton, by which he had secured it: the parliament no longer hesitated between the two families, or proposed any of those ambiguous decisions, which could only serve to perpetuate and inflame the animosities of party. They recognized the title of Edward, by hereditary descent, through the family of Mortimer; and declared that he was king by right, from the death of his father, who had also the same lawful title; and that he was in possession of the crown from the day that he assumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They expressed their abhorrence of the usurpation and intrusion of the house of Lancaster, particularly that of the earl of Derby, otherwise called Henry IV., which, they said, had been attended with every kind of disorder, the murder of the sovereign and the oppression of the subject. They annulled every grant which had passed in those reigns; they reinstated the king in all the possessions which had belonged to the crown at the pretended deposition of Richard II.; and though they confirmed judicial deeds, and the decrees of inferior courts, they reversed all attainders passed in any pretended parliament, particularly the attainder of the earl of Cambridge, the king's grandfather; as well as that of the earls of Salisbury and Gloucester, and of Lord Lumley, who had been forfeited for adhering to Richard II.

Many of these votes were the result of the usual violence of party: the common sense of mankind, in more peaceable times, repealed them: and the statutes of the house of Lancaster, being the deeds of an established government, and enacted by princes long possessed of authority, have always been held as valid and obligatory. The parliament, however, in subverting such deep foundations, had still the pretence of replacing the government on its ancient and natural basis: but, in their subsequent measures, they were more guided by revenge, at least by the views of convenience, than by the maxims of equity and justice. They passed an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry VI. and Queen Margaret, and their infant son, prince Edward: the same act was extended to the dukes of Somerset and Exeter; to the earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, Pembroke, Wilts; to the Viscount Beaumont; the Lords Roos, Nevil, Clifford, Welles, Dacre, Gray of Rugemont, Hungerford; to Alexander Hedie, Nicholas Latimer, Edmund Mountfort, John Heron, and many other persons of distinction. The parliament vested the estates of all these attainted persons in the crown; though their sole crime was the adhering to a prince whom every in-



dividual of the parliament had long recognized, and whom that very king himself, who was now seated on the throne, had acknowledged and obeyed as his lawful sovereign.

The necessity of supporting the government established will more fully justify some other acts of violence; though the method of conducting them may still appear exceptionable. John earl of Oxford, and his son Aubrey de Vere, being detected in a correspondence with Margaret, were tried by martial law before the constable, and condemned and executed. Sir William Tyrrel, Sir Thomas Tudenham, and John Montgomery, were convicted in the same arbitrary court, were executed, and their estates forfeited. This introduction of martial law into civil government was a high strain of prerogative, which, were it not for the violence of the times, would probably have appeared exceptionable to a nation so jealous of their liberties as the English were now become. It was impossible but such a great and sudden revolution must leave the roots of discontent and dissatisfaction in the subject, which would require great art, or, in lieu of it, great violence, to extirpate them. The latter was more suitable to the genius of the nation in that uncultivated age.

But the new establishment still seemed precarious and uncertain, not only from the domestic discontents of the people, but from the efforts of foreign powers. In France, Lewis, the eleventh of the name, had succeeded to his father Charles in 1460; and was led, from the obvious motives of national interest, to feed the flames of civil discord among such dangerous neighbours, by giving support to the weaker party. But the intriguing and politic genius of this prince was here checked by itself: having attempted to subdue the independent spirit of his own vassals, he had excited such an opposition at home, as prevented him from taking all the advantage which the opportunity afforded, of the dissensions among the English. He sent, however, a small body to Henry's assistance under Varenne, seneschal of Normandy, who landed in Northumberland, and got possession of the castle of Alnwick: but as the indefatigable Margaret went in person to France, where she solicited larger supplies, and promised Lewis to deliver up Calais, if her family should by his means be restored to the throne of England; he was induced to send along with her a body of 2000 men at arms, which enabled her to take the field, and to make an inroad into England. Though reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland, and by many partisans of the family of Lancaster; she received a check at Hedgley-moore from Lord Montacute, or Montagu, brother to the earl of Warwick, and warden of the east marches between Scotland and England. Montague was so encouraged with this success, that, while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him by orders from Edward, he yet ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancastrians at Hexham; and he obtained a complete victory over them. The duke of Somerset, the Lords Roos and Hungerford, were taken in the pursuit, and immediately beheaded by martial law at Hexham. Summary justice was in like manner executed at Newcastle on Sir Humphrey Nevil and several other gentlemen. All those who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold; and the utter extermination of their adversaries was now become the plain object of the York party—a conduct which received but too plausible an apology from the preceding practice of the Lancastrians.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this defeat, was singular. Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them, and, while their attention was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape with her son into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, overspent with hunger and fatigue, and sunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword, and, finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him, and, presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son." The man, whose humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, was struck with the singularity of the event, and vowed, not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service. This incident is placed by Lingard before the battle of Hexham. She dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea-coast, whence she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence into her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate or so dexterous in finding the means of escape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancashire, where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower. The safety of his person was owing less to the generosity of his enemies than to the contempt which they had entertained of his courage and his understanding.

Mackintosh says, that Henry "secreted himself in the borders, where the doubtful jurisdiction, the wild life of the borderers, and their very precarious allegiance, afforded him facilities for sudden and rapid escape. Either misled by Edward's spies, and unacquainted with the boundaries and despairing of security in Scotland, or perhaps in one of his fits of idiocy, Henry threw himself into England, where, from authentic documents, it appears that while sitting at one of his few and troubled meals, at Waddington-hall in Lancashire, he was detected by Sir James Harrington, the testimony of whose infamy is perpetuated by the grant of large estates, the bitter fruits of confiscation." According to Lingard "he was betrayed by the perfidy of the monk of Abingdon; and taken by the servants of Sir James Harrington, as he sat at dinner in Waddington-hall, in *Yorkshire*. At Islington the unfortunate king was met by the earl of Warwick, who ordered by proclamation that no one should show him any respect, tied his feet to the stirrups as a prisoner, led him thrice round the pillory, and conducted him to the tower. There he was treated with humanity, but kept in the most rigorous confinement for some years."

The imprisonment of Henry, the expulsion of Margaret, the execution and confiscation of all the most eminent Lancastrians, seemed to give full security to Edward's government; whose title by blood being now recognised by parliament, and universally submitted to by the people, was no longer

in danger of being impeached by any antagonist. In this prosperous situation, the king delivered himself up, without controul, to those pleasures which his youth, his high fortune, and his natural temper invited him to enjoy; and the cares of royalty were less attended to, than the dissipation of amusement or the allurements of passion. The cruel and unrelenting spirit of Edward, though enured to the ferocity of civil wars, was at the same time extremely devoted to the softer passions, which, without mitigating his severe temper, maintained a great influence over him, and shared his attachment with the pursuits of ambition and the thirst of military glory. During the present interval of peace, he lived in the most familiar manner with his subjects, particularly with the Londoners; and the beauty of his person, as well as the gallantry of his address, which, even unassisted by his royal dignity, would have rendered him acceptable to women, facilitated all his applications for their favour. This easy and pleasurable course of life augmented every day his popularity among all ranks of men: he was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both sexes. The disposition of the English, little addicted to jealousy, kept them from taking umbrage at these liberties: and his indulgence in amusements, while it gratified his inclination, was thus become, without design, a means of supporting and securing his government. But as it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within the strict rules of prudence, the amorous temper of Edward led him into a snare which proved fatal to his repose, and to the stability of his throne.

Jaqueline of Luxembourg, duchess of Bedford, had, after her husband's death, so far sacrificed her ambition to love, that she espoused in second marriage Sir Richard Woodville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children; and among the rest, Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as well as for other amiable accomplishments. This young lady had married Sir John Gray of Groby, by whom she had children; and her husband being slain in the second battle of St. Alban's, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate being for that reason confiscated, his widow retired to live with her father, at his seat of Grafton in Northamptonshire. The king came accidentally to the house after a hunting party, in order to pay a visit to the duchess of Bedford; and as the occasion seemed favourable for obtaining some grace from this gallant monarch, the young widow flung herself at his feet, and with many tears entreated him to take pity on her impoverished and distressed children. The sight of so much beauty in affliction strongly affected the amorous Edward; love stole insensibly into his heart under the guise of compassion; and her sorrow, so becoming a virtuous matron, made his esteem and regard quickly correspond to his affection. He raised her from the ground with assurances of favour; he found his passion increase every moment by the conversation of the amiable object; and he was soon reduced, in his turn, to the posture and style of a supplicant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady, either averse to dishonourable love from a sense of duty, or perceiving that the impression which she had made was so deep as to give her hopes of obtaining the highest elevation, obstinately refused to gratify his passion; and all the endearments, caresses, and importunities of the young and amiable Edward proved fruitless against her rigid and inflexible virtue. His passion, irritated by op-

position, and increased by his veneration for such honourable sentiments, carried him at last beyond all bounds of reason; and he offered to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whose beauty of person and dignity of character seemed so well to entitle her to both. This marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton. The secret was carefully kept for some time: no one suspected, that so libertine a prince could sacrifice so much to a romantic passion: and there were in particular strong reasons, which at that time rendered this step in the highest degree dangerous and imprudent. According to Mackintosh she had not a beautiful face, but Edward "was charmed by her graceful form, her 'pregnant wit,' and her 'eloquent tongue.'"

The king, desirous to secure his throne, as well by the prospect of issue, as by foreign alliances, had, a little before, determined to make application to some neighbouring princess; and he had cast his eye on Bona of Savoy, sister of the queen of France, who he hoped would, by her marriage, ensure him the friendship of that power, which was alone both able and inclined to give support and assistance to his rival. To render the negotiation more successful, the earl of Warwick had been dispatched to Paris, where the princess then resided; he had demanded Bona in marriage for the king; his proposals had been accepted; the treaty was fully concluded; and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the princess to England. But when the secret of Edward's marriage broke out, the haughty earl, deeming himself affronted, both by being employed in this fruitless negotiation, and by being kept a stranger to the king's intentions, who had owed everything to his friendship, immediately returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation. The influence of passion over so young a man as Edward might have served as an excuse for his imprudent conduct, had he deigned to acknowledge his error, or had pleaded his weakness as an apology: but his faulty shame or pride prevented him from so much as mentioning the matter to Warwick; and that nobleman was allowed to depart the court, full of the same ill-humour and discontent which he brought to it.

Lingard says in commenting on these confused and indistinct transactions, "Many writers tell us that the enmity of Warwick arose from his disappointment caused by Edward's clandestine marriage with Elizabeth. If we may believe them, the earl was at the very time in France, negotiating on the part of the king a marriage with Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France; and having succeeded in his mission, brought back with him the count of Dampmartia as ambassador from Louis. To me the whole story appears a fiction. 1. It is not to be found in the more ancient historians. 2. Warwick was not at the time in France. On the 20th of April, ten days before the marriage, he was employed in negotiating a truce with the French envoys in London; and on the 26th May, about three weeks after it, was appointed to treat of another truce with the king of Scots. 3. Nor could he bring Dampmartia with him to England. For that nobleman was committed a prisoner to the Bastille in September 1463, and remained there till May 1465. Three contemporary and well-informed writers, the two continuators of the history of Croyland and Worcester, attribute his discontent to the marriages and honours granted to the Woodvilles, and



the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the duke of Burgundy: and a fourth tells us from the mouth of Edward himself, that the king's suspicion of Warwick's fidelity arose from the secret conferences of that nobleman with Louis at Rouën."

Every incident now tended to widen the breach between the king and this powerful subject. The queen, who lost not her influence by marriage, was equally solicitous to draw every grace and favour to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude those of the earl, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy. Her father was created earl of Rivers: he was made treasurer in the room of Lord Mountjoy: he was invested in the office of constable for life; and his son received the survivance of that high dignity. The same young nobleman was married to the only daughter of Lord Scales, enjoyed the great estate of that family, and had the title of Scales conferred upon him. Catherine, the queen's sister, was married to the young duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown: Mary, another of her sisters, espoused William Herbert, created earl of Huntingdon: Ann, a third sister, was given in marriage to the son and heir of Gray Lord Ruthyn, created earl of Kent. The daughter and heir of the duke of Exeter, who was also the king's niece, was contracted to Sir Thomas Gray, one of the queen's sons by her former husband; and as Lord Montague was treating of a marriage between his son and this lady, the preference given to young Gray was deemed an injury and affront to the whole family of Nevil.

The earl of Warwick could not suffer with patience the least diminution of that credit which he had long enjoyed, and which he thought he had merited by such important services. Though he had received so many grants from the crown, that the revenue arising from them amounted, besides his patrimonial estate, to 80,000 crowns a year, according to the computation of Philip de Comines; his ambitious spirit was still dissatisfied, so long as he saw others surpass him in authority and influence with the king. Edward also, jealous of that power which had supported him, and which he himself had contributed still higher to exalt, was well pleased to raise up rivals in credit to the earl of Warwick; and he justified, by this political view, his extreme partiality to the queen's kindred. But the nobility of England, envying the sudden growth of the Woodvilles, were more inclined to take part with Warwick's discontent, to whose grandeur they were already accustomed, and who had reconciled them to his superiority by his gracious and popular manners. And as Edward obtained from parliament a general resumption of all grants which he had made since his accession, and which had extremely impoverished the crown; this act, though it passed with some exceptions, particularly one in favour of the earl of Warwick, gave a general alarm to the nobility, and disgusted many, even zealous partisans of the family of York.

But the most considerable associate that Warwick acquired to his party, was George duke of Clarence, the king's second brother. This prince deemed himself no less injured than the other grandees, by the uncontrolled influence of the queen and her relations; and as his fortunes were still left on a precarious footing, while theirs were fully established, this neglect, joined to his unquiet and restless spirit, inclined him to give countenance to all the malcontents. The favourable opportunity of gaining him was espied by the earl of Warwick who offered him in marriage

his eldest daughter, and co-heir of his immense for- tunes; a settlement which as it was superior to any that the king himself could confer upon him, immediately attached him to the party of the earl. Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry. Though the immediate object of the malcontents was not to overturn the throne, it was difficult to foresee the extremities to which they might be carried: and as opposition to government was usually in those ages prosecuted by force of arms, civil convulsions and disorders were likely to be soon the result of these intrigues and confederacies.

While this cloud was gathering at home, Edward carried his views abroad, and endeavoured to secure himself against his factious nobility by entering into foreign alliances. The dark and dangerous ambition of Lewis XI, the more it was known, the greater alarm it excited among his neighbours and vassals; and as it was supported by great abilities, and unrestrained by any principle of faith or humanity, they found no security to themselves but by a jealous combination against him. Philip, duke of Burgundy, was now dead: his rich and extensive dominions were devolved to Charles his only son, whose martial disposition acquired him the surname of "Bold," and whose ambition, more outrageous than that of Lewis, but seconded by less power and policy, was regarded with a more favourable eye by the other potentates of Europe. The opposition of interests, and still more, a natural antipathy of character, produced a declared animosity between these bad princes; and Edward was thus secure of the sincere attachment of either of them, for whom he should choose to declare himself. The duke of Burgundy being descended by his mother, a daughter of Portugal, from John of Gaunt, was naturally inclined to favour the house of Lancaster: but this consideration was easily overbalanced by political motives; and Charles, perceiving the interests of that house to be extremely decayed in England, sent over his natural brother, commonly called the Bastard of Burgundy, to carry in his name proposals of marriage to Margaret the king's sister. The alliance of Burgundy was more popular among the English than that of France; the commercial interests of the two nations invited the princes to a close union; their common jealousy of Lewis was a natural cement between them; and Edward, pleased with strengthening himself by so potent a confederate, soon concluded the alliance, and bestowed his sister upon Charles. A league which Edward at the same time concluded with the duke of Brittany, seemed both to increase his security, and to open to him the prospect of rivalling his predecessors in those foreign conquests, which, however short-lived and unprofitable, had rendered their reigns so popular and illustrious.

But whatever ambitious schemes the king might have built on these alliances, they were soon frustrated by intestine commotions, which engrossed all his attention. These disorders probably arose not immediately from the intrigues of the earl of Warwick, but from accident, aided by the turbulent spirit of the age, by the general humour of discontent which that popular nobleman had instilled into the nation, and perhaps by some remains of attachment to the house of Lancaster. The hospital of St. Leonard's, near York, had received, from an ancient grant of King Athelstane, a right of levying a thrave of corn upon every plough-land in the county; and as these charitable establishments are

liable to abuse, the country people complained that the revenue of the hospital was no longer expended for the relief of the poor, but was secreted by the managers, and employed to their private purposes. After long repining at the contribution, they refused payment: ecclesiastical and civil censures were issued against them: their goods were distrained, and their persons thrown into jail: till, as their ill-humour daily increased, they rose in arms; fell upon the officers of the hospital, whom they put to the sword; and proceeded in a body, fifteen thousand strong, to the gates of York. Lord Montague, who commanded in those parts, opposed himself to their progress; and having been so fortunate in a skirmish as to seize Robert Hulderne their leader, he ordered him immediately to be led to execution; according to the practice of the times. The rebels, however, still continued in arms; and being soon headed by men of greater distinction, Sir Henry Nevil, son of Lord Latimer, and Sir John Coniers, they advanced southwards, and began to appear formidable to government. Herbert, earl of Pembroke, who had received that title on the forfeiture of Jasper Tudor, was ordered by Edward to march against them at the head of a body of Welshmen; and he was joined by five thousand archers under the command of Stafford, earl of Devonshire, who had succeeded in that title to the family of Courteney, which had also been attainted. But a trivial difference about quarters having begotten an animosity between these two noblemen, the earl of Devonshire retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels. The two armies approached each other near Banbury; and Pembroke, having prevailed in a skirmish, and having taken Sir Henry Nevil prisoner, ordered him immediately to be put to death, without any form of process. This execution enraged without terrifying the rebels: they attacked the Welsh army, routed them, put them to the sword without mercy; and having seized Pembroke, they took immediate revenge upon him for the death of their leader. The king, imputing this misfortune to the earl of Devonshire, who had deserted Pembroke, ordered him to be executed in a like summary manner. But these speedy executions, or rather open murders, did not stop there: the northern rebels, sending a party to Grafton, seized the earl of Rivers and his son John; men who had become obnoxious by their near relation to the king, and his partiality towards them: and they were immediately executed by orders from Sir John Coniers.

There is no part of English history since the conquest so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic, or consistent, as that of the wars between the two Roses: historians differ about many material circumstances; some events of the utmost consequence, in which they almost all agree, are incredible and contradicted by records; and it is remarkable, that this profound darkness falls upon us just on the eve of the restoration of letters, and when the art of printing was already known in Europe. All we can distinguish with certainty through the deep cloud which covers that period, is a scene of horror and bloodshed, savage manners, arbitrary executions, treacherous and dishonourable conduct, in all parties. There is no possibility, for instance, of accounting for the views and intentions of the earl of Warwick at this time. It is agreed that he resided, together with his son-in-law the duke of Clarence, in his government of Calais, during the commencement of this rebellion; and that his brother Montague acted with vigour against the northern rebels.

We may thence presume, that the insurrection had not proceeded from the secret counsels and instigation of Warwick; though the murder committed by the rebels on the earl of Rivers, his capital enemy, forms, on the other hand, a violent presumption against him. He and Clarence came over to England, offered their service to Edward, were received without any suspicion, were entrusted by him in the highest commands, and still persevered in their fidelity. Soon after, we find the rebels quieted and dispersed by a general pardon granted by Edward from the advice of the earl of Warwick. But why so courageous a prince, if secure of Warwick's fidelity, should have granted a general pardon to men who had been guilty of such violent and personal outrages against him, is not intelligible; nor why that nobleman, if unfaithful, should have endeavoured to appease a rebellion, of which he was able to make such advantages.

Almost all the historians, even Comines, and the continuator of the annals of Croyland, assert that Edward was about this time taken prisoner by Clarence and Warwick, and was committed to the custody of the archbishop of York, brother to the earl; but being allowed to take the diversion of hunting by this prelate, he made his escape, and afterwards chased the rebels out of the kingdom. But that all the story is false appears from Rymer, where we find that the king, throughout all this period, continually exercised his authority, and never was interrupted in his government. On the 7th of March, 1470, he gives a commission of array to Clarence, whom he then imagined a good subject; and on the 23d of the same month, we find him issuing an order for apprehending him. Besides, in the king's manifesto against the duke and earl, where he enumerates all their treasons, he mentions no such fact: he does not so much as accuse them of exciting young Welles's rebellion: he only says, that they exhorted him to continue in his rebellion. We may judge how smaller facts will be misrepresented by historians, who can in the most material transactions mistake so grossly. There may even some doubt arise with regard to the proposal of marriage made to Bona of Savoy; though almost all the historians concur in it, and the fact be very likely in itself: for there are no traces in Rymer of any such embassy of Warwick's to France.

The foregoing conflict and its circumstances are so variously stated by both ancient and modern writers, that it is necessary the reader should hear both statements, and judge of the probability of the facts himself.

According to Lingard, "Clarence, Warwick, and the archbishop of York proceeded in search of the king; whom they found at Olney, plunged in the deepest distress by the defeat of Pembroke; the murder of the Woodvilles, and the desertion of his friends. At the first interview they approached him with all those expressions of respect which are due from the subject to the sovereign; and Edward deceived by these appearances freely acquainted them with his suspicions and displeasure. But his impudence was soon checked by the discovery that he was in reality their captive; and he hastily accepted those excuses which it would have been dangerous to refuse. The few loyalists who had remained with the king dispersed, by the permission of Warwick: at his command the insurgents returned to their homes laden with plunder; and Edward accompanied the two brothers to Warwick; whence for greater security he was removed to Middleham, under the custody of the archbishop."



Rapin agrees with Lingard as to the fact of Edward's being the prisoner of Warwick and Clarence at Middleham, but differs as to the circumstances by which he became so: Rapin says, "Warwick surprised Edward's camp, and that the victorious earl no sooner had him (the king) in his power, but he caused him to be conducted to Warwick, and after that to Middleham."

According to Rapin Edward escaped while hunting, and according to Lingard by the contrivance of Warwick, who had no means but under the authority of Edward of opposing the Lancastrian faction. The whole of their transactions have come down very imperfectly to us, and no historian seems to be able to account for the apparent inconsistent treacheries and changes which took place. The imprisonment or rather detention of Edward is supposed by Lingard to have lasted from the middle of May to the middle of August.

After this it appears, there was an interval of peace, during which the king loaded the family of Nevil with honours and favours of the highest nature: he made Lord Montague a marquis by the same name: he created his son George duke of Bedford: he publicly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to his eldest daughter Elizabeth, who, as he had yet no sons, was presumptive heir of the crown: yet we find that soon after, being invited to a feast by the archbishop of York, a younger brother of Warwick and Montague, he entertained a sudden suspicion that they intended to seize his person or to murder him: and he abruptly left the entertainment.

Soon after, there broke out another rebellion, which is as unaccountable as all the preceding events; chiefly because no sufficient reason is assigned for it, and because, so far as it appears, the family of Nevil had no hand in exciting and fomenting it. It arose in Lincolnshire, and was headed by Sir Robert Welles, son to the lord of that name. The army of the rebels amounted to 30,000 men; but Lord Welles himself, far from giving countenance to them, fled into a sanctuary, in order to secure his person against the king's anger or suspicions. He was allured from this retreat by a promise of safety; and was soon after, notwithstanding this assurance, beheaded along with Sir Thomas Dymock, by orders from Edward. The king fought a battle with the rebels, defeated them, took Sir Robert Welles and Sir Thomas Launde prisoners, and ordered them immediately to be beheaded.

Edward, during these transactions, had entertained so little jealousy of the earl of Warwick or duke of Clarence, that he sent them with commissions of array to levy forces against the rebels: but these malecontents, as soon as they left the court, raised troops in their own name, issued declarations against the government, and complained of grievances, oppressions, and bad ministers. The unexpected defeat of Welles disconcerted all their measures; and they retired northwards into Lancashire, where they expected to be joined by Lord Stanley, who had married the earl of Warwick's sister. But as that nobleman refused all concurrence with them, and as Lord Montague also remained quiet in Yorkshire, they were obliged to disband their army, and to fly into Devonshire, where they embarked and made sail towards Calais.

The deputy-governor, whom Warwick had left at Calais, was one Vauler, a Gascon, who seeing the earl return in this miserable condition, refused him admittance; and would not so much as permit the

duchess of Clarence to land; though a few days before he had been delivered on ship-board of a son, and was at that time extremely disordered by sickness. With difficulty he would allow a few flagons of wine to be carried to the ship for the use of the ladies: but as he was a man of sagacity, and well acquainted with the revolutions to which England was subject, he secretly apologised to Warwick for this appearance of infidelity, and represented it as proceeding entirely from zeal for his service. He said, that the fortress was ill-supplied with provisions; that he could not depend on the attachment of the garrison; that the inhabitants, who lived by the English commerce, would certainly declare for the established government; that the place was at present unable to resist the power of England on the one hand, and that of the duke of Burgundy on the other; and that, by seeming to declare for Edward, he would acquire the confidence of that prince, and still keep it in his power, when it should become safe and prudent, to restore Calais to its ancient master. It is uncertain whether Warwick was satisfied with this apology, or suspected a double infidelity in Vauler; but he feigned to be entirely convinced by him; and having seized some Flemish vessels which he found lying off Calais, he immediately made sail towards France.

The king of France, uneasy at the close conjunction between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, received with the greatest demonstrations of regard the unfortunate Warwick, with whom he had formerly maintained a secret correspondence, and whom he hoped still to make his instrument in overturning the government of England, and re-establishing the house of Lancaster. No animosity was ever greater than that which had long prevailed between that house and the earl of Warwick. His father had been executed by orders from Margaret: he himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had banished the queen, had put to death all their most zealous partisans, either in the field or on the scaffold, and had occasioned innumerable ills to that unhappy family. For this reason, believing that such inveterate rancour could never admit of any cordial reconciliation, he had not mentioned Henry's name, when he took arms against Edward; and he rather endeavoured to prevail by means of his own adherents, than revive a party which he sincerely hated. But his present distresses, and the entreaties of Lewis, made him hearken to terms of accommodation; and Margaret being sent for from Angers, where she then resided, an agreement was, from common interest, soon concluded between them. It was stipulated that Warwick should espouse the cause of Henry, and endeavour to restore him to liberty, and to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be entrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that Prince Edward should marry the Lady Anne, second daughter of that nobleman; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue in that prince, should descend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of King Edward and his posterity. Never was confederacy, on all sides, less natural, or more evidently the work of necessity: but Warwick hoped, that all former passions of the Lancastrians might be lost in present political views, and that at worst, the independent power of his family, and the affections of the people, would suffice to give him security, and enable him to exact the full performance of all the conditions

agreed on. The marriage of Prince Edward with the Lady Anne was immediately celebrated in France.

Edward foresaw that it would be easy to dissolve an alliance composed of such discordant parts. For this purpose he sent over a lady of great sagacity and address, who belonged to the train of the duchess of Clarence, and who, under colour of attending her mistress, was empowered to negotiate with the duke, and to renew the connexions of that prince with his own family. She represented to Clarence, that he had unwarily, to his own ruin, become the instrument of Warwick's vengeance, and had thrown himself entirely in the power of his most inveterate enemies; that the mortal injuries which the one royal family had suffered from the other, were now past all forgiveness, and no imaginary union of interests could ever suffice to obliterate them; that even if the leaders were willing to forget past offences, the animosity of their adherents would prevent a sincere coalition of parties, and would, in spite of all temporary and verbal agreements, preserve an eternal opposition of measures between them; and that a prince who deserted his own kindred, and joined the murderers of his father, left himself single, without friends, without protection, and would not, when misfortunes inevitably fell upon him, be so much as entitled to any pity or regard from the rest of mankind. Clarence was only one-and-twenty years of age, and seems to have possessed but a slender capacity; yet could he easily see the force of these reasons; and, upon the promise of forgiveness from his brother, he secretly engaged, on a favourable opportunity, to desert the earl of Warwick, and abandon the Lancastrian party.

During this negotiation, Warwick was secretly carrying on a correspondence of the same nature with his brother the marquis of Montague, who was entirely trusted by Edward, and like motives produced a like resolution in that nobleman. The marquis also, that he might render the projected blow the more deadly and incurable, resolved, on his side, to watch a favourable opportunity for committing his perfidy, and still to maintain the appearance of being a zealous adherent to the house of York.

After these mutual snares were thus carefully laid, the decision of the quarrel advanced apace. Lewis prepared a fleet to escort the earl of Warwick, and granted him a supply of men and money. The duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, enraged at that nobleman for his seizure of the Flemish vessels before Calais, and anxious to support the reigning family in England, with whom his own interests were now connected, fitted out a larger fleet, with which he guarded the Channel; and he incessantly warned his brother-in-law of the imminent perils to which he was exposed. But Edward, though always brave and often active, had little foresight or penetration. He was not sensible of his danger: he made no suitable preparations against the earl of Warwick: he even said, that the duke might spare himself the trouble of guarding the seas, and that he wished for nothing more than to see Warwick set foot on English ground. A vain confidence in his own prowess, joined to the immoderate love of pleasure, had made him incapable of all sound reason and reflection.

The event soon happened, of which Edward seemed so desirous. A storm dispersed the Flemish navy, and left the sea open to Warwick. That nobleman seized the opportunity, and setting sail, quickly landed at Dartmouth, with the duke of Clarence, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a small body of troops; while the king was in the north, engaged

in suppressing an insurrection which had been raised by Lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick. The scene which ensues resembles more the fiction of a poem or romance than an event in true history. The prodigious popularity of Warwick, the zeal of the Lancastrian party, the spirit of discontent with which many were infected, and the general instability of the English nation occasioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to 60,000 men, and was continually increasing. Edward hastened southwards to encounter him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham, where a decisive action was every hour expected. The rapidity of Warwick's progress had incapacitated the duke of Clarence from executing his plan of treachery; and the Marquis of Montague had here the opportunity of striking the first blow. He communicated the design to his adherents, who promised him their concurrence: they took to arms in the night-time, and hastened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters: the king was alarmed at the noise, and starting from bed, heard the cry of war usually employed by the Lancastrian party. Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, informed him of the danger, and urged him to make his escape by speedy flight from an army where he had so many concealed enemies, and where few seemed zealously attached to his service. He had just time to get on horseback, and to hurry with a small retinue to Lynne, in Norfolk, where he luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he instantly embarked. And after this manner the earl of Warwick, in no longer space than eleven days after his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom.

But Edward's danger did not end with his embarkation. The Easterlings or Hanse-Towns were then at war both with France and England; and some ships of these people, hovering on the English coast, espied the king's vessels, and gave chase to them; nor was it without extreme difficulty that he made his escape into the port of Alcaer, in Holland. He had fled from England with such precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value along with him; and the only reward which he could bestow on the captain of the vessel that brought him over was a robe lined with sables; promising him an ample recompence if fortune should ever become more propitious to him.

It is not likely that Edward could be very fond of presenting himself in this lamentable plight before the duke of Burgundy; and that having so suddenly, after his mighty vaunts, lost all footing in his own kingdom, he could be insensible to the ridicule which must attend him in the eyes of that prince. The duke on his part was no less embarrassed how he should receive the dethroned monarch. As he had ever borne a greater affection to the house of Lancaster than to that of York, nothing but political views had engaged him to contract an alliance with the latter; and he foresaw that probably the revolution in England would now turn this alliance against him, and render the reigning family his implacable and jealous enemy. For this reason, when the first rumour of the event reached him, attended with the circumstances of Edward's death, he seemed rather pleased with the catastrophe; and it was no agreeable disappointment to find, that he must either undergo the burthen of supporting an exiled prince, or the dishonour of abandoning so near a relation. He began already to say that his



connexions were with the kingdom of England, not with the king; and it was indifferent to him whether the name of Edward or that of Henry were employed in the articles of treaty. These sentiments were continually strengthened by the subsequent events. Vaucier, the deputy governor of Calais, though he had been confirmed in his command by Edward, and had even received a pension from the duke of Burgundy on account of his fidelity to the crown, no sooner saw his old master Warwick reinstated in authority, than he declared for him, and with great demonstrations of zeal and attachment put the whole garrison in his livery. And the intelligence which the duke received every day from England, seemed to promise an entire and full settlement in the family of Lancaster.

Immediately after Edward's flight had left the kingdom at Warwick's disposal, that nobleman hastened to London; and taking Henry from his confinement in the tower, into which he himself had been the chief cause of throwing him, he proclaimed him king with great solemnity. A parliament was summoned, in the name of that prince, to meet at Westminster; and as this assembly could pretend to no liberty, while surrounded by such enraged and insolent victors, governed by such an impetuous spirit as Warwick, their votes were entirely dictated by the ruling faction. The treaty with Margaret was here fully executed: Henry was recognised as lawful king; but his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was entrusted to Warwick and Clarence till the majority of prince Edward; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown. The usual business also of reversals went on without opposition: every statute made during the reign of Edward was repealed; that prince was declared to be an usurper; he and his adherents were attainted; and in particular Richard duke of Gloucester, his younger brother: all the attainders of the Lancastrians, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Richmond, Pembroke, Oxford, and Ormond, were reversed; and every one was restored who had lost either honours or fortune by his former adherence to the cause of Henry.

The ruling party were more sparing in their executions than was usual after any revolutions during those violent times. The only victim of distinction was John Tiptot, earl of Worcester. This accomplished person, born in an age and nation where the nobility valued themselves on ignorance as their privilege, and left learning to monks and schoolmasters, for whom indeed the spurious erudition that prevailed was best fitted, had been struck with the first rays of true science which began to penetrate from the south, and had been zealous, by his exhortation and example, to propagate the love of letters among his unpolished countrymen. It is pretended, that knowledge had not produced on this nobleman himself the effect which so naturally attends it, of humanizing the temper and softening the heart; and that he had enraged the Lancastrians against him, by the severities which he exercised upon them during the prevalence of his own party. He endeavoured to conceal himself after the flight of Edward; but was caught on the top of a tree in the forest of Weybridge, was conducted to London, tried before the earl of Oxford, condemned, and executed. All the other considerable Yorkists either fled beyond sea, or took shelter in sanctuaries; where the ecclesiastical privileges afforded them protection. In London alone, it is

computed that no less than 2000 persons saved themselves in this manner; and among the rest, Edward's queen, who was there delivered of a son, called by his father's name.

Queen Margaret, the other rival queen, had not yet appeared in England; but on receiving intelligence of Warwick's success, was preparing with Prince Edward for her journey. All the banished Lancastrians flocked to her; and among the rest, the duke of Somerset, son of the duke beheaded after the battle of Hexham. This nobleman, who had long been regarded as the head of the party, had fled into the Low Countries on the discomfiture of his friends; and as he concealed his name and quality, he had there languished in extreme indigence. Philip de Comines tells us, that he himself saw him, as well as the duke of Exeter, in a condition no better than that of a common beggar; till being discovered by Philip duke of Burgundy, they had small pensions allotted them, and were living in silence and obscurity, when the success of their party called them from their retreat. But both Somerset and Margaret were detained by contrary winds from reaching England, till a new revolution in that kingdom, no less sudden and surprising than the former, threw them into greater misery than that from which they had just emerged.

Though the duke of Burgundy, by neglecting Edward, and paying court to the established government, had endeavoured to conciliate the friendship of the Lancastrians, he found that he had not succeeded to his wish; and the connexions between the king of France and the earl of Warwick still held him in great anxiety. This nobleman, too hastily regarding Charles as a determined enemy, had sent over to Calais a body of 4000 men, who made inroads into the Low Countries; and the duke of Burgundy saw himself in danger of being overwhelmed by the united arms of England and France. He resolved therefore to grant some assistance to his brother-in-law; but in such a covert manner as should give the least offence possible to the English government. He equipped four large vessels, in the name of some private merchants, at Terveer in Zealand and causing fourteen ships to be secretly hired from the Easterlings, he delivered this small squadron to Edward, who, receiving also a sum of money from the duke, immediately set sail for England. No sooner was Charles informed of his departure, than he issued a proclamation inhibiting all his subjects from giving him countenance or assistance; an artifice which could not deceive the earl of Warwick, but which might serve as a decent pretence, if that nobleman were so disposed, for maintaining friendship with the duke of Burgundy.

Edward, impatient to take revenge on his enemies, and to recover his lost authority, made an attempt to land with his forces, which exceeded not 2000 men, on the coast of Norfolk; but being there repulsed, he sailed northwards, and disembarked at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Finding that the new magistrates, who had been appointed by the earl of Warwick, kept the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the house of York, which of right belonged to him; and that he did not intend to disturb the peace of the kingdom. His partisans every moment flocked to his standard: he was admitted into the city of York; and he was soon in such a situation as gave him hopes of succeeding in all his claims and pretensions. The marquis of Montagu

commanded in the northern counties: but from some mysterious reasons which, as well as many other important transactions in that age, no historian has cleared up, he totally neglected the beginnings of an insurrection which he ought to have esteemed so formidable. Warwick assembled an army at Leicester, with an intention of meeting and of giving battle to the enemy; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London. Had he here been refused admittance, he was totally undone: but there were many reasons which inclined the citizens to favour him. His numerous friends, issuing from their sanctuaries, were active in his cause; many rich merchants, who had formerly lent him money, saw no other chance for their payment but his restoration; the city-dames, who had been liberal of their favours to him, and who still retained an affection for this young and gallant prince, swayed their husbands and friends in his favour; and above all the archbishop of York, Warwick's brother, to whom the care of the city was committed, had secretly, from unknown reasons, entered into a correspondence with him; and he facilitated Edward's admission into London. The most likely cause which can be assigned for those multiplied infidelities, even in the family of Nevil itself, is the spirit of faction, which, when it becomes inveterate, it is very difficult for any man entirely to shake off. The persons who had long distinguished themselves in the York party, were unable to act with zeal and cordiality for the support of the Lancastrians; and they were inclined, by any prospect of favour or accommodation offered them by Edward, to return to their ancient connexions. However this may be, Edward's entrance into London made him master not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies.

It appears not that Warwick, during his short administration, which had continued only six months, had been guilty of any unpopular act, or had anywhere deserved to lose that general favour which had enabled him so lately to overcome Edward. But this prince, who was formerly on the defensive, was now the aggressor; and having overcome the difficulties which always attend the beginnings of an insurrection, possessed many advantages above his enemy: his partisans were actuated by that zeal and courage which the notion of an attack inspires; his opponents were intimidated for a like reason; every one who had been disappointed in the hopes which he had entertained from Warwick's elevation, either became a cool friend or an open enemy to that nobleman; and each malcontent, from whatever cause, proved an accession to Edward's army. The king, therefore, found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick; who, being reinforced by his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, and his brother the marquis of Montague, took post at Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London. The arrival of Queen Margaret was every day expected, who would have drawn together all the genuine Lancastrians, and have brought a great accession to Warwick's forces: but this very consideration proved a motive to the earl rather to hurry on a decisive action, than to share the victory with rivals and ancient enemies, who he foresaw would, in case of success, claim the chief merit in the enterprise. But while his jealousy was all directed towards that side, he overlooked the dangerous infidelity of friends, who lay the nearest to his bosom. His brother Montague, who had

lately temporised, seems now to have remained sincerely attached to the interests of his family: but his son-in-law, though bound to him by every tie of honour and gratitude—though he shared the power of the regency, though he had been invested by Warwick in all the honours and patrimony of the house of York,—resolved to fulfil the secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and to support the interests of his own family: he deserted to the king in the night-time, and carried over a body of 12,000 men along with him. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with obstinacy on both sides: the two armies, in imitation of their leaders, displayed uncommon valour: and the victory remained long undecided between them. But an accident threw the balance to the side of the Yorkists. Edward's cognisance was a sun; that of Warwick a star with rays; and the mistiness of the morning rendering it difficult to distinguish them, the earl of Oxford, who fought on the side of the Lancastrians, was by mistake attacked by his friends, and chased off the field of battle. Warwick, contrary to his more usual practice, engaged that day on foot, resolving to show his army that he meant to share every fortune with them; and he was slain in the thickest of the engagement: his brother underwent the same fate: and as Edward had issued orders not to give any quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit. There fell about 1500 on the side of the victors. This battle was fought 15th April, 1471, being Easter Sunday.

The same day on which this decisive battle was fought, Queen Margaret and her son, now about eighteen years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. When this princess received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage, which had supported her under so many disastrous events, quite left her; and foreseeing the fatal consequences of this calamity, she sank to the ground in despair: she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu; but being encouraged by the appearance of Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and Courtney, earl of Devonshire, of the Lords Wenlock and St. John, with other men of rank, who exhorted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to defend to the utmost the ruins of her fallen fortunes. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were here totally defeated: the earl of Devonshire, Lord Wenlock, and Sir Edmund Hampden, were killed in the field: the duke of Somerset, and about twenty other persons of distinction, having taken shelter in a church, were surrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded: about 3000 of their side fell in battle; and the army was entirely dispersed.

Queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, in an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? the prince, more mindful of his birth than of his fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance.

"At these words," says Macintosh, "Edward



said nothing, but thrust the youth from him, or, as some say, 'struck him with his gauntlet,' when he was instantly put to death by the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Lord Dorset, and Lord Hastings."

Margaret was thrown into the Tower: King Henry expired in that confinement a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury; but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hands: but the universal odium which that prince has incurred, inclined perhaps the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority. It is certain, however, that Henry's death was sudden; and though he laboured under an ill state of health, this circumstance, joined to the general manners of this age, gave a natural ground of suspicion; which was rather increased than diminished by the exposing of his body to public view. That precaution served only to recal many similar instances in the English history, and to suggest the comparison.

There is not any transaction in our history more disputed than the mode by which Henry came to his death. With respect to the accusation against the duke of Gloucester, Mackintosh seems to think that "that the proof of the fact is not proportioned to the atrocity of the accusation." Lingard does not decide, but says, "To satisfy the credulous, it was reported that he had died of grief; but though the conqueror might silence the tongues, he could not confine the belief or the pens of his subjects: and the writers who lived under the next dynasty not only proclaimed the murder, but ascribe the black deed to the advice, if not to the dagger of the younger of the three brothers, Richard, duke of Gloucester." Turner vigorously defends Richard from this atrocity, and endeavours to prove that he was so much engaged on the day on which Henry died, being present at the ceremony of Edward's reception, that it is highly improbable he could have committed a deliberate murder. This objection may remove from him the actual commission, but not the instigation, of the crime. If we are to doubt of the perpetration of so barbarous a deed, because it appears to us too revolting, we argue with very little knowledge or perception of the manners and morals of that age. The men who could murder a prisoner when conducted to their tent, and who were rash and sensual, and were excited with all the fervors of ambition and partizanship, were not very likely to falter at the removal of their last formidable rival: one whom they could not but despise for his gentleness, and fear from his position. Hurried on by their passions, it is not very likely that any of them made any nice distinction between a slaughter in a tent or in a prison. And those who are still inclined to think Henry's sudden death the effect of nature, must own it was one of those opportune circumstances to the victor that very rarely occur.

All the hopes of the house of Lancaster seemed now to be utterly extinguished. Every legitimate prince of the family was dead: almost every great leader of the party had perished in battle or on the scaffold: the earl of Pembroke, who was levying forces in Wales, disbanded his army when he received intelligence of the battle of Tewkesbury; and he fled into Brittany with his nephew, the young earl of Richmond. The bastard of Falconberg, who had levied some forces, and had advanced to London during Edward's absence, was repulsed; his men deserted him: he was taken prisoner, and

immediately executed: and peace being now fully restored to the nation, a parliament was summoned, which ratified, as usual, all the acts of the victor, and recognised his legal authority.

But Edward, who had been so firm, and active, and intrepid, during the course of adversity, was still unable to resist the allurements of a prosperous fortune; and he wholly devoted himself, as before, to pleasure and amusement, after he became entirely master of his kingdom, and had no longer any enemy who could give him anxiety or alarm. He recovered, however, by this gay and inoffensive course of life, and by his easy familiar manners, that popularity which it is natural to imagine he had lost by the repeated cruelties exercised upon his enemies; and the example also of his jovial festivity served to abate the former acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to restore the social disposition which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. All men seemed to be fully satisfied with the present government; and the memory of past calamities served only to impress the people more strongly with a sense of their allegiance, and with the resolution of never incurring any more the hazard of renewing such direful scenes.

But while the king was thus indulging himself in pleasure, he was roused from his lethargy by a prospect of foreign conquests, which it is probable his desire of popularity, more than the spirit of ambition, had made him covet. Though he deemed himself little beholden to the duke of Burgundy for the reception which that prince had given him during his exile, the political interests of their states maintained still a close connexion between them; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion on France. A league was formed, in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding 10,000 men, and to invade the French territories: Charles promised to join him with all his forces: the king was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at least the provinces of Normandy and Guienne: the duke was to acquire Champagne and some other territories, and to free all his dominions from the burthen of homage to the crown of France: and neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other. They were the more encouraged to hope for success from this league, as the count of St. Pol, constable of France, who was master of St. Quentin and other towns on the Somme, had secretly promised to join them; and there were also hopes of engaging the duke of Brittany to enter into the confederacy.

The prospect of a French war was always a sure means of making the parliament open their purses, as far as the habits of that age would permit. They voted the king a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound; which must have been very inaccurately levied, since it produced only 31,460*l.*; and they added to this supply a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another: but as the king deemed these sums still unequal to the undertaking, he attempted to levy money by way of benevolence; a kind of exaction which, except during the reigns of Henry III. and Richard II. had not been much practised in former times, and which, though the consent of the parties was pretended to be gained, could not be deemed entirely voluntary. The clauses annexed to the parliamentary grant show sufficiently the spirit of the nation in this respect. The money levied by the fifteenth was not to be put into the king's hands, but to be kept in religious houses, and if the expedition into France should not take

place, it was immediately to be refunded to the people. After these grants the parliament was dissolved, which had sat near two years and a half, and had undergone several prorogations; a practice not very usual at that time in England.

The king passed over to Calais with an army of 1500 men at arms, and 15,000 archers; attended by all the chief nobility of England, who, prognosticating future successes from the past, were eager to appear on this great theatre of honour. But all their sanguine hopes were damped when they found on entering the French territories, that neither did the constable open his gates to them, nor the duke of Burgundy bring them the smallest assistance. That prince, transported by his ardent temper, had carried all his armies to a great distance, and had employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany, and against the duke of Lorraine: and though he came in person to Edward, and endeavoured to apologise for this breach of treaty, there was no prospect that they would be able this campaign to make a conjunction with the English. This circumstance gave great disgust to the king, and inclined him to hearken to those advances which Lewis continually made him for an accommodation.

That monarch, more swayed by political views than by the point of honour, deemed no submissions too mean, which might free him from enemies who had proved so formidable to his predecessors, and who, united to so many other enemies, might still shake the well-established government of France. It appears from Comines, that discipline was at this time very imperfect among the English: and that their civil wars, though long continued, yet being always decided by hasty battles, had still left them ignorant of the improvements which the military art was beginning to receive on the continent: but as Lewis was sensible that the warlike genius of the people would soon render them excellent soldiers, he was far from despising them for their present want of experience; and he employed all his art to detach them from the alliance of Burgundy. When Edward sent him a herald to claim the crown of France, and to carry him a defiance in case of refusal, so far from answering to this bravado in like haughty terms, he replied with great temper, and even made the herald a considerable present: he took afterwards an opportunity of sending a herald to the English camp; and having given him directions to apply to the Lords Stanley and Howard, who he heard were friends to peace, he desired the good offices of these noblemen in promoting an accommodation with their master. As Edward was now fallen into like dispositions, a truce was soon concluded on terms more advantageous than honourable to Lewis. He stipulated to pay Edward immediately 75,000 crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay him 50,000 crowns a year during their joint lives: It was added, that the dauphin when of age should marry Edward's eldest daughter. In order to ratify this treaty, the two monarchs agreed to have a personal interview; and for that purpose suitable preparations were made at Pecquigni, near Amiens. A close rail was drawn across a bridge in that place, with no larger intervals than would allow the arm to pass; a precaution against a similar accident to that which befell the duke of Burgundy in his conference with the dauphin at Montreau. Edward and Lewis came to the opposite sides; conferred privately together; and having confirmed their friendship, and interchanged many mutual civilities, they soon after parted.

Lewis was anxious not only to gain the king's friendship, but also that of the nation, and of all the considerable persons in the English court. He bestowed pensions, to the amount of 16,000 crowns a-year, on several of the king's favourites; on Lord Hastings 2000 crowns; on Lord Howard and others in proportion; and these great ministers were not ashamed thus to receive wages from a foreign prince. As the two armies, after the conclusion of the truce, remained some time in the neighbourhood of each other, the English were not only admitted freely into Amiens, where Lewis resided, but had also their charges defrayed, and had wine and victuals furnished them in every inn, without any payments being demanded. They flocked thither in such multitudes, that once above nine thousand of them were in the town, and they might have made themselves masters of the king's person; but Lewis concluding, from their jovial and dissolute manner of living, that they had no bad intentions, was careful not to betray the least sign of fear or jealousy. And when Edward, informed of this disorder, desired him to shut the gates against them, he replied, that he would never agree to exclude the English from the place where he resided; but that Edward, if he pleased, might recal them, and place his own officers at the gates of Amiens, to prevent their returning.

Lewis's desire of confirming a mutual amity with England engaged him even to make imprudent advances, which it cost him afterwards some pains to evade. In the conference at Pecquigni, he had said to Edward, that he wished to have a visit from him at Paris; that he would there endeavour to amuse him with the ladies; and that, in case any offences were then committed, he would assign him the cardinal of Bourbon for confessor, who, from fellow-feeling, would not be over and above severe in the penances which he would enjoin. This hint made deeper impression than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him back to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that, if he were so disposed, it would not be impossible to persuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might make merry together. Lewis pretended at first not to hear the offer; but, on Howard's repeating it, he expressed his concern that his wars with the duke of Burgundy would not permit him to attend his royal guest, and do him the honours he intended. "Edward," said he, privately, to Comines, "is a very handsome and a very amorous prince: some lady at Paris may like him as well as he shall do her, and may invite him to return in another manner. It is better that the sea be between us."

This treaty did very little honour to either of these monarchs: it discovered the imprudence of Edward, who had taken his measures so ill with his allies, as to be obliged, after such an expensive armament, to return without making any acquisitions adequate to it: it showed the want of dignity in Lewis, who, rather than run the hazard of a battle, agreed to subject his kingdom to a tribute, and thus acknowledge the superiority of a neighbouring prince, possessed of less power and territory than himself. But, as Lewis made interest the sole test of honour, he thought that all the advantages of the treaty were on his side, and that he had over-reached Edward, by sending him out of France on such easy terms. For this reason he was very solicitous to conceal his triumph; and he strictly enjoined his courtiers never to show the English the least sign of mockery or derision. But he did not himself very carefully observe so prudent a rule: he could not



forbear, one day, in the joy of his heart, throwing out some raillery on the easy simplicity of Edward and his council; when he perceived that he was overheard by a Gascon who had settled in England. He was immediately sensible of his indiscretion: sent a message to the gentleman; and offered him such advantages in his own country, as engaged him to remain in France "It is but just," said he, "that I pay the penalty of my talkativeness."

The most honourable part of Lewis's treaty with Edward, was the stipulation for the liberty of Queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her husband and son, she could no longer be formidable to government, was still detained in custody by Edward. Lewis paid 50,000 crowns for her ransom; and that princess, who had been so active on the stage of the world, and who had experienced such a variety of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when she died: an admirable princess, but more illustrious by her undaunted spirit in adversity, than by her moderation in prosperity. She seems neither to have enjoyed the virtues, nor been subject to the weaknesses, of her sex: and was as much tainted with the ferocity as endowed with the courage of the barbarous age in which she lived.

Though Edward had so little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he reserved to that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Pecquigni: but Charles, when the offer was made him, haughtily replied, that he was able to support himself without the assistance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after Edward's return into his own country. This prince possessed all the ambition and courage of a conqueror; but, being defective in policy and prudence, qualities no less essential, he was unfortunate in all his enterprises, and perished at last in battle against the Swiss—a people whom he despised, and who, though brave and free, had hitherto been in a manner overlooked in the general system of Europe. This event, which happened in the year 1477, produced a great alteration in the views of all the princes, and was attended with consequences which were felt for many generations. Charles left only one daughter, Mary, by his first wife; and this princess being heir of his opulent and extensive dominions, was courted by all the potentates of Christendom, who contended for the possession of so rich a prize. Lewis, the head of her family, might, by a proper application, have obtained this match for the dauphin, and have thereby united to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy, which would at once have rendered his kingdom an overmatch for all its neighbours. But a man wholly interested in as rare as one entirely endowed with the opposite quality; and Lewis, though impregnable to all the sentiments of generosity and friendship, was, on this occasion, carried from the road of true policy by the passions of animosity and revenge. He had imbibed so deep a hatred to the house of Burgundy, that he rather chose to subdue the princess by arms, than unite her to his family by marriage: he conquered the duchy of Burgundy, and that part of Picardy which had been ceded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras: but he thereby forced the states of the Netherlands to bestow their sovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederick, from whom they looked for protection in their present distresses: and by these means France lost

the opportunity, which she never could recal, of making that important acquisition of power and territory.

During this interesting crisis, Edward was no less defective in policy, and was no less actuated by private passions, unworthy of a sovereign and a statesman. Jealousy of his brother Clarence had caused him to neglect the advances which were made of marrying that prince, now a widower, to the heiress of Burgundy; and he sent her proposals of espousing Anthony earl of Rivers, brother to his queen, who still retained an entire ascendant over him. But the match was rejected with disdain; and Edward, resenting this treatment of his brother-in-law, permitted France to proceed without interruption in her conquests over his defenceless ally. Any pretence sufficed him for abandoning himself entirely to indolence and pleasure, which were now become his ruling passions. The only object which divided his attention, was the improving of the public revenue, which had been dilapidated by the necessities or negligence of his predecessors; and some of his expedients for that purpose, though unknown to us, were deemed, during the time, oppressive to the people. The detail of private wrongs naturally escapes the notice of history; but an act of tyranny, of which Edward was guilty in his own family, has been taken notice of by all writers, and has met with general and deserved censure.

The duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He was still regarded at court as a man of a dangerous and a fickle character; and the imprudent openness and violence of his temper, though it rendered him much less dangerous, tended extremely to multiply his enemies, and to incense them against him. Among others, he had the misfortune to give displeasure to the queen herself, as well as to his brother the duke of Gloucester, a prince of the deepest policy, of the most unrelenting ambition, and the least scrupulous in the means which he employed for the attainment of his ends. A combination between these potent adversaries being secretly formed against Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends; in hopes, that if he patiently endured this injury, his pusillanimity would dishonour him in the eyes of the public; if he made resistance, and expressed resentment, his passion would betray him into measures which might give them advantages against him. The king, hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet of Arrow, in Warwickshire, had killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner; and Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised the king to commit that insult upon him. This natural expression of resentment, which would have been overlooked or forgotten had it fallen from any other person, was rendered criminal and capital in that gentleman, by the friendship in which he had the misfortune to live with the duke of Clarence: he was tried for his life; the judges and jury were found servile enough to condemn him; and he was publicly beheaded at Tyburn for this pretended offence. About the same time, one John Stacey, an ecclesiastic, much connected with the duke, as well as with Burdet, was exposed to a like iniquitous and barbarous prosecution. This clergyman, being more learned in mathematics and astronomy than was usual in that age, lay under the imputation of re-

cromancy with the ignorant vulgar; and the court laid hold of this popular rumour to effect his destruction. He was brought to his trial for that imaginary crime; many of the greatest peers countenanced the prosecution by their presence; he was condemned, put to the torture, and executed.

The duke of Clarence was alarmed when he found these acts of tyranny exercised on all around him: he reflected on the fate of the good duke of Gloucester in the last reign, who, after seeing the most infamous pretences employed for the destruction of his nearest connexions, at last fell himself a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. But Clarence, instead of securing his own life against the present danger by silence and reserve, was open and loud in justifying the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming against the iniquity of their prosecutors. The king, highly offended with his freedom, or using that pretence against him, committed him to the Tower, summoned a parliament, and tried him for his life before the house of peers, the supreme tribunal of the nation.

The duke was accused of arraigning public justice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature; and of inveighing against the iniquity of the king, who had given orders for their prosecution. Many rash expressions were imputed to him, and some too reflecting on Edward's legitimacy; but he was not accused of any overt act of treason; and even the truth of these speeches may be doubted of, since the liberty of judgment was taken from the court, by the king's appearing personally as his brother's accuser, and pleading the cause against him. But a sentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumstance had not place, was a necessary consequence in those times of any prosecution by the court or the prevailing party; and the duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the peers. The house of commons was no less slavish and unjust: they both petitioned for the execution of the duke, and afterwards passed a bill of attainder against him. The measures of the parliament, during that age, furnish us with examples of a strange contrast of freedom and servility: they scruple to grant, and sometimes refuse, to the king the smallest supplies, the most necessary for the support of government, even the most necessary for the maintenance of wars for which the nation, as well as the parliament itself, expressed great fondness: but they never scruple to concur in the most flagrant act of injustice or tyranny which falls on an individual, however distinguished by birth or merit. These maxims, so ungenerous, so opposite to all principles of good government, are very remarkable in all the transactions of the English history for more than a century after the period in which we are now engaged.

Lingard says, "Edward disapproved of a public exhibition. About ten days later it was announced that the duke had died in the Tower. The manner of his death has never been ascertained; but a silly report has been circulated that he had been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine."

The duke left two children by the elder daughter of the earl of Warwick—a son, created an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards countess of Salisbury. Both this prince and princess were also unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death; a fate which for many years attended almost all the descendants of the royal blood in England. There prevails a report, that a chief source of the violent prosecution of the duke of Clarence,

whose name was George, was a current prophesy, that the king's son should be murdered by one, the initial letter of whose name was G. It is not impossible but, in those ignorant times, such a silly reason might have some influence: but it is more probable, that the whole story is the invention of a subsequent period, and founded on the murder of these children by the duke of Gloucester. Comines remarks, that, at that time, the English never were without some superstitious prophesy or other, by which they accounted for every event.

All the glories of Edward's reign terminated with the civil wars; where his laurels too were extremely sullied with blood, violence, and cruelty. His spirit seems afterwards to have been sunk in indolence and pleasure, or his measures were frustrated by imprudence and the want of foresight. There was no object on which he was more intent than to have all his daughters settled by splendid marriages, though most of these princesses were yet in their infancy, and though the completion of his views, it was obvious, must depend on numberless accidents, which were impossible to be seen or prevented. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was contracted to the dauphin; his second, Cicely, to the eldest son of James III., king of Scotland; his third, Anne, to Philip only son of Maximilian and the duchess of Burgundy; his fourth, Catharine, to John son and heir to Ferdinand, king of Arragon, and Isabella, queen of Castile. None of these projected marriages took place; and the king himself saw, in his lifetime, the rupture of the first, that with the dauphin, for which he had always discovered a peculiar fondness. Lewis, who paid no regard to treaties or engagements, found his advantage in contracting the dauphin to the Princess Margaret, daughter of Maximilian; and the king, notwithstanding his indolence, prepared to revenge the indignity. The French monarch, eminent for prudence as well as perfidy, endeavoured to guard against the blow; and by a proper distribution of presents in the court of Scotland, he incited James to make war upon England. This prince, who lived on bad terms with his own nobility, and whose force was very unequal to the enterprise, levied an army; but when he was ready to enter England, the barons, conspiring against his favourites, put them to death without trial; and the army presently disbanded. The duke of Gloucester, attended by the duke of Albany, James's brother, who had been banished his country, entered Scotland at the head of an army, took Berwick, and obliged the Scots to accept of a peace, by which they resigned that fortress to Edward. This success emboldened the king to think more seriously of a French war; but while he was making preparations for that enterprise, he was seized with a distemper, of which he expired in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Lingard says, "whether it were owing to the agitation of his mind, or to the debaucheries in which he indulged, a slight ailment, which had been treated with neglect, suddenly exhibited the most dangerous symptoms. He spent the few days preceding his death in the exercises of religion, and directed that out of the treasures which he should leave behind him, full restitution should be made to all whom he had wronged, or from whom he had extorted money under the name of benevolence. He expired in the twenty-first year of his reign." All other historians make it, with Hume, the twenty-third, and as he was first crowned on the 22d June, 1461, it is the most correct statement. We sup-



pose Dr. Lingard does not esteem him to have been actually invested with the royal authority until two years later. He thus draws his character.

"Edward is said to have been the most accomplished, and till he grew too unwieldy, the most handsome man of the age. The love of pleasure was his ruling passion. Few princes have been more magnificent in their dress, or more licentious in their amours: few have indulged more freely in the luxuries of the table. But such pursuits often interfered with his duties, and at last incapacitated him for active exertion. Even in youth, while he was fighting for the throne, he was always the last to join his adherents: and in manhood, when he was firmly seated on it, he entirely abandoned the charge of military affairs to his brother the duke of Gloucester. To the chief supporters of the opposite party he was cruel and unforgiving: the blood which he shed intimidated his friends no less than his foes: and both lords and commons during his reign, instead of contending like their predecessors for the establishment of rights and the abolition of grievances, made it their principal study to gratify the royal pleasure. He was as suspicious as he was cruel. Every officer of government, every steward on his manors and farms, was employed as a spy on the conduct of all round him: they regularly made to the king reports of the state of the neighbourhood; and such was the fidelity of his memory, that it was difficult to mention an individual of any consequence, even in the most distant counties, with whose character, history, and influence he was not accurately acquainted. Hence every project of opposition to his government was suppressed almost as soon as it was formed: and Edward might have promised himself a long and prosperous reign, had not continued indulgence enervated his constitution, and sown the seeds of that malady, which consigned him to the grave in the 41st year of his age. He was buried with the usual pomp in the new chapel at Windsor.

"Immediately after his death he was exposed on a board, naked from the waist upwards, during ten hours, that he might be seen by all the lords spiritual and temporal and by the mayor and aldermen.

"The king left two sons, Edward in his twelfth year (13th, as he was born on the 14th November, 1470), who succeeded him, and Richard in his eleventh (according to all other historians his ninth) duke of York and earl marshal. This young prince (Edward V.) had been married in his fifth year to Anne, the daughter and heiress of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and thus became entitled to the immense estates of that nobleman. Five of Edward's daughters survived him. Of these, four, whom he had so anxiously laboured to place on foreign thrones, found husbands in England. Elizabeth, contracted to the dauphin, was married to Henry VII.; Cicely, the destined wife of the prince of Scotland, to the viscount Wells; Anne, who had been promised to Philip of Burgundy, to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk; and Catherine, the expected bride of the infant of Spain, to William Courtenay, earl of Devonshire. Bridget became a nun in the convent of Dartford." He had one son named George, and two daughters, who died in their infancy. Hume sums up his character by saying, he was, "a prince more splendid and showy than either prudent or virtuous; brave, though cruel; addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; and less fitted to pre-

vent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them after they took place, by his vigour and enterprise."

## CHAP. XXVII.

### EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III.

*Edward V.—State of the court—The earl of Rivers arrested—Duke of Gloucester protector—Execution of Lord Hastings—The protector aims at the crown—Assumes the crown—Murder of Edward V. and of the duke of York—Richard III.—Duke of Buckingham discontented—The earl of Richmond—Buckingham executed—Invasion of the earl of Richmond—Battle of Bosworth—Death and character of Richard III.*

### EDWARD V.

DURING the latter years of Edward IV., the nation having in a great measure forgotten the bloody feuds between the two roses, and peaceably acquiescing in the established government, was agitated only by some court intrigues, which, being restrained by the authority of the king, seemed nowise to endanger the public tranquillity. These intrigues arose from the perpetual rivalry between two parties; one consisting of the queen and her relations, particularly the earl of Rivers, her brother, and the marquis of Dorset, her son; the other composed of the ancient nobility, who envied the sudden growth and unlimited credit of that aspiring family. At the head of this latter party was the duke of Buckingham, a man of very noble birth, of ample possessions, of great alliances, of shining parts; who though he had married the queen's sister, was too haughty to act in subserviency to her inclinations, and aimed rather at maintaining an independent influence and authority. Lord Hastings, the chamberlain, was another leader of the same party; and as this nobleman had, by his bravery and activity, as well as by his approved fidelity, acquired the confidence and favour of his master, he had been able, though with some difficulty, to support himself against the credit of the queen. The Lords Howard and Stanley maintained a connexion with these two noblemen, and brought a considerable accession of influence and reputation to their party. All the other barons who had no particular dependence on the queen adhered to the same interest; and the people in general, from their natural envy against the prevailing power, bore great favour to the cause of these noblemen.

But Edward knew, that though he himself had been able to overawe those rival factions, many disorders might arise from their contests during the minority of his son; and he therefore took care, in his last illness, to summon together several of the leaders on both sides, and, by composing their ancient quarrels, to provide, as far as possible, for the future tranquillity of the government. After expressing his intentions that his brother the duke of Gloucester, then absent in the north, should be entrusted with the regency, he recommended to them peace and unanimity during the tender years of his son; represented to them the dangers which must attend the continuance of their animosities; and engaged them to embrace each other with all the appearance of the most cordial reconciliation. But this temporary or feigned agreement lasted no longer than the king's life: he had no sooner expired,



Edward V.

EDWARD V.





than the jealousies of the parties broke out afresh: and each of them applied, by separate messages, to the duke of Gloucester, and endeavoured to acquire his favour and friendship.

This prince, during his brother's reign, had endeavoured to live on good terms with both parties; and his high birth, his extensive abilities, and his great services, had enabled him to support himself without falling into a dependence on either. But the new situation of affairs, when the supreme power was devolved upon him, immediately changed his measures; and he secretly determined to preserve no longer that neutrality which he had hitherto maintained. His exorbitant ambition, unrestrained by any principle either of justice or humanity, made him carry his views to the possession of the crown itself; and as this object could not be attained without the ruin of the queen and her family, he fell, without hesitation, into concert with the opposite party. But being sensible, that the most profound dissimulation was requisite for effecting his criminal purposes, he redoubled his professions of zeal and attachment to that princess; and he gained such credit with her, as to influence her conduct in a point, which, as it was of the utmost importance, was violently disputed between the opposite factions.

The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales; whither he had been sent, that the influence of his presence might overawe the Welch, and restore the tranquillity of that country, which had been disturbed by some late commotions. His person was committed to the care of his uncle the earl of Rivers, the most accomplished nobleman in England, who, having united an uncommon taste for literature to great abilities in business and valour in the field, was entitled, by his talents, still more than by nearness of blood, to direct the education of the young monarch. The queen, anxious to preserve that ascendancy over her son which she had long maintained over her husband, wrote to the earl of Rivers, that he should levy a body of forces, in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of their enemies. The opposite faction, sensible that Edward was now of an age when great advantages could be made of his name and countenance, and was approaching to the age when he would be legally entitled to exert in person his authority, foresaw, that the tendency of this measure was to perpetuate their subjection under their rivals: and they vehemently opposed a resolution which they represented as the signal for renewing a civil war in the kingdom. Lord Hastings threatened to depart instantly to his government of Calais: the other nobles seemed resolute to oppose force by force; and as the duke of Gloucester, on pretence of pacifying the quarrel, had declared against all appearance of an armed power, which might be dangerous, and as now necessary, the queen, trusting to the sincerity of his friendship, and overawed by so violent an opposition, recalled her orders to her brother, and desired him to bring up no greater retinue than should be necessary to support the state and dignity of the young sovereign.

The duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. When he reached Northampton, he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was also attended by a splendid retinue; and as he heard that the king was hourly expected on that road, he

resolved to wait his arrival, under colour of conducting him thence in person to London. The earl of Rivers, apprehensive that the place would be too narrow to contain so many attendants, sent his pupil forward by another road to Stony-Stratford; and came himself to Northampton, in order to apologise for this measure, and to pay his respects to the duke of Gloucester. He was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality: he passed the evening in an amicable manner with Gloucester and Buckingham: he proceeded on the road with them next day to join the king: but as he was entering Stony-Stratford, he was arrested by orders from the duke of Gloucester: Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's sons, was at the same time put under a guard, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable office in the king's household; and all the prisoners were instantly conducted to Pomfret. Gloucester approached the young prince with the greatest demonstrations of respect, and endeavoured to satisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother: but Edward, much attached to these near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not such a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeasure.

The people, however, were extremely rejoiced at this revolution; and the duke was received in London with the loudest acclamations: but the queen no sooner heard of her brother's imprisonment, than she foresaw that Gloucester's violence would not stop there, and that her own ruin, if not that of all her children, was finally determined. She therefore fled into the Sanctuary of Westminster, attended by the marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the duke of York. She trusted that the ecclesiastical privileges which had formerly, during the total ruin of her husband and family, given her protection against the fury of the Lancastrian faction, would not now be violated by her brother-in-law, while her son was on the throne; and she resolved to await there the return of better fortune. But Gloucester, anxious to have the duke of York in his power, proposed to take him by force from the sanctuary; and he represented to the privy-council, both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehensions, and the necessity of the young prince's appearance at the ensuing coronation of his brother. It was farther urged, that ecclesiastical privileges were originally intended only to give protection to unhappy men persecuted for their debts or crimes; and were entirely useless to a person who, by reason of his tender age, could lie under the burthen of neither, and who for the same reason, was utterly incapable of claiming security from any sanctuary. But the two archbishops, cardinal Bouchier the primate, and Rotherham, archbishop of York, protesting against the sacrilege of this measure, it was agreed, that they should first endeavour to bring the queen to compliance by persuasion, before any violence should be employed against her. These prelates were persons of known integrity and honour; and being themselves entirely persuaded of the duke's good intentions, they employed every argument, accompanied with earnest entreaties, exhortations and assurances, to bring her over to the same opinion. She long continued obstinate, and insisted that the duke of York, by living in the sanctuary, was not only secure himself, but gave security to the king, whose life no one would dare to attempt, while his successor and avenger remained in safety. But finding that none supported



her in these sentiments, and that force, in case of refusal, was threatened by the council, she at last complied, and produced her son to the two prelates. She was here on a sudden struck with a kind of pre-sage of his future fate. She tenderly embraced him; she bedewed him with her tears; and bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him, with many expressions of regret and reluctance, into their custody.

The duke of Gloucester, being the nearest male of the royal family capable of exercising the government, seemed intitled, by the customs of the realm, to the office of protector; and the council, not waiting for the consent of parliament, made no scruple of investing him with that high dignity. The general prejudice entertained by the nobility against the queen and her kindred, occasioned this precipitation and irregularity; and no one foresaw any danger to the succession, much less to the lives of the young princes, from a measure so obvious and so natural. Besides that the duke had hitherto been able to cover, by the most profound dissimulation, his fierce and savage nature; the numerous issue of Edward, together with the two children of Clarence, seemed to be an eternal obstacle to his ambition; and it appeared equally impracticable for him to destroy so many persons possessed of a preferable title, and imprudent to exclude them. But a man who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was soon carried by his predominant passion beyond the reach of fear or precaution; and Gloucester, having so far succeeded in his views, no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of the earl of Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained in Pomfret, was first determined; and he easily obtained the consent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of Lord Hastings, to this violent and sanguinary measure. However easy it was in those times, to procure a sentence against the most innocent person, it appeared still more easy to dispatch an enemy, without any trial or form of process; and orders were accordingly issued to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper instrument in the hands of this tyrant, to cut off the heads of the prisoners. The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of swaying a vicious mind, which knew no motive of action but interest and ambition. He represented that the execution of persons so nearly related to the king, whom that prince so openly professed to love, and whose fate he so much resented, would never pass unpunished; and all the actors in that scene were bound in prudence to prevent the effects of his future vengeance: that it would be impossible to keep the queen for ever at a distance from her son, and equally impossible to prevent her from instilling into his tender mind the thoughts of retaliating, by like executions, the sanguinary insults committed on her family: that the only method of obviating these mischiefs was to put the sceptre into the hands of a man of whose friendship the duke might be assured, and whose years and experience taught him to pay respect to merit, and to the rights of ancient nobility: and that the same necessity which had carried them so far in resisting the usurpation of these intruders, must justify them in attempting farther innovations, and in making, by national consent, a new settlement of the succession. To these reasons he added the offers of great private advantages to the duke of Buckingham; and he easily obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises.

The duke of Gloucester knowing the importance

of gaining Lord Hastings, sounded at a distance his sentiments, by means of Catesby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with that nobleman, but found him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with his friendship. He saw, therefore, that there were no longer any measures to be kept with him; and he determined to ruin utterly the man whom he despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpation. On the very day when Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan, were executed, or rather murdered, at Pomfret, by the advice of Hastings, the protector summoned a council in the Tower; whither that nobleman, suspecting no design against him, repaired without hesitation. The duke of Gloucester was capable of committing the most bloody and treacherous murders with the utmost coolness and indifference. On taking his place at the council-table, he appeared in the easiest and most jovial humour imaginable. He seemed to indulge himself in familiar conversation with the counsellors, before they should enter on business; and having paid some compliments to Morton, bishop of Ely, on the good and early strawberries which he raised in his garden at Holborn, he begged the favour of having a dish of them, which that prelate immediately despatched a servant to bring to him. The protector then left the council, as if called away by some other business; but soon after returning with an angry and inflamed countenance, he asked them what punishment those deserved that had plotted against his life, who was so nearly related to the king, and was entrusted with the administration of government? Hastings replied, that they merited the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his mistress, with others their associates: see to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft." Upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. But the counsellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all Lord Hastings, who, as he had since Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally anxious concerning the issue of these extraordinary proceedings. "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they be guilty of these crimes they deserve the severest punishment." "And do you reply to me," exclaimed the protector, "with your ifs and your ands? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: you are yourself a traitor: and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought to me." He struck the table with his hand: armed men rushed in at the signal: the counsellors were thrown into the utmost consternation: and one of the guards, as if by accident or mistake, aimed a blow with a pole-axe at Lord Stanley, who, aware of the danger, slunk under the table; and though he saved his life, received a severe wound in the head in the protector's presence. Hastings was seized, hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a timber log which lay in the court of the Tower. Two hours after, a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and apologising to them, from the suddenness of the discovery, for the sudden execution of that nobleman, who was very popular among them: but the saying of a merchant was much talked of on the occasion, who remarked, that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the spirit of prophesy.

Sir Thomas More, who has been followed, or ra-

ther transcribed, by all the historians of this short reign, says, that Jane Shore had fallen into connexions with Lord Hastings; and this account agrees best with the course of events: but in a proclamation of Richard's, to be found in Rymer, the marquis of Dorset is reproached with these connexions. This reproach, however, might have been invented by Richard, or founded only on popular rumour; and is not sufficient to overbalance the authority of Sir Thomas More. The proclamation is remarkable for the hypocritical purity of manners affected by Richard: this bloody and treacherous tyrant upbraids the marquis and others with their gallantries and intrigues as the most terrible enormities.

Lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and other counsellors, were committed prisoners in different chambers of the Tower: and the protector, in order to carry on the farce of his accusations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized; and he summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. But as no proofs which could be received even in that ignorant age were produced against her, he directed her to be tried in the spiritual court for her adulteries and lewdness: and she did penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's, before the whole people. This lady was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to a substantial citizen; but unhappily, views of interest, more than the maid's inclinations, had been consulted in the match, and her mind, though framed for virtue, had proved unable to resist the allurements of Edward, who solicited her favours. But while seduced from her duty by this gay and amorous monarch, she still made herself respectable by her other virtues; and the ascendant which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him, was all employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was still forward to oppose calumny, to protect the oppressed, to relieve the indigent; and her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, never waited the solicitation of presents, or the hope of reciprocal services. But she lived not only to feel the bitterness of shame imposed on her, by this tyrant, but to experience in old age and poverty the ingratitude of those courtiers who had long solicited her friendship, and been protected by her credit. No one, among the great multitudes whom she had obliged, had the humanity to bring her consolation or relief: she languished out her life in solitude and indigence; and amidst a court, inured to the most atrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman justified all violations of friendship towards her, and all neglect of former obligations.

These acts of violence, exercised against all the nearest connexions of the late king, prognosticated the severest fate to his defenceless children; and after the murder of Hastings, the protector no longer made a secret of his intentions to usurp the crown. The licentious life of Edward, who was not restrained in his pleasures either by honour or prudence, afforded a pretence for declaring his marriage with the queen invalid, and all his posterity illegitimate. It was asserted, that before espousing the Lady Elizabeth Gray, he had paid court to the Lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury; and being repulsed by the virtue of that lady, he was obliged, ere he could gratify his desires, to consent to a private marriage, without any witnesses, by Stillington, bishop of Bath, who afterwards divulged the secret. It was also maintained, that the act of attainder passed against the duke of Clarence had

virtually incapacitated his children from succeeding to the crown; and these two families being set aside, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the house of York. But as it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove the preceding marriage of the late king; and as the rule which excludes the heirs of an attainted blood from private succession was never extended to the crown; the protector resolved to make use of another plea still more shameful and scandalous. His partisans were taught to maintain, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence were illegitimate; that the duchess of York had received different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of these children; that their resemblance to those gallants was a sufficient proof of their spurious birth; and that the duke of Gloucester alone, of all her sons, appeared by his features and countenance to be the true offspring of the duke of York. Nothing can be imagined more impudent than this assertion, which threw so foul an imputation on his own mother, a princess of irreproachable virtue, and then alive; yet the place chosen for first promulgating it was the pulpit before a large congregation, and in the protector's presence. Dr. Shaw was appointed to preach in St. Paul's; and having chosen this passage for his text, "Bastards lips shall not thrive;" he enlarged on all the topics which could discredit the birth of Edward IV., the duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out in a panegyric on the duke of Gloucester; and exclaimed, "Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the house of York; bearing, no less in the virtues of his mind, than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favourite: he alone is entitled to your allegiance: he must deliver you from the dominion of all intruders: he alone can restore the lost glory and honour of the nation." It was previously concerted, that as the doctor should pronounce these words, the duke of Gloucester should enter the church; and it was expected that the audience would cry out "God save King Richard!" which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation: but by a ridiculous mistake, worthy of the whole scene, the duke did not appear till after this exclamation was already recited by the preacher. The doctor was therefore obliged to repeat his rhetorical figure out of its proper place: the audience, less from the absurd conduct of his discourse, than from their detestation of these proceedings, kept a profound silence: and the protector and his preacher were equally abashed at the ill-success of their stratagem.

But the duke was too far advanced to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. A new expedient was tried to work on the people. The mayor, who was brother to Doctor Shaw, and entirely in the protector's interests, called an assembly of the citizens, where the duke of Buckingham, who possessed some talents for eloquence, harangued them on the protector's title to the crown, and displayed those numerous virtues of which he pretended that prince was possessed. He next asked them whether they would have the duke for king? and then stopped, in expectation of hearing the cry, "God save King Richard!" He was surprised to observe them silent, and, turning about to the mayor, asked him the reason. The mayor replied, that perhaps they did not understand him. Buckingham then repeated his discourse with some variation; enforced the same



topics, asked the same question, and was received with the same silence. "I now see the cause," said the mayor; "the citizens are not accustomed to be harangued by any but their recorder, and know not how to answer a person of your grace's quality." The recorder, Fitz-Williams, was then commanded to repeat the substance of the duke's speech; but the man, who was averse to the office, took care, throughout his whole discourse, to have it understood that he spoke nothing of himself, and that he only conveyed to them the sense of the duke of Buckingham. Still the audience kept a profound silence: "This is wonderful obstinacy," cried the duke: "express your meaning, my friends, one way or other: when we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The lords and commons have sufficient authority, without your consent, to appoint a king: but I require you here to declare, in plain terms, whether or not you will have the duke of Gloucester for your sovereign?" After all these efforts, some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's servants, raised a feeble cry, "God save King Richard!" The sentiments of the nation were now sufficiently declared: the voice of the people was the voice of God: and Buckingham, with the mayor, hastened to Baynard's castle, where the protector then resided, that they might make him a tender of the crown.

When Richard was told that a great multitude was in the court, he refused to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehensive for his personal safety; a circumstance taken notice of by Buckingham, who observed to the citizens that the prince was ignorant of the whole design. At last he was persuaded to step forth, but he still kept at some distance; and he asked the meaning of their intrusion and importunity. Buckingham told him that the nation was resolved to have him for king: the protector declared his purpose of maintaining his loyalty to the present sovereign, and exhorted them to adhere to the same resolution. He was told that the people had determined to have another prince; and if he rejected their unanimous voice, they must look out for one who would be more compliant. This argument was too powerful to be resisted: he was prevailed on to accept of the crown: and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and rightful sovereign.

This ridiculous farce was soon after followed by a scene truly tragical—the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but this gentleman, who had sentiments of honour, refused to have any hand in the infamous office. The tyrant then sent for Sir James Tyrel, who promised obedience; and he ordered Brakenbury to resign to this gentleman the keys and government of the Tower for one night. Tyrel choosing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and, sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission, while he himself staid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. These circumstances were all confessed by the actors in the following reign; and they were never punished for the crime; probably, because Henry, whose maxims of government were extremely arbitrary,

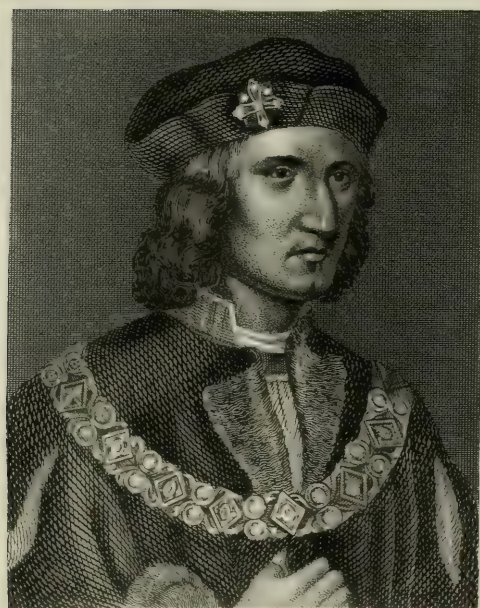
desired to establish it as a principle, that the commands of the reigning sovereign ought to justify every enormity in those who paid obedience to them. But there is one circumstance not so easy to be accounted for. It is pretended that Richard, displeased with the indecent manner of burying his nephews, whom he had murdered, gave his chaplain orders to dig up the bodies, and to inter them in consecrated ground; and as the man died soon after, the place of their burial remained unknown, and the bodies could never be found by any search which Henry could make for them. Yet, in the reign of Charles II., when there was occasion to remove some stones, and to dig in the very spot which was mentioned as the place of their first interment, the bones of two persons were there found, which by their size exactly corresponded to the age of Edward and his brother: they were concluded with certainty to be the remains of those princes, and were interred under a marble monument, by orders of King Charles. Perhaps Richard's chaplain had died before he found an opportunity of executing his master's commands; and the bodies being supposed to be already removed, a diligent search was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been buried.

The murder of the princes has been a subject much canvassed by historians: to use the words of Sir James Mackintosh, it "has become the subject of historical controversy, rather as an exercise of paradoxical ingenuity, than on account of any uncertainty which attended the events."

### RICHARD III.

THE first acts of Richard's administration were, to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in usurping the crown, and to gain by favours those whom he thought were best able to support his future government. Thomas Lord Howard was created duke of Norfolk; Sir Thomas Howard his son, earl of Surrey; Lord Lovel a viscount by the same name: even Lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household. This nobleman had become obnoxious by his first opposition to Richard's views, and also by his marrying the countess dowager of Richmond, heir of the Somerset family; but, sensible of the necessity of submitting to the present government, he feigned such zeal for Richard's service, that he was received into favour, and even found means to be entrusted with the most important commands by that politic and jealous tyrant.

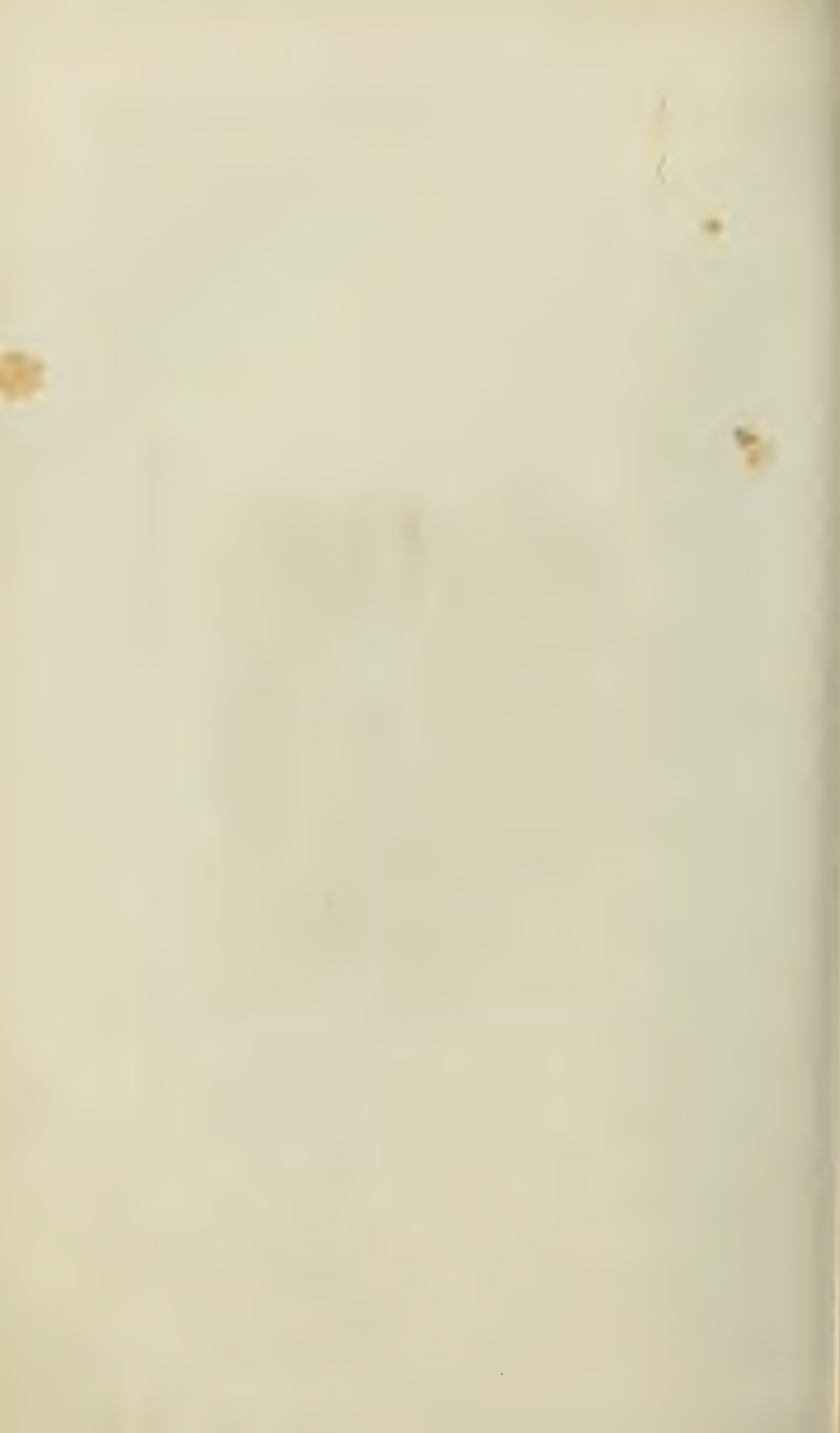
But the person who, both from the greatness of his services, and the power and splendour of his family, was best entitled to favours under the new government, was the duke of Buckingham; and Richard seemed determined to spare no pains or bounty in securing him to his interests. Buckingham was descended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard II., and by this pedigree he not only was allied to the royal family, but had claims for dignities as well as estates of a very extensive nature. The duke of Gloucester, and Henry earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IVth, had married the two daughters and coheirs of Bohun, earl of Hereford, one of the greatest of the ancient barons, whose immense property came thus to be divided into two shares. One was inherited by the family of Buckingham; the other was united to the crown by the house of Lancaster, and, after the attainder of that royal line, was seized as legally devolved to them by the sovereigns of the house of York. The duke of Buckingham laid hold of the



From a manuscript.

RICHARD III.





present opportunity, and claimed the restitution of that portion of the Hereford estate which had escheated to the crown, as well as of the great office of constable, which had long continued by inheritance in his ancestors of that family. Richard readily complied with these demands, which were probably the price stipulated to Buckingham for his assistance in promoting the usurpation. That nobleman was invested with the office of constable; he received a grant of the estate of Hereford; many other dignities and honours were conferred upon him; and the king thought himself sure of preserving the fidelity of a man whose interest seemed so closely connected with those of the present government.

But it was impossible that friendship could long remain inviolate between two men of such corrupt minds as Richard and the duke of Buckingham. Historians ascribe their first rupture to the king's refusal of making restitution of the Hereford estate; but it is certain, from records, that he passed a grant for that purpose, and that the full demands of Buckingham were satisfied in this particular. Perhaps Richard was soon sensible of the danger which might ensue from conferring such an immense property on a man of so turbulent a disposition, and afterwards raised difficulties about the execution of his own grant: perhaps he refused some other demands of Buckingham, whom he found it impossible to gratify for his past services: perhaps he resolved, according to the usual maxim of politicians, to seize the first opportunity of ruining this powerful subject, who had been the principal instrument of his own elevation; and the discovery of this intention begat the first discontent in the duke of Buckingham. However this may be, it is certain that the duke, soon after Richard's accession, began to form a conspiracy against the government, and attempted to overthrow that usurpation which he himself had so zealously contributed to establish.

Never was there in any country an usurpation more flagrant than that of Richard, nor more repugnant to every principle of justice and public interest. His claim was entirely founded on impudent allegations, never attempted to be proved, some of them incapable of proof, and all of them implying scandalous reflections on his own family, and on the persons with whom he was the most nearly connected. His title was never acknowledged by any national assembly, scarcely even by the lowest populace to whom he appealed; and it had become prevalent, merely for want of some person of distinction who might stand forth against him, and give a voice to those sentiments of general detestation which arose in every bosom. Were men disposed to pardon these violations of public right, the sense of private and domestic duty, which is not to be effaced in the most barbarous times, must have begotten an abhorrence against him; and have represented the murder of the young and innocent princes, his nephews, with whose protection he had been entrusted, in the most odious colours imaginable. To endure such a bloody usurper seemed to draw disgrace upon the nation, and to be attended with immediate danger to every individual who was distinguished by birth, merit, or services. Such was become the general voice of the people; all parties were united in the same sentiments; and the Lancastrians, so long oppressed, and of late so much discredited, felt their blighted hopes again revive, and anxiously expected the consequences of these extraordinary events. The duke of Buckingham, whose family had been devoted to that interest, and

who by his mother, a daughter of Edmund duke of Somerset, was allied to the house of Lancaster, was easily induced to espouse the cause of this party, and to endeavour the restoring of it to its ancient superiority. Morton, bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, whom the king had imprisoned, and had afterwards committed to the custody of Buckingham, encouraged these sentiments; and by his exhortations the duke cast his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, as the only person who could free the nation from the tyranny of the present usurper.

Henry earl of Richmond was at this time detained in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Brittany; and his descent, which seemed to give him some pretensions to the crown, had been a great object of jealousy both in the late and in the present reign. John the first duke of Somerset, who was grandson of John of Gaunt, by a spurious branch, but legitimated by act of parliament, had left only one daughter, Margaret; and his younger brother Edmund had succeeded him in his titles, and in a considerable part of his fortune. Margaret had espoused Edmund earl of Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI. the son of Sir Owen Tudor and Catherine of France relict of Henry V., and she bore him only one son, who received the name of Henry, and who, after his father's death, inherited the honours and fortune of Richmond. His mother, being a widow, had espoused in second marriage, Sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Buckingham, and after the death of that gentleman, had married Lord Stanley; but had no children by either of these husbands; and her son Henry was thus, in the event of her death, the sole heir of all her fortunes. But this was not the most considerable advantage which he had reason to expect from her succession: he would represent the elder branch of the house of Somerset; he would inherit all the title of that family to the crown; and though its claim, while any legitimate branch existed of the house of Lancaster, had always been much disregarded, the zeal of faction, after the death of Henry VI. and the murder of prince Edward, immediately conferred a weight and consideration upon it.

Edward IV. finding that all the Lancastrians had turned their attention towards the young earl of Richmond as the object of their hopes, thought him also worthy of his attention; and pursued him into his retreat in Brittany, whither his uncle the earl of Pembroke had carried him after the battle of Tewkesbury, so fatal to his party. He applied to Francis II. duke of Brittany, who was his ally, a weak but a good prince; and urged him to deliver up this fugitive, who might be the source of future disturbances in England: but the duke, averse to so dishonourable a proposal, would only consent that, for the security of Edward, the young nobleman should be detained in custody; and he received an annual pension from England for the safe keeping or subsistence of his prisoner: but towards the end of Edward's reign, when the kingdom was menaced with a war both from France and Scotland, the anxieties of the English court with regard to Henry were much increased; and Edward made a new proposal to the duke, which covered under the fairest appearances the most bloody and treacherous intentions. He pretended that he was desirous of gaining his enemy, and of uniting him to his own family, by a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth; and he solicited to have him sent over to England, in order to execute a scheme which would redound so much to his advantage. These



pretences, seconded as is supposed by bribes to Peter Landais, a corrupt minister, by whom the duke was entirely governed, gained credit with the court of Brittany: Henry was delivered into the hands of the English agents: he was ready to embark: when a suspicion of Edward's real design was suggested to the duke, who recalled his orders, and thus saved the unhappy youth from the imminent danger which hung over him.

These symptoms of continued jealousy in the reigning family of England, both seemed to give some authority to Henry's pretensions, and made him the object of general favour and compassion, on account of the dangers and persecutions to which he was exposed. The universal detestation of Richard's conduct turned still more the attention of the nation towards Henry; and as all the descendants of the house of York were either women or minors, he seemed to be the only person from whom the nation could expect the expulsion of the odious and bloody tyrant. But notwithstanding these circumstances, which were so favourable to him, Buckingham and the bishop of Ely well knew that there would still lie many obstacles in his way to the throne; and that though the nation had been much divided between Henry VI. and the duke of York, while present possession and hereditary right stood in opposition to each other; yet as soon as these titles were united in Edward IV. the bulk of the people had come over to the reigning family; and the Lancastrians had extremely decayed, both in numbers and in authority. It was therefore suggested by Morton, and readily assented to by the duke, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation, was to unite the opposite factions, by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward, and thereby blending together the opposite pretensions of their families, which had so long been the source of public disorders and convulsions. They were sensible that the people were extremely desirous of repose, after so many bloody and destructive commotions; that both Yorkists and Lancastrians, who now lay equally under oppression, would embrace this scheme with ardour; and that the prospect of reconciling the two parties, which was in itself so desirable an end, would, when added to the general hatred against the present government, render their cause absolutely invincible. In consequence of these views, the prelate by means of Reginald Bray, steward to the countess of Richmond, first opened the project of such an union to that lady; and the plan appeared so advantageous for her son, and at the same time so likely to succeed, that it admitted not of the least hesitation. Dr. Lewis, a Welch physician, who had access to the queen dowager in her sanctuary, carried the proposals to her; and found, that revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and indignation against her confinement, easily overcame all her prejudices against the house of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation of the parties, seemed so naturally to invite them. She secretly borrowed a sum of money in the city, sent it over to the earl of Richmond, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as soon as he should arrive in England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him on his first appearance, with all the friends and partisans of her family.

The plan being thus laid upon the solid foundations of good sense and sound policy, it was secretly communicated to the principal persons of both parties in all the counties of England; and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success and completion. But it was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could be conducted in so secret a manner as entirely to escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard: and he soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming some design against his authority. He immediately put himself in a posture of defence by levying troops in the north; and he summoned the duke to appear at court, in such terms as seemed to promise him a renewal of their former amity. But that nobleman, well acquainted with the barbarity and treachery of Richard, replied only by taking arms in Wales, and giving the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection in all parts of England. But at that very time there happened to fall such heavy rains, so incessant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, swelled to a height which rendered them impassable, and prevented the duke of Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his associates. The Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Bannister, an old servant of his family. But being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Salisbury; and was instantly executed, according to the summary method practised in that age. The other conspirators, who took arms in four different places, at Exeter, at Salisbury, at Newbury, and at Maidstone, hearing of the duke of Buckingham's misfortunes, despaired of success, and immediately dispersed themselves.

The marquis of Dorset and the bishop of Ely made their escape beyond sea: many others were equally fortunate: several fell into Richard's hands, of whom he made some examples. His executions seem not to have been remarkably severe; though we are told of one gentleman, William Colingbourne, who suffered under colour of this rebellion, but in reality for a distich of quibbling verses which he had composed against Richard and his ministers. The earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had set sail from St. Maloes, carrying on board a body of 5000 men, levied in foreign parts; but his fleet being at first driven back by a storm, he appeared not on the coast of England till after the dispersion of all his friends; and he found himself obliged to return to the court of Brittany.

The king, every where triumphant, and fortified by this unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at last to summon a parliament; a measure which his crimes and flagrant usurpation had induced him hitherto to decline. Though it was natural that the parliament, in a contest of national parties, should always adhere to the victor, he seems to have apprehended, lest his title, founded on no principle, and supported by no party, might be rejected by that assembly. But his enemies being now at his feet, the parliament had no choice left but to recognise his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His only son Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales: the duties of tonnage and poundage were

granted to the king for life: and Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, passed some popular laws, particularly one against the late practice of extorting money on pretence of benevolence.

All the other measures of the king tended to the same object. Sensible, that the only circumstance which could give him security, was to gain the confidence of the Yorkists, he paid court to the queen-dowager with such art and address, made such earnest protestations of his sincere good-will and friendship, that this princess, tired of confinement, and despairing of any success from her former projects, ventured to leave her sanctuary, and to put herself and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he soon carried farther his views for the establishment of his throne. He had married Anne the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, whom Richard himself had assisted to slay; but this princess having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poison; a crime for which the public could not be supposed to have any solid proof, but which the usual tenour of his conduct made it reasonable to suspect. He now thought it in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, the true heir to the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to espouse, himself, this princess, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her lost authority, neither scrupled this alliance, which was very unusual in England, and was regarded as incestuous; nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three sons and of her brother: she even joined so far her interests with those of the usurper, that she wrote to all her partisans, and among the rest, to her son the marquiss of Dorset, desiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive.

Lingard says, "The Princess (Elizabeth) herself, in a letter which she wrote to the duke of Norfolk, shewed how much she was dazzled with the splendors of royalty. She solicited the good offices of that nobleman in her favour, protested that the king was 'her joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought,' and hinted her surprise at the duration of the queen's illness, and her apprehensions 'that she would never die.' These apprehensions, however, were soon quieted: in less than a month the queen expired; and Elizabeth was flattered with the idea of mounting the throne; Richard with the prospect of disconcerting by this marriage the machinations of his rival. But when the king communicated the plan to Ratcliffe and Catesby, confidants by whose advice he was generally ruled, he experienced an unexpected and most obstinate opposition. Their objection perhaps arose, as the historian surmises, from a well-grounded apprehension, that if Elizabeth should become queen, she would revenge on them the murder of her uncle and brother at Pontefract; but their arguments, whatever were their secret motives, deserved the most serious attention of their master. They represented to him that this incestuous marriage would be an object of horror to the people, and would be

condemned by the clergy; that suspicions were already entertained of his having removed the queen by poison to make room for the niece; that to marry her in the present circumstances would convert such suspicions into a certainty, and would in consequence deprive him of his staunchest adherents, the men of the northern counties, for whose support he had been hitherto indebted to the respect which they bore to his late consort, as daughter of the great earl of Warwick. The king, though with considerable reluctance, yielded to their remonstrances. In the great hall of the Temple he assured the mayor, aldermen, and commoners, that no such marriage had ever been contemplated: and by a letter to the citizens of York, required them to refuse credit to the slanderous tales which had been circulated, and to apprehend and bring before the council all persons known to advance or propagate reports to his prejudice." Lingard adds in a note in reference to the death of the queen, Anne; "From the expressions in Elizabeth's letter, mentioned before, there is reason to fear that this suspicion was too true. It is evident Richard had not only promised to marry her, but had told her that the queen would die in February. Hence she observes, that the better part of February is past, and the queen still alive."

The crimes of Richard were so horrid and so shocking to humanity, that the natural sentiments of men, without any political or public views, were sufficient to render his government unstable; and every person of probity and honour was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Brittany, and exhorted him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, and to prevent the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, which must prove fatal to all his hopes. The earl, sensible of the urgent necessity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, who had entered into a negotiation with Richard for betraying him, was obliged to attend only to his present safety; and he made his escape to the court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII., who had now succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Lewis, gave him countenance and protection; and being desirous of raising disturbance to Richard, they secretly encouraged the earl in the levies which he made for the support of his enterprise upon England. The earl of Oxford, whom Richard's suspicions had thrown into confinement, having made his escape, here joined Henry; and inflamed his ardour for the attempt, by the favourable accounts which he brought of the dispositions of the English nation, and their universal hatred of Richard's crimes and usurpation.

The earl of Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy with a small army of about 2000 men; and after a navigation of six days, he arrived at Milford-haven in Wales, where he landed on the 7th August, without opposition. He directed his course to that part of the kingdom, in hopes that the Welsh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepossessed in favour of his cause by means of the duke of Buckingham, must join his standard, and enable him to make head against the established government. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given commissions to different persons in the several counties, whom he empowered to oppose his enemy, he purposed in person to fly on the first alarm to the place exposed



to danger. Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert were entrusted with his authority in Wales; but the former immediately deserted to Henry; the second made but feeble opposition to him: and the earl, advancing towards Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partisans. Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him with all the vassals and retainers of the family of Shrewsbury: Sir Thomas Bouchier and Sir Walter Hungerford brought their friends to share his fortunes; and the appearance of men of distinction in his camp made already his cause wear a favourable aspect.

But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed, proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman of distinction was sincerely attached to his cause, except the duke of Norfolk; and all those who feigned the most loyalty were only watching for an opportunity to betray and desert him. But the persons of whom he entertained the greatest suspicion, were Lord Stanley and his brother Sir William; whose connexions with the family of Richmond, notwithstanding their professions of attachment to his person, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered Lord Stanley to levy forces, he still retained his eldest son, Lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reserve in his proceedings. He raised a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself: and though Henry had received secret assurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour. The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth near Leicester: Henry, at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double the number; and a decisive action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himself at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to join either party. Richard had too much sagacity not to discover his intentions from those movements; but he kept the secret from his own men for fear of discouraging them: he took not immediate revenge on Stanley's son, as some of his courtiers advised him; because he hoped that so valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong still farther his ambiguous conduct: and he hastened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor; being certain, that a victory over the earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

The van of Richmond's army, consisting of archers, was commanded by the earl of Oxford: Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing; Sir John Savage the left: the earl himself, accompanied by his uncle the earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Richard also took post in his main body, and entrusted the command of his van to the duke of Norfolk: as his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the several commanders. Soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportional effect on both armies: it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers; it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The intrepid

tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye around the field, and describing his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl: He dismounted Sir John Cheney: he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too honourable for his multiplied and detestable enormities. His men every where sought for safety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished; and among these the duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Percy, and Sir Robert Brakenbury. The loss was inconsiderable on the side of the victors. Sir William Catesby, a great instrument of Richard's crimes, was taken and soon after beheaded, with some others, at Leicester. The body of Richard was found in the field covered with dead enemies, and all besmeared with blood: it was thrown carelessly across a horse; was carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators; and was interred in the Gray-Friars church of that place.

The historians who favour Richard (for even this tyrant has met with partisans among the later writers) maintain, that he was well qualified for government, had he legally obtained it; and that he committed no crimes but such as were necessary to procure him possession of the crown: but this is a poor apology, when it is confessed that he was ready to commit the most horrid crimes which appeared necessary for that purpose; and it is certain, that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he really seems not to have been deficient, would never have made compensation to the people for the danger of the precedent, and for the contagious example of vice and murder, exalted upon the throne. This prince was of a small and ill-formed stature, and had a harsh disagreeable countenance.

## APPENDIX.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE ARTS, MANNERS, &c., FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. A.D. 1393, TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. A.D. 1485.

### SECTION I.

*History of the constitution, government, and laws, of England, from A.D. 1399, to A.D. 1485.*

Some progress seems to have been made, in the course of this period, towards a very happy change in the condition of the very lowest order of men in society, by the decline of servitude, and diminution of the number of slaves; though slavery was still too common, and slaves too numerous. Some examples occur, of men, particularly prisoners of war, being bought and sold like cattle; and all that can be said is, that these examples are not so frequent as in former times. Predial slaves, commonly called "villains," were still very numerous. These unhappy men with their families, were annexed to the lands on which they dwelt, and transferred with them from one proprietor to another. Their sons could not enter into holy orders without the consent of the owner of the estate to which they were

annexed. They could not prosecute their lordly masters in a court of law, which subjected them to many injuries; and, in a word, they had nothing that they could call their own. When sheriffs attempted (as they sometimes did), to levy a tax on the villains of lords and prelates, for paying a part of the wages of the knights in parliament, a writ issued from chancery, prohibiting them to levy such a tax, "because all the goods in the possession of villains were the property of their lords, who attended parliament."

But there is sufficient evidence, that the number, not only of domestic, but even of predial slaves, sensibly decreased in the course of this period; and that few of them were to be found, except on the demesnes of prelates and great lords. Other proprietors of estates chose rather to have their lands cultivated by labourers, who were free men; and, at the request of the commons in parliament, many laws were made for increasing the number, and regulating the wages of such labourers. By one of these laws, no man who had not an estate worth twenty shillings a year, (equivalent to ten pounds at present,) was permitted to put his son to any other employment, but was obliged to bring him up to husbandry work; and if any person applied to such work till he was twelve years of age he was not permitted to abandon it, and follow any other line of life.

Various causes contributed to the decline of villanage in England. The proprietors of land by degrees discovered, that slaves who laboured not for themselves, but for their masters, were often indolent or refractory; and that they got their work performed to better purpose, and even at less expense, by hired servants. But the almost incessant wars in which the English were engaged in this period, contributed more than anything to the decline of slavery, by obliging prelates, lords, and great men, to put arms into the hands of their villains. There is hardly any evil that does not produce some good.

A new order of nobles was instituted by Henry VI. A.D. 1440. They were styled "viscounts," and placed between earls and barons, below the former, and above the latter. John Lord Beaumont, the first nobleman of this order, was created Viscount Beaumont, in full parliament, at Reading, February 12th, that year; according to the dates given by Seldon and Dugdale, but they may be mistaken as to the exact year.

The history of the parliament during this period, merits our particular attention. As soon as the smaller freeholders, who were not summoned by particular writs, were excused from appearing personally in parliament, and permitted to appear by representatives, the election of these representatives, their wages and their privileges, became the subjects of various laws and political regulations, which had a great influence on the constitution of the house of commons.

At first, and from A.D. 1269 to A.D. 1429, all freeholders, without exception, had votes in electing the knights of the shires in which they resided and had their freeholds. In some counties the small freeholders were very numerous, and many of them very indigent, which produced various inconveniences, and sometimes rendered the elections of the representatives of these counties scenes of riot, violence, and slaughter. To remedy these evils, a law was made, 8th Henry VI., A.D. 1429, "That the knights of the shires shall be chosen in every county by people dwelling and resident in the same counties, whereof every one of them shall have free

land or tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year at least, above all deductions." The letter but not the spirit of this law has been ever since observed; for forty shillings a year, A.D. 1429, was equivalent, at least, to 20*l.* a year of the present money.

As an account of this enactment involves the much-disputed question of universal suffrage, we select the following concise and apparently to us impartial statement, which appeared in a periodical publication, and which, though by an anonymous author, is evidently the product of a well-informed mind.

"It is important to ascertain whether the parliaments held so frequently were elected as often as they assembled. There exist good grounds for believing that they were so elected. In the reign of Edward II. the great charter was confirmed by an enactment which bound the king to hold a parliament at least once in the year:—'For as much as many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect to which grievances no one can recover without a common parliament; we do ordain that the king shall hold a parliament once in the year, or twice, if need be.' Thus the sitting of parliament as a constant watch and safeguard over the public interests is distinctly provided for; but it does not appear by any provision of the law, that the parliament which sat once should sit again; nor is it likely that, without such provision, the king would attempt to renew the powers of a parliament when it had transacted the business for which it had been called together. The intention of the law is obvious enough; for where no limit is defined, but, on the contrary a plain duty is imposed upon the chief magistrate, the inference is, that the king possessed no discretion in the matter, and exercised no authority beyond that of calling a parliament every year, which he was not only empowered, but required to do. Sir James Mackintosh contends that the act bears no such interpretation as that of annual elections, and asserts, that it merely provides for the holding of annual parliaments. But parliaments could not be held unless they were elected, and as the holding alone is specified, it is a reasonable conclusion, that the election was implied, otherwise the same parliament might be held at the pleasure of the king as long as it suited his views, or subserved his ends. When the people were so wary of their rights as to demand an annual assembly of their representatives, it is absurd to suppose, that they would have left the constitution of the assembly to so vague a construction as to place it entirely at the caprice of the crown. If parliaments were not to be elected annually under this act, which provided for their being held annually, then when were they to be elected? The very absence of such a clause proves that the election and the holding were understood to be of co-equal effect. Indeed, Sir James Mackintosh is not very anxious to enforce his opinion when he admits—'that as the parliaments of that age quickly dispatched their simple business, prorogation was unfrequent, and parliament was, in the majority of cases, elected as often as it was assembled.' Now we know it was assembled once a year—and in one year it was assembled three times—so that if we desired to press a good authority into our wake in favour of the belief that annual parliaments were the usage of that period, we should certainly cite Sir James Mackintosh himself.

"It was natural that the first acts of Henry IV., who was called to the throne to reverse a system of



misgovernment, should be of a popular character. We find, accordingly, that the laws which were passed in his first parliament were of a praiseworthy nature, and well calculated to remove a portion of the odium, if not the pains of servitude. They abolished the distribution of liveries, which were really the badges of baronial slavery; they annulled the grants of land by the king's letters patent, without title legally found in the crown, by which the landholders were dispossessed of their estates; and they prohibited appeals to parliament, which were prolific sources of disorder and injustice. Henry was forced, by the peculiarity of his position, to maintain, at least in form, those principles, for the maintenance of which he was raised to the monarchy; and, although he was the first king of England who prorogued the sitting of a parliament, which was then a distinct infringement of usage, it does not appear that he retarded, but that on the contrary he assisted, directly and indirectly, the advance towards a constitutional recognition of civil freedom. In his reign, laws were passed regulating parliamentary elections, and to provide against the possibility of clandestine nominations, which the sheriffs might have, under former statutes, contrived to accomplish. Thus some steps were made, and a little gained, the nation profiting, by slow but assured degrees, of the accidents and necessities that arose in the tumults of the conflicting powers of right and might. Henry does not appear to have disfranchised any existing boroughs, and he restored three that had been annulled in former reigns.

"The commons insensibly increased in importance after this period. The two houses had united in a protest against the practice of suspension of statutes, or a general dispensation with them; and in 1406, the people required the king to govern the realm by the advice of a permanent council, who, being present, took an oath in parliament to observe and defend the reformed institutions. These circumstances gave new strength to the commons, and invested its proceedings with additional interest. The privileges of parliament became more accurately defined; the legal language of petitions or bills, for they were synonymous terms, was abolished and exchanged for the vernacular tongue; and the authority of the justices to determine in matters relating to the high court of parliament was declared void, such authority being henceforth vested in the lords of parliament themselves. Measures declaratory and protective of popular principles speedily led to still further extensions of popular rights; but in the detail of these rights it does not appear that any distinct or methodical plan was adhered to. Electors held their privileges by very different and opposite tenures. Those resident in towns formed the only class that was regulated throughout upon a similar basis. In some places, the franchise was vested in the freemen, and in others in the officers of a corporation: while elsewhere, the right of vote resided in freeholders, burghage tenants, persons contributing to the public expense, or others with scarcely any pecuniary qualification, or in various combinations of each and all. Many boroughs, being unable to pay the daily wages of four shillings to the knight and two shillings to the burgess, were obliged to relinquish the privilege altogether. Northumberland was twice excluded in consequence of the distress occasioned by the Scottish wars; and *London*, for a like cause, was exempted for nearly a century. The elective rights were various, their exercise was various, and the influence opera-

ting over elections was various. Out of these practical disadvantages, caused by the tardy and irregular growth of our institutions, it was always found to be a matter of considerable difficulty as well as delicacy to form a system that would comprehend in a spirit of justice the claims of the whole community, without doing immediate violence to some classes, or authenticating an overwhelming majority in others, to whom power could not, on the sudden, be so safely entrusted. To blend the objects that were confused and partially obscured in these discrepancies, has been the deliberate work of ages; and, perhaps, it will be found hereafter, that all the charters from that of John to the recent bill of William IV., have left the superstructure of representative government still imperfect, even in its abstract proportions.

"Henry V. held a parliament annually, with one exception, a practice which appears to have prevailed until a much later date. Henry even carried the principle still farther, for in no less than four instances he convoked two separate parliaments within the year. The commotions and tumults that took place, however, during the preceding reign, and that still agitated the country, led to the adoption of prorogations as a matter of convenience. Nor was this the only infringement of the general usage that appears to have been forced on the king by the pressure of events. In the first year of his reign, Henry V. passed a law requiring all knights, citizens, and burgesses, to be resident in the places in which they were elected; a law to which no objection can be taken, except that it was an innovation upon the unlimited freedom of choice which the electors had previously enjoyed. But this contraction of the principles of representation helped to define it, and gave a more marked character to the franchise than it possessed when it was exercised loosely and capriciously: besides that this new law had the effect of preventing much confusion and bloodshed at elections. In the succeeding reign, the suffrage itself was restricted; but, as the limitation act of Henry VI. is of great importance to the clear development of our chief inquiry, it will be necessary to show, as far as any documents we possess may enable us, how the franchise stood when that monarch restrained and curtailed it.

"We have already stated that the electoral privileges all over the country were irregularly conferred and held, and that it would be almost impossible to trace their rise and actual distinctions with any degree of correctness. One fact, however, is certain,—that the people were compelled to contribute in money to the support of their representatives, and that several places, having been impoverished by local burthens, were obliged to relinquish their franchises in consequence of being unable to advance the usual tribute. It is clear, therefore, that all parliaments convened under such circumstances must have been more or less imperfect and unsound; and also, that each fresh election was liable to be influenced by every species of perjury and bribery, the electors seeking in that way to evade the forfeit of their rights, and to preserve their freedom at the cost of their honesty. As the test of the right to exercise the franchise was not a very expensive one, and as it might be thus evaded by collusion and false swearing, it is not unlikely that the great mass of the population were accustomed to have a voice at elections. Some writers go so far as to assert that universal suffrage prevailed, and they assume the Limitation Act of Henry VI. as a proof that univer-

sal suffrage had previously existed. We believe, however, that the suffrage was universal only so far as we have stated: that its universality was conditional upon the payment of the assessments; and that in certain places it was not universal, but restricted to certain classes. But as this point has never been clearly established either way, it is as well to place before our readers the means by which they can form their own conclusion. The writs which were issued to the sheriffs of counties directed those officers to summon together the whole community for the purpose of electing representatives. Of that fact we have sufficient evidence; of which take the subjoined as an example. It is the copy of a writ issued during the reign of Henry IV.:

“Kent. In the twelfth year of Henry the Fourth. Indent. for the Knights of Kent.

“This indenture made at Canterbury, on Monday, the next before the feast of the apostle Simon and Jude, next following after the receipt of the writ of the lord the king, annexed to this indenture, between John Daniel, sheriff of the said county, and Robert Clifford, Valentine Daret, John Broke, James Dingley, and Thomas Lane and William Lane, &c., who, to choose knights and citizens for the parliament of the lord the king, to be holden at Westminster on the morrow of All Souls, were empowered by virtue of the writ of the same lord the king, in behalf, addressed to the same sheriff, by the assent of all that county, have chosen Reginald Pymppe and William Artibren, knights for the community, William Hickman and William Roe, citizens, for the community of the city of Canterbury, Roger Langford and John Everhard, citizens, for the community of the city of Rochester. In witness whereof, as well the aforesaid sheriff, as the aforesaid Robert Valentine, have alternately affixed their seals the day and year above mentioned.”

“This writ is clearly enough addressed to the whole community, and, if words in such a document may be taken literally, there is no doubt that the suffrage was universal. Archbold, in his notes on Blackstone, observes, that, ‘from the re-establishment of representation to the 8th Henry VI. the right of election of representatives, both for counties, and for the cities and boroughs contained in them, seems to have been in the body of the people of that county, in county court assembled.’ Unquestionably the right seems to have resided in the body at large; and did we not know by experience that legal language is conventional and subject to exclusive interpretation, we should not hesitate to agree at once in Mr. Archbold’s inference. If we do not entirely agree with him, it is because the proofs are not sufficiently free from the difficulties that are always attached to special pleading and technicalities. Henry VI. limited the franchise to freeholders of 40s., and that limitation is taken as an indirect evidence that there was no limit whatever before. The Limitation Act was produced by the riots and disorders that prevailed at popular elections, arising, no doubt, out of the unsettled state of the electoral privileges. The period in which it was passed was one of great excitement, owing to the ill fortune of the English arms in France, and the disaffection that consequently sprung up at home. The crown apprehending the results, interposed between the parliament and the community, and, restricting the franchise, placed it at a limit which in that day comprehended none but the wealthier orders of society. The preamble runs thus:—

“Whereas the election of knights of shires to

come to the parliament of our lord the king, in many counties of the realm of England, have now of late been made by very great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people, dwelling within the same counties, &c., of which most part was people of small substance and of no value, whereof every of them pretended a voice, equivalent as to such elections to be made with the most worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the same counties, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions, among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties, shall rise and be, unless convenient and due remedy be provided, &c.”

“Without affecting any undue assumption from the wording of this preamble, we may venture to conclude that the people exercised at elections some loose right that approached nearly to universal suffrage, if it were not actually universal suffrage. But the expression by which it is described not only admits, but suggests, a doubt as to the nature of that right. The Act says, that ‘every one of them pretended a voice,’ leaving it thereby to be inferred that there was some recognized test or standard by which the title to vote was tried, and that those who were not qualified agreeably to that test or standard, pretended to be so. If universal suffrage really existed, there could be no such thing as pretence amongst the electors, for that to which every man was openly entitled could not have constituted a pretence upon the part of any man to claim. This appears to be a reasonable inference, and we are the more strengthened in it by the reflection that had the people at large enjoyed an unlimited franchise, Henry would scarcely have dared to risk so great and sudden a restriction of their rights; or, having dared to do so, the people must have risen *en masse* against the edict, which they did not. Sir James Mackintosh observes, that the reason (the riots and disorders at elections) assigned for the statute is by no means a justification of so immense a reduction as that from all men to a few freeholders then accounted wealthy; and he adds, that ‘there is no evidence of a right of suffrage so extensive as the former (universal suffrage) having obtained in any English election; whereas an elective right in freeholders, however small their tenement, still subsists in the not unlike instance of a coroner.’

“Although Henry thus limited the franchise, it appears that he was disposed to extend the principle of representation, for he restored the electoral privilege to seven boroughs. In the following reign (that of Edward IV.) the country was in such a state of disorder, that the parliaments were not assembled with regularity, and those that were summoned were of very short duration. In this reign boroughs were, for the first time, created by charter—a fact important as a material step in the progress of the system that has subsequently grown up around us. Three boroughs were restored and fifteen disfranchised by Edward IV.”\*

The king, in his writs to the sheriffs, described the qualifications of the persons who were to be elected to represent counties, cities, and boroughs. The freeholders in each county were directed to choose “two of the fittest and most discreet knights resident in the county;” but because actual knights residing and properly qualified sometimes could not be found, an act was made, 23d Henry VI., A.D. 1444, permitting freeholders to choose “notable esquires, gentlemen by birth, and qualified to be made knights; but no yeoman, or person of an in-

\* Atlas newspaper, August 19, 1832.



ferior rank." This article of that act was inserted in the subsequent writs for some years, that it might be universally known and observed. Those gentlemen who had freehold estates of 40*l.* a-year, (equivalent to 400*l.* at present,) were qualified to be made knights, which was therefore the qualification in point of fortune for the representative of a county. By the same writs, the electors in cities and boroughs were directed to choose the fittest and most discreet persons, freemen of, and residing in, the places for which they were chosen, and no others upon any pretence. The parliamentary writs in this period directed electors in counties, cities, and boroughs to choose, not only the wisest, but the stoutest men (*potentiores ad laborandum*), that they might be able to endure the fatigue of the journey and of close attendance; it being one great object of the legislature, at this time, to secure the constant attendance of all the members of the house of commons. Sheriffs could not be elected; and Henry IV., in the fifth year of his reign, inserted an uncommon clause in his writs, prohibiting all apprentices, or other men of law, to be elected. But this was a violent stretch of prerogative; and though it was obeyed, it was not repeated.

The number of boroughs that sent members to parliament in this period was very unsettled, and seems to have depended very much on the pleasure of the sheriffs of the several counties. There is the clearest evidence, that the sheriffs of the same county sent precepts to, and made returns from, sometimes more and sometimes fewer boroughs, without assigning any reason for their conduct; that some boroughs to which precepts were sent never elected or returned any members, and some only once, twice, or a few times; that sheriffs, in their returns, sometimes reported, that certain boroughs to which they had directed precepts had made no returns, and no excuses for their disobedience; and others had excused themselves by pleading poverty. These and several other irregularities that might be mentioned, afford sufficient evidence, that the constitution of the house of commons was yet far from perfection; and, in particular, that the number of its members was not ascertained.

Several laws were made in this period for regulating the manner of proceeding in the election of members to the house of commons, and for preventing false returns; for which the reader must be referred to the statute-book, as they are too voluminous to be here inserted. But notwithstanding all these laws, some surprising irregularities were practised in elections, of which it will be sufficient to give a few examples. The knights for the large, rich, and populous county of York were chosen, 13th Henry IV., A.D. 1411, and 2d Henry V., A.D. 1414, not by the freeholders, but by the attorneys of a few lords and ladies who had great estates in that county; and this irregular practice continued to A.D. 1447, when the freeholders resumed their violated rights. Many of the knights, citizens, and burgesses in the parliament that met at Coventry, 38th Henry VI., 1450, had not so much as the shadow of an election, but were named by the king, in letters under the privy seal, and returned by the sheriffs, who obtained an act of indemnity for that outrageous breach of their trust. But that assembly at Coventry was rather a meeting of the heads of a party in the time of a bloody civil war, than a parliament; and all its acts were rescinded the very next year.

The sheriffs, in this period, were guilty of many great abuses in conducting elections and making

their returns. This appears from various monuments, and particularly from the following preamble to an act of parliament, 23d Henry VI., A.D. 1444.—"Diverse sheriffs of the counties of the realm of England, for their singular avail and lucre, have not made due elections of the knights, nor in convenient time, nor good men and true returned, and sometimes no return of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, lawfully chosen to come to the parliament; but such knights, citizens, and burgesses, have been returned which were never duly chosen, and other citizens and burgesses than those which, by the mayors and bailiffs, were to the said sheriffs returned. And sometimes the sheriffs have not returned the writs which they had to make, of elections of knights to come to the parliaments; but the said writs have imbisied; and moreover made no precept to the mayor and bailiff, or to the bailiff or bailiffs, where no mayor is, of cities and boroughs, for the election of citizens and burgesses to come to the parliament."

A candidate who thought himself injured by a false return, did not, (if we are not misled by the authorities of Prynne and others) apply to the house of commons for redress, and for the punishment of the sheriff who had injured him, but pursued such other methods as were then pointed out by law and custom. By an act 11th Henry IV., A.D. 1409, the injured candidate might bring an action before the justices of assize, and if the sheriff was found guilty by the verdict of a jury, he was to be fined 100*l.* (equivalent to at least 1000*l.* at present), to the king, and the member who had been falsely returned to lose his wages. By another act, 8th Henry VI., A.D. 1429, a sheriff found guilty of a false return, besides paying the above fine, was to be imprisoned a whole year. By a third act, 23d Henry VI., 1444, a convicted sheriff, besides the above fine, was to pay 100*l.* to the injured candidate, or any other person who sued for it. This was a very severe law, as it subjected a sheriff to a fine equivalent to 2000*l.* besides a whole year's imprisonment; but the reason of this severity seems to have been, that parliaments were then so short, that a member deprived of his seat by a false return could hardly ever recover it in time. Electors and candidates who thought themselves injured, sometimes applied by petition to the king for redress.

All the members of the house of peers always attended parliaments at their own expense, that being one of the services they were obliged to perform for the baronies they held of the crown. But as soon as the smaller tenants of the king *in capite*, or freeholders, were permitted to appear by representatives, they were subjected to pay the expenses or wages of these representatives. This custom, of representatives receiving, and their constituents paying, wages, commenced with the commencement of representation, from a principle of common equity, without any positive law; and on that footing it continued from 49th Henry III., A.D. 1265, to the 18th Richard II., A.D. 1394, when a law was made to remove some doubts that had arisen about the persons bound to contribute to the payment of the wages of the representatives of counties. The wages of knights of shires were always higher than those of citizens and burgesses, because they were really persons of a higher rank, and lived in a more expensive manner. For more than a century the wages of the members of the house of commons were sometimes higher and sometimes lower; but at length, in the reign of Edward III., they became fixed to 4*s.*

a-day for a knight of a shire, and 2s. a-day for a citizen or burgess, and continued at that rate as long as they continued to be paid. Nor was this at first an incompetent sum, as 4s. then was equivalent to 40s. at present. The proudest and most opulent knights thought it no dishonour to receive their wages, and even to sue for them; and no man in those times imagined that this custom ever could or would be changed, as it was so reasonable, and productive of so many good effects; particularly it engaged the attendance of all the members to the very last day of every session, because those who did not attend from the first to the last day received no wages; and their negligence could not be concealed from their constituents. Accordingly we often find all the members present, and receiving writs for their expenses at the dissolution of a parliament.

As the members of the house of commons received wages for their services, so they enjoyed certain privileges, to enable them to earn their wages, by performing their services. Their own persons, therefore, and the persons of their necessary servants and attendants, were secured from arrests, in going to, attending upon, and returning from parliament; but not in the intervals between one session of parliament and another. In a word, their pay, their privileges, and their services, commenced and ended at the same time—that is, they commenced as many days before the beginning of a session as enabled them to travel from their own houses to the place where the parliament was to meet; they continued during the continuance of the session, and as many days after as enabled them to return home, and not one day longer. When the commons imagined that any of their number had been deprived of their privileges, they applied, by petition, to the king, or house of lords, or to both, for redress; of which we meet with many authentic proofs and examples in Prynne's Register of Parliamentary Writs. These petitions were sometimes unsuccessful, as appears from the famous case of Thomas Thorpe, speaker of the house of commons, A.D. 1452.

Convocations were also summoned to the same place, at the same time with parliaments, by writs directed to the archbishops and bishops, commanding them to attend in person, to consult with the other prelates and nobles; enjoining them also to issue precepts to their deans and chapters, their archdeacons and clergy, requiring the deans and archdeacons to attend in person, each chapter to send one proctor, and the clergy of each diocese to send two proctors, "to consent to those things which should be ordained by the common council of the kingdom." This was the uniform tenor of the clerical writs in this period; and as the deans, archdeacons, and proctors of the inferior clergy, had only a power of consent, and not of consulting, it is not probable that they were now considered as members of the house of commons; though in the parliament of Ireland (which was originally formed on the model of that of England) they continued to be members of the house of commons long after this, till they were excluded by an act of parliament, 28th Henry VIII., A.D. 1536, because they supported the authority of the pope, and obstructed the reformation of the church. The proctors of the clergy, however, received wages from their constituents, and enjoyed all the other privileges of the members of the house of commons. The clergy still continued to grant their own money in their convocations; but their grants were not effectual till they were confirmed in parliament.

The clergy of England had great influence in all the public councils of the kingdom, and particularly in parliament, in this period. This was not so much owing to their superiority in learning and sanctity, which they did not very much affect, as to their constant residence in the kingdom, and presence in these councils, while the nobles and great men were engaged in warlike expeditions into France or Scotland. Besides all the archbishops and bishops, twenty-five abbots and two priors were summoned to every parliament, and sometimes many more, which made the spiritual lords generally double the number of the temporal lords in the house of peers. This enabled the prelates to procure sanguinary laws against heretics, and to secure the immense possessions of the church, together with all her absurd errors and wretched superstitions, from all attacks.

One of the most important changes in the method of conducting business in the parliament of England, that occurred in the course of this period, was in the manner of framing laws or acts of parliament. In the former period, "the commons, towards the conclusion of every session, presented in the presence of the lords, certain petitions, for the redress of grievances, to the king, which he either granted, denied, or delayed. Those petitions that were granted were afterwards put into the form of statutes, by the judges and other members of the king's council, inserted in the statute-roll, and transmitted to sheriffs, to be promulgated in their county-courts." This was certainly a very loose inaccurate method of conducting a business of so much importance; and the commons complained that some of the statutes did not correspond to their petitions, nay that some statutes appeared in the statute-roll for which they had not petitioned, and to which they had never given their consent. To prevent such dangerous abuses, the commons began to draw up their petitions in a more correct manner, and at greater length, than formerly, in the reign of Henry V., and saw them formed into acts, by the judges, before the session ended. In the next reign, they became still more expert in business, and drew up their petitions in the form of bills or acts, as they wished them to be passed into laws; and when all these acts prepared in one session had been examined and agreed to by the lords, and had received the royal assent, the enacting clause was prefixed to the whole system, most commonly in these or such words as these:—"The king, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and at the special request of the commons, hath ordained and established certain ordinances and statutes." This was a great improvement in the art of legislation, which advanced by very slow degrees towards perfection.

The sessions of parliament were still very short; and many of them had only one, and few of them above two or three sessions. The last parliament of Richard II., which also may be called the first of Henry IV., sat only one day, September 30, A.D. 1399; and in that short session, deposed one king, and placed another on the throne; which hasty transaction was productive of many calamities, and brought the kingdom to the brink of ruin. The two longest parliaments in this period were those of the 8th Henry IV., A.D. 1407, and the 23d Henry VI., A.D. 1446; the former of which sat, in three sessions, 159 days, and the latter, in four sessions, 178 days: but both the members and their constituents complained of the length of these parliaments; the members, for being so long detained from their business and diversions in the country, in which they



delighted: and their constituents on account of the wages of their representatives, which amounted to considerable sums. The wages, for example, of the two knights of the shire for Cumberland, in the first of these parliaments, amounted to 80*l.* 8*s.*, equivalent to 800*l.* at present; because, besides the 159 days that the three sessions lasted, they were allowed wages for forty-two days for their three journeys.

About fifty systems or bodies of laws were made, in so many different sessions of parliaments, in the course of this period, some of them containing only a few, and others of them between twenty and thirty statutes, on too great a variety of subjects to be here enumerated. Some of them were intended to explain, amend, or revive former laws, and others in affirmance of the common law, or for supplying its defects, by inflicting severer penalties on certain crimes, and providing new remedies for new disorders. It seems still to have been a prevailing opinion, in the first part of this period, that the authority of laws was weakened, if not destroyed, by the death of the prince under whom they had been made; and therefore both Henry IV. and Henry V., soon after their accession, confirmed the great charter, and the charter of the forests, with all other laws that had not been repealed. But though these two famous charters were thus twice confirmed in this period, it was only in common with all other statutes; and it plainly appears, that they were not so much insisted upon or attended to by the people of England, as they had been when the remembrance of them was more recent. Some severe, or rather cruel laws, were made by Henry IV. and Henry V. against the followers of Wickliffe, who were called heretics and Lollards, and, when convicted, were consigned to the flames. These laws were probably procured by the influence of the clergy, whose favour was much courted by both these princes. Additional powers were granted to justices of the peace; and various laws were made for regulating their qualifications and proceedings. The statutes of this period were very unfriendly to strangers who traded or settled in England, particularly to the Welsh and Irish. Some excellent laws for the regulation and encouragement of trade and manufactures were made in the reign of Edward IV., who paid great attention to commerce. The statutes of Richard III. were the first that were expressed in the English language, all former statutes having been either in Latin or French, which were not understood by the great body of the people, or even by many of the legislators. These were also the first statutes of England that were printed. But as many of the statute laws of this period have been effectually repealed by length of time and change of circumstances, as well as by subsequent statutes, it does not seem to be necessary to give a more particular account of them in a general history.

The courts of law in England continued nearly on the same footing in this as in the former period. The number of judges in the courts at Westminster was not yet fixed; as, in the reign of Henry VI., there were sometimes five, six, seven, and at one time eight judges, in the court of common pleas. The ancient salaries of these judges were very small, viz. to the chief justice of the king's bench, 40*l.* a-year, to the chief justice of the common pleas 40*l.*, and to each of the other judges in these two courts, 40 marks. Henry VI., by letters patent, granted an additional salary—to the chief justice of the king's bench, of 180 marks, or 120*l.*, which made his whole salary 160*l.*, equivalent to 1600*l.*;—to the

chief justice of the common pleas, of 93*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, which made his whole salary 130*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, equivalent to 1300*l.*;—to each of the other judges, 110 marks, which made the whole salary of each judge 100*l.*, equivalent to 1000*l.* at present. Besides these salaries, each judge had a certain quantity of silk, linen-cloth, and furs, for his summer and winter robes, out of the royal wardrobe, or an equivalent in money. All these judges were also justices of assize, for which each had a salary of 20*l.* equivalent to 200*l.* What other perquisites or profits were annexed to their offices (which they held only during pleasure) is not so clearly ascertained. The winter robes of each judge cost 5*l.* 6*s.* 11½*d.*, equivalent to 53*l.* 10*s.*; and his summer robes 3*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, equivalent to 31*l.* 15*s.* The annual salary of the attorney-general was only 10*l.*, equivalent to 100*l.* He was allowed only one robe, worth 1*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*, equivalent to 13*l.* 10*s.* All the judges and the attorney-general presented a petition to the king in parliament, A. D. 1439, complaining that their salaries were too small, and ill paid; and that, if they did not obtain redress, they would be obliged to resign their offices. It does not appear that they obtained any addition: but an act was made that they should be regularly paid, twice a-year, by the clerk of the Hanaper. When a judge was admitted into his office, he took a solemn oath, "That he would not receive any fee, pension, gift, reward, or bribe, of any man having suit or plea before him, saving meat and drink, which should be of no great value."

Great and just complaints were made, in this as well as in former periods, of the corrupt and imperfect administration of justice. This was owing to several causes, besides the insufficient salaries and precarious situation of the judges. Maintenance, as it was called, still prevailed; by which great numbers of people, confederated together under one head, whose livery they wore, to defend each other in all their claims and pleas, whether they were just or unjust. These confederates laid all the peaceable people around them under contribution, not to harass them by vexatious law-suits. The exemptions which the clergy claimed from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, made it almost impossible for the laity to compel their spiritual guides to do them common justice by a legal process. The great number of sanctuaries in all parts of the kingdom, protected many from the punishment due to their crimes, and from the payment of their debts. Perjury was a reigning vice in this period; and we are told by the prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation, A. D. 1439, that great numbers of people had no other trade but that of hiring themselves for witnesses, or taking bribes when they were on juries. But the violent factions and cruel civil wars of those times were the greatest obstacles to the regular impartial administration of justice. The truth is, the people of England in this period were frequently under a kind of military government; and the high constable was invested with authority to put the greatest subjects in the kingdom to death without so much as observing the forms of law, whenever he was convinced in his own mind that they were guilty, as appears from an article in Rymer's *Fœdera*. This extraordinary commission was sometimes executed in its full extent; and several persons of high rank were put to death, without any inquiry for evidence, as our readers must have observed. But when the constable wished to have some appearance of proof, and could not obtain it any other way, he sometimes

had recourse to torture. Of this it may be proper to give one example. One Cornelius Shoemaker, being seized at Queenborough, A. D. 1468, and letters found upon him from Queen Margaret, then in France, he was tortured by fire, to make him discover the names of the noblemen and gentlemen who corresponded with the exiled queen. The famous rack in the tower of London, called "The Duke of Exeter's Daughter," because invented by that duke when he was constable, is well known.

But if justice was not well administered in this period, it was not owing to a want of scarcity of lawyers or attorneys. According to the account given us by Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king's bench in the reign of Henry VI., there were no fewer than 2000 students of law, in the inns of chancery and the inns of court in his time. Attorneys had become so numerous about the same time, in some parts of England, particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk, that an act of parliament was made, 33d Henry VI., A.D. 1455, restricting their number in these two counties to fourteen, six in each county, and two in the city of Norwich.

The following description of the common law in this period, taken from Hale, is both the best and shortest that can be given. "Touching the reports of the years and terms of Henry IV. and Henry V., I can only say, they do not arrive, either in the nature of the learning contained in them, or in the judiciousness or knowledge of the judges and pleaders, nor in any other respect arise to the perfection of the last twelve years of Edward III. But the times of Henry VI., as also of Edward IV. and Edward V., were times that abounded with learned and excellent men. There is little odds in the usefulness and learning of these books, only the first part of Henry VI. is more barren, spending itself much in learning of little moment, and now out of use; but the second part is full of excellent learning."

Though that remarkable singularity in the English constitution, the court of equity in chancery, is not of great antiquity, it is not easy to trace it to its origin, or to discover the precise time and occasion of its establishment. It is most probable that it was introduced by certain steps and practices, which slowly and insensibly led to such an institution. In former times, when a person thought himself greatly injured by a sentence of the supreme courts of law, he applied by a representation of his case, and a petition for redress to the king, the fountain of justice. After our kings desisted from administering justice in such cases in their own persons, these representations and petitions were commonly, and at length constantly, referred to the lord chancellor, the keeper of the king's conscience, one of the greatest officers of the crown and wisest men in the kingdom. By a long continuance of this practice the chancellor came to be considered, both by our kings and their subjects, as the officer whose province it was to mitigate the rigorous sentences of strict law, by the milder decisions of equity and mercy. John Waltham, bishop of Salisbury, and chancellor to Richard II., invented, it is said, the writ of *subpoena*, returnable only in chancery, in order to bring feoffees of land to uses directly into that court, to make them accountable to those for whose use they held the lands. These writs were soon after applied for and obtained in other cases; which greatly increased the business of the court of equity in chancery, and gave unbrage to the courts of common law. A small check was given to this by an act of parliament, 17th Richard II., A.D.

1393, by empowering the chancellor to give damages to the injured party, when he found that a cause had been brought before him on untrue suggestions. This, however, and another still stronger, 15th Henry VI., A.D. 1436, did not satisfy the common lawyers; and the house of commons, at their request, petitioned the king in parliament, 14th Edward IV., A.D. 1474, to suppress the writ of *subpoena*. But that petition was refused: and the court of equity in chancery was fully established, and its business continued to increase. All the chancellors in England in this period were clergymen; and this triumph over the courts of common law was chiefly obtained by the influence of the clergy, who had long viewed these courts with an unfriendly eye, as they did not favour their exorbitant claims. For a more particular account of the courts of law than is consistent with general history, the reader may consult Blackstone's Commentaries.

The revenues of the kings of England in this period, as well as their charges and expenses, may be divided into ordinary and extraordinary. The crown-lands, with the wardships and marriages of those who held of the crown *in capite*, still formed one of the chief sources of its ordinary revenue. The crown lands, or royal demesnes, in the reign of William the Conqueror and some of his successors, were of immense extent and great value; and, together with the various prestations of their feudal tenants, were abundantly sufficient to support them in affluence and splendour, with little or no dependence on their subjects. But succeeding princes, by engaging in unnecessary and expensive wars; by imprudent grants; by founding and endowing monasteries; and by other means, gradually and greatly diminished the royal demesnes. It is difficult to determine whether those kings who were despised for their weakness and superstition, or those who were celebrated for their valour and ambition, contributed most to produce this effect. The victorious Henry V. not only pawned his crown, his jewels, and his furniture, but alienated so many of the crown lands, that in the last year of his reign, the remainder of them, with the wardship and marriages of his vassals, yielded only 15,066*l.* 1*l.* 1*d.* equivalent to 150,671*l.* 1*l.* 10*d.* This fund of the ordinary revenues of the crown sometimes received great accessions, by resumptions and confiscations. Edward IV., after the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, A.D. 1471, by the confiscation of the great estates of the duke of Somerset, the marquis of Montacute, the earl of Warwick, and all the chief men of the Lancastrian party, "had," to use the words of Sir John Fortescue, "livelood in lordship-lands, tenements, and rents, netherland to the value of the fifth part of his realm, above the possessions of the church; by which livelood if it had abyden styl in his hands, he had been more myghty of good revenuz, than any king that now reynith upon Christen men." He says further, that if the king had kept all his land, "he schuld have had livelood sufficient for the maintenance of his estate." At the same time he relates in what manner all that immense accession of landed property was soon alienated, and the king reduced to a state of dependence upon his subjects for extraordinary aids in parliament. This constant dissipation of the landed property of the crown was not altogether owing to the imprudent profusion of princes, but was almost unavoidable; because money being very scarce, they had hardly any other way of gratifying fa-



vourites, or rewarding services, but by grants of lands.

The several customs and duties on merchandise, though imposed by parliament, were, in this period, reckoned amongst the ordinary stated revenues of the crown, because they were granted to every king, as it were, of course. In that account delivered to Henry V. at Lambeth, A.D. 1421, by William Kenwelmersh, dean of St. Martin's, London, treasurer of England, all these customs and duties amounted to 40,657*l.* 19*s.* 9½*d.* a year, equivalent to 406,880*l.* of our money at present. By that account it also appears, that the whole stated revenue of the crown of England for that year amounted to no more than 55,754*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.*, which, (neglecting the fractions) was equivalent to 557,540*l.* From that very curious account, it is likewise evident, that Henry V. after paying his guards and garrisons,—the expenses of his civil government—the salaries of the collectors, &c. of his customs—and pensions to dukes, earls, knights, &c., which were charges on his ordinary revenue, had only 3507*l.* 13*s.* 11½*d.*, equivalent to 35,077*l.* remaining, to defray all the expenses of his household,—his wardrobe,—his works,—his embassies and various other charges: a sum altogether incompetent to answer those purposes, as the expense of the king's household alone amounted, in those times, to about 20,000*l.*, equivalent to 200,000*l.* at present. The same account also represents, that many of the debts of his father Henry IV., and his own debts contracted when he was prince of Wales, were still unpaid, and that great arrears were owing of salaries and pensions, and to his garrisons, his household, and his wardrobe. From this authentic account of the ordinary revenues of the crown of England, and of the ordinary charges upon these revenues, we need not be surprised that the kings in this period lived in straits, and died deeply involved in debt, Edward IV. alone excepted. As that prince succeeded to an enemy, and an usurper, he paid none of his predecessor's debts. He was a good economist, and used various means to get money, with which other kings were unacquainted, besides the large pension from the king of France, which he enjoyed several years.

The extraordinary revenues of the crown of England were such as were granted by parliament, not of course, but on particular occasions, to answer particular purposes. These grants were made, upon the application of the king by his ministers, most frequently to defray the expenses of a war, for which the ordinary revenues of the crown were quite inadequate. They consisted chiefly of tenths or fifteenths of all the moveable goods both of the clergy and laity, to which the king had no right, till they were voluntarily given him by the clergy in convocation, and by the laity in parliament. These tenths and fifteenths were paid according to a value set upon every person's goods by commissioners appointed for that purpose in every district both in town and country, and yielded sometimes more, and sometimes less, as they were more carefully or more carelessly collected, or as the kingdom was in a flourishing or declining state. The people sometimes endeavoured to avoid paying their due proportion of tenths and fifteenths, by removing their cattle and goods to some distance, before the commissioners came to take an account of them; to prevent which, an act of parliament was made, A.D. 1407, that all persons, and particularly foreigners, should pay according to the cattle and goods they had in any place, on the day on which the act for a tenth or fifteenth was passed; and that the district,

town, or county, should pay for all the cattle and goods that were removed after that day. This made the people spies upon one another. Sometimes parliament granted a tax upon lands and offices above a certain value; sometimes imposed additional duties upon certain commodities for a limited time; and on a few occasions imposed a poll-tax. But these extraordinary aids frequently fell short of answering the purposes for which they were given, and added to the difficulties and debts of the prince to whom they were granted. The preservation of Calais and the castles in its little territory, and the defence of the borders against the Scots, were heavy loads on the revenues of the kings of England in this period. These two charges were nearly equal, and (if there is no mistake in the record of the transcript) amounted to 38,619*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*, equivalent to 386,210*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* In a word, it was the great misfortune of the people of England in this period, that they were almost constantly engaged in war; for though some of these wars were glorious, none of them were advantageous; and most of them were very pernicious to the prosperity of the kingdom—by diminishing population—by obstructing the progress of arts and commerce—and by involving the king in debt, after they had extorted more money from their subjects than they could well afford to pay. When will ambition listen to the voice of reason and humanity, and permit mankind to enjoy the gifts of nature and providence in peace?

When all the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the crown proved insufficient to defray the expenses of a war, our kings had recourse to various expedients, some of them neither honourable nor lawful, to procure money. Edward IV., for example, not only carried on trade like a common merchant, but also solicited charities, which he called benevolence or free gifts, like a common or rather like a sturdy beggar. Having expended all the aids granted to him by parliament, in preparing for an expedition into France, A.D. 1475; he sent for all the rich lords, ladies, gentlemen, and merchants, or whom he had procured a list, received them with the utmost affability, represented the greatness of his necessities, and earnestly entreated them to grant him as great a free gift as they could afford, accompanying his entreaties with smiles and promises, or frowns and threats, as he saw occasion. Being a handsome, gallant, and courteous, and popular prince, he was exceedingly successful in his solicitations, particularly with the ladies, and collected a greater mass of money than had ever been in the possession of a king of England. This mode of raising money appeared to be so dangerous to the liberties of the kingdom, as well as hurtful to particular persons, who were induced to contribute more than they could afford, that an act of parliament was made against it 1st Richard III, A.D. 1483; and in the preamble of that act, the pernicious effects of it are painted in very strong colours: "Many worshipful men of this realm, by occasion of that benevolence, were compelled by necessity to break up their households, and to live in great penury and wretchedness, their debts unpaid, their children unprovided, and such memorials as they had ordained to be done for the wealth of their souls, were annulled and annulled, to the great displeasure of God, and destruction of this realm." Several other pitiful and illegal arts were used by the kings of England, in this period, to extort money from their subjects.

Hume says, "the first instance of debt contracted

upon parliamentary security occurs in the reign of Henry VI. The commencement of this pernicious practice deserves to be noted—a practice the more likely to become pernicious, the more a nation advances in opulence and credit. The ruinous effects of it are now become but too apparent, and threaten the very existence of the nation.”

The powers and prerogatives of the kings of England in this period were not distinctly marked or ascertained, and therefore depended in some measure on the character of the king, and the circumstances of the kingdom. In general, however, it may be safely affirmed—that they were very far from being possessed of arbitrary power—that the distinction between an absolute and limited monarchy was perfectly well understood—and that England was a limited monarchy. “There be two kynds of kyngdomys (says Sir John Fortescue, who wrote in this period) of which that one ys a lordship, callid in Latyne, *Dominium regale*, and that other is callid *Dominium politicum et regale*. And they dyversin (differ) in that the first may rule his people by such lawys as he makyth himself; and therior he may set upon them talys (taxes) and other impositions, such as he wyl hymself, without there assent. The second may not rule hys people by other lawys than such as they ascenunt unto; and therefor he may set on them none impositions without their own assent.” That great lawyer, in the subsequent chapters of his book, enumerates the advantages that England derived from being a *Dominium politicum et regale*, or a limited monarchy; and the miseries that France endured from being a *Dominium regale*, or an absolute monarchy. It was also understood, that the kings of England could neither repeal nor change any standing law of the land by their own authority, without the consent of parliament. “A king of England cannot, at his pleasure make any alterations in the laws of the land; for the nature of his government is not only regal but political.” It is not so certain that it was understood to be a part of the constitution of England in this period, that the king could not interpret the laws, and administer justice to his subjects in person, out only by his judges. This, however, was so much the practice, that we meet with only one exception to it, if it is indeed an exception. Edward IV., in the second year of his reign, sat three days together during Michaelmas term, in the court of king’s bench; but it is not said that he interfered in the business of the court; and as he was then a very young man, it is probable that it was his intention to learn in what manner justice was administered, rather than to act the part of a judge. The same prince, in the 17th year of his reign, A.D. 1477, when the country was overrun with numerous gangs of robbers, accompanied the judges of assize in their circuits; but his design in doing this seems to have been to prevent the judges from being insulted or intimidated, and to secure the execution of their sentences.

But though it was well understood, that the kings of England, in this period, had no right to make, repeal, or alter the laws of the land by their own authority; it is very certain, that they frequently took upon them to dispense with these laws, and to grant permission to particular persons or societies to violate them with impunity. Of this many examples might be given; one of each kind will be sufficient. There was not any one law of England made with greater deliberation and solemnity, or to which the people had a stronger attachment than that of

the 16th Richard II. chap. 5, against procuring or purchasing provisions to benefices from the pope; and yet Henry IV. granted a dispensation from that law, by name, A.D. 1405, to Philip, bishop of Lincoln, with a permission to procure provisions from the pope for twenty-four discreet and virtuous clerks, graduated or not graduated. That money was paid to the king for this dispensation, there is little room to doubt; and that the words discreet and virtuous were mere words of course, is equally clear; for if the bishop and his clerks had been remarkably discreet and virtuous, they would hardly have desired a dispensation from so good a law. Edward IV. in the second year of his reign, A.D. 1462, made a most extraordinary use of this dispensing power; and to secure the clergy in his interest, granted them permission to violate all the laws of the land, or rather all the laws of God and man, prohibiting all his judges and officers to try or punish any archbishop, bishop, or other clergyman, for treason, ravishing women, or any other crime. But whether this dispensing power, which was carried to such an extravagant length was considered in those times (as it probably was and certainly ought to have been considered) as a violent illegal stretch of the prerogative, does not appear.

Though the feudal system of government, or rather tyranny, that gave so many pernicious prerogatives to the first kings of England after the conquest, had been long declining, and, like an old Gothic castle that had never been repaired, was now almost in ruins; yet our kings, in this period, still retained some of these prerogatives that were very inconvenient and distressful to their subjects, as the wardship and marriages of the tenants of the crown, purveyance, &c. It is, however, evident that these prerogatives were exercised with much greater lenity than they had been in former times, owing to the greater dependence of our kings upon their subjects. Purveyance, in particular, was limited by various statutes, and reduced within the following bounds. “The king, by his purveyors, may take, for his own use, necessaries for his household, in a reasonable price to be assessed at the discretion of the constables of the place, whether the owners will or not; but the king is obliged by the laws to make present payment, or at a day to be fixed by the great officers of the household.” It seems to have been an undisputed prerogative of the kings of England in this period, to press, not only sailors and soldiers, but also artificers of all kinds, and even musicians, goldsmiths, and embroiderers, into their service. They also naturalized foreigners by their own authority; of which many examples might be produced.

The numerous civil offices, as well as ecclesiastical benefices, which the kings of England had in their gift in this period, added not a little to their power and influence. “The kyng,” saith Sir John Fortescue, in the reign of Edward IV., “givyth moore than a thousand offices, besydes those that my lord prince givyth, of which I rekyne the officers as the kyng’s officers. Of these officers sum may despend by the yere, by reason of his office, 200*l.*, some 100*l.*, some 40*l.*, some 50 marks, and so downward.” These salaries appear contemptible in our eyes; but they were valuable in those times; and the use that might be made of them, for attaching many persons to the interest of the crown, was perfectly well understood. “Sum forester of the king’s,” says the same great lawyer and politician, Sir John Fortescue, “that hath none other livelood, may bring moo men into the filde, well arrayed, and namely for seboting,



than may sum knight, or sum esquire, of right grete livelood, dwellyng by hym, and having non office. What than may grete officers do; as stewards of grete lordschippis, receyvers, constables of castellis, master-foresters, and such other officers; besides the high officers, as justices of forests, justices and chamberleynes of countries, the warden of the ports, and such others? For soth it is not lightly estimable what might the king may have of his officers, if every of them had but one office, and served none other man but the king."

The distinction between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*, was first known in law in this period; and Edward IV. gave a great proof of his wisdom in confirming, by the very first statute in his reign, all the deeds and acts of his three predecessors of the house of Lancaster (with a few exceptions), though they were, he declares, only kings in fact, and not of right.

The constitution, government, and laws of England, were considerably improved in the course of this period, and were really better than those of any other state in Europe at that time. To demonstrate this, was the chief object of that learned and virtuous statesman Sir John Fortescue, in his curious work in praise of the laws of England; and it is confirmed by the testimony of one of the most intelligent foreigners who flourished in those times, Philip de Comines, who after describing the disorders that reigned in the governments of France, Germany, and Italy, and the cruel oppressions under which the people of all these countries groaned, concludes with saying: "In my opinion, of all the states in the world that I know, England is the country where the commonwealth is best governed, and the people least oppressed."

## SECTION II.

### *State of Learning in Britain from A.D. 1399, to A.D. 1485.*

THE darkness of that long night of ignorance which overshadowed Europe, from the fall of the western empire to the revival of learning in the sixteenth century, was not equally profound at all times and in all places. In Britain particularly, some gleams of light appeared at different times, as in the age of the venerable Bede—of Alcuinus—of Alfred the Great—and of Friar Bacon. But these gleams were neither very bright, nor of long duration; and as soon as the luminaries which produced them were extinguished, the former darkness returned. This is so true, that the present period, though it immediately preceded the revival of learning, was, in Britain, one of the darkest, and furnishes fewer materials for literary history than any former period; for which reason, a brief delineation of it in this place will be sufficient.

As the decline and fall of the western empire were the chief causes of the decline and almost extinction of learning in all the countries which had composed that empire, so the decline and fall of the empire of the east proved the chief causes of the revival of learning in the west. For when the dissolution of that empire visibly approached, several learned Greeks retired into Italy, to avoid impending ruin; and when its capital, Constantinople, was taken by the Turks, A.D. 1453, a much greater number fled into the same country. There these learned exiles met with a kind reception; and, under the patronage of the Roman pontiffs, and the princes of the illus-

trious house of Medici, they taught the language and philosophy of the Greeks with great success. It will be a sufficient proof of this to mention the names of a few of their disciples, as Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Politian, Laurentius Valla, Agricola, John Pecus Mirandula, and Marsilius Ficinus, who were the first restorers of useful and polite learning in the western world.

But the progress of reviving science was very slow, and for the greatest part of the fifteenth century was almost wholly confined to Italy. Rodolphus Agricola, being by birth a German, after he had studied several years under Theodorus Gaza, one of the most learned of the Greek exiles, returned into his native country, A.D. 1482; where he spent the last years of his life in the most strenuous endeavours to inspire his countrymen with a taste for the Greek learning. But none of those learned exiles, or even of their disciples, visited Britain in this period, if we except one Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, who read lectures in New-College at Oxford, and was (according to Polydore Virgil) the first person who taught good letters in that university. The effect of these lectures, however, if they produced any, must have been very transient, as that new and better taste in the study of letters, which had so long prevailed in Italy, was little known or regarded in Britain till the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Besides the general causes of the decline of learning in Europe, in the middle ages, which have been already mentioned in this work, there were some particular ones which increased that evil in Britain and some other countries in this period.

The unsettled state of Britain, France, and some other countries, torn by the most furious factions, and kept in continual agitation by wars and revolutions, proved one of the greatest obstructions to the revival and progress of learning. For the wars of those times were not carried on by standing armies, as at present, while the rest of the people pursue their several occupations in tranquillity; but persons of all ranks, the clergy not excepted, were called into the field. Even the universities and seats of learning were frequently scenes of the most violent discord, and their streets were sometimes stained with blood.

If learning was not despised in this period, it was certainly very little esteemed or honoured; nor was it the most effectual means of procuring preferment even in the church. We meet with frequent complaints of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to parliament—that all the most valuable livings were bestowed on illiterate men or foreigners, by papal provisions, by which private patrons were deprived of their rights, and the best scholars in the kingdom were left to languish in indigence and obscurity, nay, were sometimes driven to the necessity of begging their bread from door to door, recommended to charity by the chancellors of the universities in which they had studied.

Two of these learned mendicants, we are told, came to the castle of a certain nobleman, who understanding from their credentials that they had a taste for poetry, commanded his servants to take them to a well, to put one into the one bucket and the other into the other bucket, and let them down alternately into the water, and to continue that exercise till each of them had made a couplet of verses on his bucket. After they had endured this discipline for a considerable time, to the great entertainment of the baron and his company, they made the verses, and obtained their liberty.

It was a further discouragement to the pursuit of learning in those unhappy times, that as the possession of it did not promote, so the total want of it did not prevent, preferment; and those who had powerful friends, or much money, though ignorant or profligate in the extreme, were loaded with dignities and benefices. "I knew," said Doctor Thomas Gascoigne, chancellor of Oxford, A.D. 1443, "a certain illiterate idiot, the son of a mad knight, who, for being the companion, or rather the fool, of the sons of a great family of the royal blood, was made arch-deacon of Oxford before he was eighteen years of age; and soon after obtained two rich rectories and twelve prebends. I asked him one day what he thought of learning. As for learning, said he, I despise it. I have better livings than any of you great doctors, and I believe as much as any of you. What do you believe? I believe, said he, that there are three Gods in one person—I believe all that God believes."

The long schism in the papacy, from A.D. 1379 to A.D. 1449, was no small obstruction to the progress of real learning and useful knowledge. Those who live in an enlightened age and reformed country, can form no conception of the consternation into which that event threw the whole Christian world, and how much it engrossed the attention of kings, princes, prelates, universities, scholars, and people of all ranks. At a time when it was generally believed that the pope was the sole head of the church, the only viceregent of Christ on earth, and had the custody of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the perplexity of all good Catholics could not but be very great, when they saw first two and then three popes, each asserting, with equal confidence, that he was the only true pope; that his rivals were pretenders, usurpers, schismatics, and heretics; and that they and their adherents would certainly go to the devil. Colleges, universities, and men of learning, neglecting their usual studies, engaged with ardour in this interesting controversy, which threatened the destruction of the church. Several councils were called by the contending pontiffs, to which the principal prelates and greatest doctors of the different parties crowded, and spent many years in public wrangling and private caballing, to very little purpose.

The great scarcity and high price of books still continued to obstruct the progress of learning. None but great kings, princes, and prelates, universities, and monasteries, could have libraries; and the libraries of the greatest kings were not equal to those of many private gentlemen or country clergymen in the present age. The royal library of France, which had been collected by Charles V., VI., and VII., and kept with great care in one of the towers of the Louvre, consisted of about 900 volumes, and was purchased by the duke of Bedford, A.D. 1425, for 1200 livres. From a catalogue of that library, still extant, it appears to have been chiefly composed of legends, histories, romances, and books on astrology, geomancy, and chiromancy, which were the favourite studies of those times. The kings of England were not so well provided in books. Henry V., who had a taste for reading, borrowed several books, which were claimed by their owners after his death. The countess of Westmoreland had presented a petition to the privy council, A.D. 1424, representing, that the late king had borrowed a book from her, containing the Chronicles of Jerusalem, and the expedition of Godfrey of Boulogne, and praying that an order might be given under the privy seal for the restoration of the said book; which was granted with

great formality. About the same time, John, the prior of Christ-church, Canterbury, presented a similar petition to the privy-council, setting forth that the king had borrowed from his priory a volume containing the works of St. Gregory; that he had never returned it; but that in his testament he had directed it to be restored; notwithstanding which, the prior of Shine, who had the book, refused to give it up. The council, after mature deliberation, commanded a precept under the privy-seal to be sent to the prior of Shine, requiring him to deliver up the book, or to appear before the council, to give the reasons of his refusal. These facts sufficiently prove, that it must have been very difficult, or rather impossible, for the generality of scholars to procure a competent number of books. The noble and most useful art of printing, it is true, was invented in the course of this period, and practised in England before the end of it; but as yet it had contributed very little to increase the number, or diminish the price of books.

One of the most obvious defects in all the authors of this period, is a total want of taste. This appears both in their language and sentiments almost in every page. The truth is, the art of criticism seems to have been quite unknown or neglected; and the generality of writers appear to have had no idea of purity of style, or propriety of sentiment; but contented themselves with clothing such thoughts as occurred, in the most common and vulgar language, without much regard even to the rules of grammar. When they attempted to be pathetic or sublime (as they sometimes did), they never failed to run into the most extravagant bombast.

Though the Latin language was still generally used by divines, lawyers, philosophers, historians, physicians, and even poets, in their writings, and in all public and private deeds of any importance; yet the knowledge of that language appears plainly to have declined in this period. Venerable Bede, Alcuin, Roger Bacon, Joseph Iscanus, John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, &c., were pure and classical writers, in comparison of those who flourished in that part of the fifteenth century which is the subject of this book. These last paid very little regard to the peculiar idiom of the language, and thought they had written very good Latin when they had clothed English phrases in Latin words. Sometimes they could not even accomplish this; and when they could not find a Latin word to answer their purpose, they latinised an English one. Thus William of Wyncester tells us, that the duke of York returned from Ireland, "et arrivavit apud Redbanke prope Cestriam," (and arrived at Redbank, near Chester); and John Rous, the antiquarian of Warwick, says, that Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, son to Queen Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV., and Sir Thomas Grey her brother, were obliged to fly, "quod ipsi contravissent mortem ducis protectoris Anglie," (because they had contrived the death of the duke, protector of England). It must not, however, be imagined, that the Latin style of all the British writers of this period was equally barbarous; that of Thomas Walsingham, and a few others, was less exceptionable, though far from being classical.

While the Greek language was studied with great assiduity and success in Italy, it was almost quite neglected and unknown in Britain, and even in France, in this period. The famous Grocyn, one of the first revivers of learning in England, left his country at the age of forty-six, A. D. 1488, and tra-



velled into Italy, to study the Greek language under Chalcondilas, one of the eastern refugees, which is a sufficient proof that the knowledge of that language could not then be acquired in Britain. There was not so much as one Greek book in the library of the kings of France mentioned above; and it was not till A. D. 1470 that some of the eastern exiles began to teach Greek in the university of Paris, where it was then (says the historian) almost quite unknown.

There were lectures on rhetoric read in the universities of England in this period; but that art could not possibly flourish, when the learned languages were so ill understood, and the modern languages so imperfect.

It would be improper to spend any time in delineating the state of that scholastic philosophy and theology which still reigned in all the seats of learning, and in the study of which so much time was mis-spent by so many ingenious men. But even in that branch, few or none made any distinguished figure. About the middle of it, indeed (A.D. 1445), a kind of literary prodigy, we are told, appeared at Paris, and defeated all the doctors of that university at disputation. His name was Ferrand of Corduba, in Spain; and though he was only twenty years of age, he was a doctor in all the four faculties, of arts, laws, medicine, and divinity. He was a perfect master, not only of the whole Bible, but also of the works of Nicolas de Lyra, Thomas Aquinas, John Hales, John Duns Scotus, Bonaventure, and other divines, and of the decretals, and other books on the civil and canon law; as likewise of the writings of Aristotle, Hippocrates, Avicenna, Galen, Albert the Great, and other physicians. He understood and wrote Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic; excelled all illuminators, painters, and musicians, in their respective arts; was knighted for his dexterity in the use of arms; and foretold future events by his skill in astrology. The Parisian doctors differed in their opinions of this extraordinary person, some asserting that he was a magician, and full of the devil, others affirming that he was antichrist. It is not improbable that this young man was possessed of a very extraordinary memory, a facility of acquiring languages, and other accomplishments superior to his years; but great abatements must be made in the above description to entitle it to credit.

Though medicine was now taught and studied in every university, the knowledge of it was rather diminished than increased in this period. Dr. Friend, the learned historian of physic, could not find so much as one physician in England, in those times, who deserved to be remembered, or whose works merited any attention. Dr. Gilbert Kymmer, physician to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, composed a medical work called "*Dictarium de sanitatis custodia*" (A Dietary for the Preservation of Health), which is still extant. It consists of twenty-six chapters, the third and nineteenth of which have been printed, and contain several curious things, and some very salutary advice to the duke of Gloucester, on a very delicate subject. Dr. John Fauceby, physician to Henry VI., pretended to be an adept in the occult sciences, and obtained a commission from that king to discover an universal medicine, called "*the elixir of life*," for the cure of all diseases, wounds, and fractures, and for prolonging life, health, and strength of body, and vigour of mind, to the greatest possible extent of time. We have no account of the success of this undertaking. The learned reader may see a very full enumeration

of the medicines, and medical operations, used by the physicians and surgeons of this period, in a commission, preserved by Rymer, granted to the three physicians and two surgeons appointed to attend Henry VI., in that severe illness with which he was seized A. D. 1454.

An unknown and very violent disease appeared in England towards the end of this period. It was called the "*sweating sickness*." In London it carried off two mayors, five aldermen, many other persons of rank and opulence, with a prodigious multitude of the people. It commonly killed those who were seized with it in seven or eight hours; and those who survived twenty-four hours generally recovered. It was one of the most singular circumstances of this disease, that Englishmen residing in foreign countries, it is said, were seized with it at the same time, while foreigners residing in England escaped. Its symptoms were alarming from the first moment, such as burning heat, excessive sickness, head-ache, delirium, unquenchable thirst, vehement pulse, and labouring breath. The physicians had neither skill nor presence of mind to administer much relief to their afflicted patients. This dreadful distemper first visited England A. D. 1483, and repeated its visitations in the following years, viz. 1485, 1506, 1517, 1528, and last of all in 1551.

In those martial times, when the people of Britain were almost constantly engaged in war, we might imagine that the very useful art of surgery would be diligently studied and well understood. But this was not the case. Anatomy, without a competent knowledge of which no man can be a skilful surgeon, was not merely neglected, but abominated as a barbarous violation of the remains of the dead. The number of surgeons in England was very small, and few of them were famous, or much respected for their skill. When Henry V. invaded France, A. D. 1415, with a great fleet and army, he carried with him only one surgeon, Thomas Morstede, who engaged to bring in his company fifteen persons, twelve of them of his own profession, and three of them archers; Morstede was to have the pay of a man at arms, and his twelve assistants the same pay with common archers. The same prince found it still more difficult to procure a competent number of surgeons to attend his army in his second expedition into France, and was obliged to grant a warrant to the same Thomas Morstede, to press as many surgeons as he thought necessary into the service, with artists to make their instruments. In these circumstances, there can be no doubt that many lost their lives for want of proper assistance in their distress. That heroic prince Henry V. himself, it is highly probable, fell a sacrifice to the ignorance of his medical attendants.

The operation of lithotomy for extracting the stone was not unknown to the ancients, but seems to have been lost in the middle ages, and was revived again at Paris A. D. 1474. An archer who was tormented with the stone, being condemned to be hanged for robbery, the physicians and surgeons of Paris represented to the king, that many of his subjects were afflicted with that painful distemper for which they could find no remedy, and prayed that they might be permitted to try the operation of extracting the stone upon the condemned criminal. Their petition was granted: the stone was extracted, and the patient recovered, which encouraged others to submit to the operation. But we have not met with any evidence that this operation was performed in England in the present period: for the circulation

of literary intelligence was then slow, which formed one obstruction, amongst many others, to the progress of learning.

The mathematical sciences were not wholly neglected in the darkest ages; but they were cultivated with little success, and with improper views. Astrology was so much the study of the mathematicians of those times, that mathematician and astrologer were synonymous terms. The pretenders to that fallacious science were loaded with honours and rewards; and in the preceding century, the wisest princes in Europe paid more regard to the responses of their astrologers than to the counsels of their ministers. But astrologers began to sink in their credit in the course of this period—some despising them as impostors, and others detesting them as magicians, while too many still revered them as men of the most consummate learning and wisdom. One Arnold de Marets, an astronomer, published a book on Astrology in France, A. D. 1466, which made a great noise. The king sent the book to the university of Paris, requiring that learned body to examine it, and report their opinion. The university appointed certain deputies out of each of the four nations to examine this work; who reported—"That it contained many superstitions, many conjurations, many manifest and horrible invocations of the devil, with several latent heresies and idolatries." In England there was a board of commissioners, consisting of several doctors, notaries, and clerks, for discovering and apprehending magicians, enchanters, and sorcerers, probably comprehending astrologers. When these commissioners had discovered one of these offenders, they procured a warrant from the king for apprehending him with all his apparatus. It was by virtue of such a warrant that Thomas Northfield, professor of divinity and sorcerer, was apprehended at Worcester, A.D. 1432, with all his books and instruments.

The science or art of alchemy, which pretended to produce a remedy for all diseases, and to transubstantiate the baser metals into the purest gold and silver, was more encouraged by government in the reign of Henry VI. than any other art or science. In that reign we find many protections given to different alchemists, to secure them from the penalty in an act of parliament made A. D. 1403, and from the fury of the people, who believed that they were assisted in their operations by infernal spirits. As these royal protections contain the sentiments entertained by that king and his ministers on this subject, it may not be improper to insert here a translation of the most material part of one of them. "Ancient sages and most famous philosophers have taught, in their books and writings, under figures and emblems, that many notable and most glorious medicines may be extracted from wine, precious stones, oils, vegetables, animals, metals, and semi-metals; and particularly a certain most precious medicine, which some philosophers have named the Mother and Queen of Medicines, some the Inestimable Glory, others the Quintessence, others the Philosopher's Stone, and others the Elixir of Life. The virtue of this medicine is so admirable and efficacious, that it cures all curable diseases with ease, prolongs human life to its utmost term, and wonderfully preserves man in health and strength of body, and in the full possession of his memory, and of all the powers and faculties of his mind. It heals all curable wounds without difficulty, is a most sovereign antidote against all poisons, and is capable of procuring to us and our kingdom other

great advantages, such as the transmutation of other metals into real and fine gold and silver.

"We frequently revolve in our mind, by long and serious meditation, how delectable and profitable it would be to us and our dominions, if this precious medicine could be discovered by the blessing of God on the labours of learned men; and also how that few or none, in former times, have attained to the true method of making this most glorious medicine, partly owing to the difficulties attending the operation, but chiefly because the most learned men have been, and still are discouraged and deterred from the undertaking, by the fear of incurring the penalties in a certain law made in the reign of our grandfather Henry IV. against alchemists.

"Wherefore it seems right and expedient to us to provide, select, and appoint certain ingenious men sufficiently skilled in the natural sciences, well inclined and disposed to attempt the discovery of the foresaid medicine, who fear God, love truth, and hate all deceitful, fallacious, metallic tinctures; and by our authority and prerogative royal to provide sufficiently for the quiet, safety, and indemnity of these men, that they may not be disturbed or injured in their persons or goods, while they are engaged in this work, or after they have finished their labours.

"We therefore, confiding in the fidelity, circumspection, profound learning, and extraordinary skill in the natural sciences, of these famous men John Fauceby, John Kirkeby, and John Rayny, elect, assign, nominate, and license all and each of them, and of our certain knowledge, and by our authority and prerogative royal, we, by these presents, grant to all and each of them, liberty, warrant, power, and authority, to inquire, investigate, begin, prosecute, and perfect the foresaid medicine, according to their own discretion, and the precepts of ancient sages, as also to transubstantiate other metals into true gold and silver; the above statute or any other statute, to the contrary notwithstanding. Further, we hereby take the said John, John, and John, with all their servants and assistants, into our special tuition and protection." This curious commission was confirmed by parliament, 31st May, A.D. 1456.

When learning was in so low a state among those of high rank and learned professions, we may conclude that the common people were totally illiterate. It was not till the reign of Henry IV. that villains, farmers, and mechanics, were permitted by law to put their children to school; and long after that, they dared not to educate a son for the church, without a license from their lord. But it seems to be quite unnecessary to follow the faint traces of learning any further in this benighted period.

*History of the learned men who flourished in Britain, from A.D. 1399 to A.D. 1485.*

After the account that has been given of the state of learning in Britain in this period, we cannot expect to find many persons in it so eminent for their genius and erudition as to merit a place in the general history of their country. If many such persons had then existed, they would have dispelled, in some degree, that profound darkness in which their country was involved. It is true, that Leland, Bale, Pits, Cave, and Tanner, the writers of our literary history, give us the names of many authors who flourished in this period, with the titles of their works, and assure us, according to their custom, that they were all wonderfully learned. But these boasted authors were, for the most part, obscure merely,



knavish or deluded alchemists or astrologers, whose works have deservedly sunk into oblivion. It would be easy to fill many pages with the history of writers who enjoyed, perhaps, some little pre-eminence in their own times, whose names and writings are now as little regarded as if they had never been.

Our historians in this period were not better or more elegant writers than our divines, philosophers, and physicians; but as they have recorded many curious and important facts, in the best manner they could, they have deserved well of their country, and merit some attention. Mr. William Caxton, who was more famous as a printer than as a writer, gives this reason for his writing a continuation of Higden's Polycronicon, from A.D. 1357 to A.D. 1469: "Because monnes wyles in this tyme ben oblyvions and lythly forgotten many thyngys dyngye to be put in memory; and also there cannot be foundin in these days but few that wryte in theyr regysters suche thyngis as daily happen and falle."

Thomas Walsingham, a monk in the abbey of St. Alban's, was unquestionably the best of our historians in this period. His style is indeed, according to his own confession, rude and unpolished; and he relates many ridiculous stories of visions, miracles, and portents: but this was the vice of the age rather than of the man; and must be forgiven to him and others. His narrative is far more full, circumstantial and satisfactory, than that of the other annalists of those times, and contains many things nowhere else to be found. He compiled two historical works of considerable length. The one he entitled, "A History of England," beginning at the 57th Henry III., A.D. 1273, and concluding with an account of the splendid funeral of Henry V., and the appointment of Humphrey duke of Gloucester to the regency of England. To the other he gave the whimsical name of "Ypodigma Neustriae," which is a history of Normandy (anciently called Neustria), interspersed with the affairs of England from the beginning of the tenth century to A.D. 1418. In the dedication of this work to Henry V., he tells that prince, that when he reflected on the cunning intrigues, frauds, and breaches of treaties in his enemies the French, he was tormented with fears that they would deceive him; and had composed that work, which contained many examples of their perfidy, to put him upon his guard.

Thomas Otterbourne, a Franciscan friar, composed a history of England, from the landing of Brutus the Trojan, to A.D. 1420. It is extracted, as he acknowledges, from former historians, as Geoffrey of Monmouth, Venerable Bede, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntington, Roger Hoveden, and Higden's Polycronicon, for the benefit of those who could not procure an opportunity of perusing their works. It is certainly not a masterly performance; and yet it ought to be consulted, and affords some useful information in the history of his own times.

John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's, wrote a chronicle of twenty years of this period, beginning A.D. 1441, and ending A.D. 1461. It contains many original papers, and gives a very full account of some events, particularly of the two battles of St. Alban's. More than one half of his chronicle is filled with the affairs of his own abbey, to which he was a great benefactor. The most remarkable circumstance in the personal history of this writer, is his longevity. He was ordained a priest in A.D. 1382, and died A.D. 1461, when he had been eighty-

two years in priest's orders, and above one hundred years of age.

Thomas de Elmham, prior of Linton, wrote a copious history of the life and reign of Henry V. in a very inflated style. But as he was the contemporary of that great prince, and had his information from persons of rank and honour, who were eye-witnesses of most of the events which he relates, his work is valuable.

The history of Henry V. was also written by one who took the name of Titus Livius, and whose real name is not known. He was an Italian by birth; and not meeting with proper encouragement in his own country, he came into England, and put himself under the protection of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, that munificent patron of learned men, who made him his poet-laureat, and persuaded him to write the history of the late king, his brother. His work is a free judicious epitome of the above history of Thomas de Elmham, leaving out some things, and adding others. In his style, he was a professed but very unsuccessful imitator of the great Roman historian whose name he assumed.

William Bottoner, better known by the name of William of Wyrcester, was born at Bristol, and educated at Harts-hall, Oxford, where he was supported by the famous warrior Sir John Falstolf, to whom he became a retainer. Our literary historians, who copy one another, tell us, that he was a good mathematician, an expert physician, a great cosmographer, and a famous historian. If he deserved the other characters no better than the last, they were bestowed upon him very improperly. He wrote meagre annals of England from A.D. 1324, to A.D. 1468, in a most barbarous style; but as they contain some things that are not to be found in any other work, they are of some value, and must be consulted.

John Rous, the antiquary of Warwick, is celebrated by our literary historians as a man of immense learning, and indefatigable industry in collecting materials for a history of the kings of England. But when we peruse the work, we are greatly disappointed. His language is incorrect and barbarous, his credulity childish, his digressions long and frequent, and his narrations of the most important events short and unsatisfactory. He begins his history at the creation, and tells us, amongst other extraordinary things, that Moses mentions only one antediluvian city, which was built by Cain, and called by him "Enoch," in honour of Enoch, his eldest son; but that the famous man Bernard de Breydenbach, dean of Mentz, writes, that there were eight noble cities built before the flood; and he tells this story in such a manner as to convince us, that he gave as much credit to Bernard de Breydenbach as to Moses. But notwithstanding all its imperfections, this work of John Rous is of considerable use, as he incidentally mentions many curious particulars concerning the state of England, and the manners of its inhabitants, in his own times. He died in a very advanced age, A.D. 1491.

All the authors above-mentioned wrote in Latin; but Robert Fabian, a merchant and alderman of London, wrote a chronicle of England and France, called "The Concordance of Stories," in the English of his age, which is very intelligible. It is divided into seven parts, the first beginning at the arrival of Brutus, and the last ending at the 20th Henry VII., A.D. 1504. The histories of England and France are intermixed, but given in distinct chapters. This work is valuable for the plainness and sincerity with which it is written; for the lists, first

of the bailiffs, and afterwards of the mayors and sheriffs of London; and for many other particulars relating to that great city.

Some other chroniclers lived and wrote in this period, particularly John Harding and William Caxton, whose works have been printed; but those who expect much information or amusement in the perusal of them will be disappointed. The writers and lovers of English history are much more indebted to the labours of three French gentlemen, Sir John Froissart, Philip de Comines, lord of Argenton, and Denguerran de Monstrelet, who give more full and circumstantial relations of many transactions than any of our own contemporary historians.

Though the law-colleges in London, commonly called the "Inns of Court and Chancery," were crowded with students of law in this period, few gentlemen of that profession made a distinguished figure as authors, if we except Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir John Fortescue, who have merited a place in the history of their country by their learned labours.

Sir Thomas Littleton, descended of an ancient and honourable family in the county of Worcester, when of a proper age, and duly qualified, became a student of law in the Inner Temple. After he had been some time at the bar, and his abilities were known, he was promoted first to be a judge of the Marshalsea-court, made king's sergeant and justice of assize, A.D. 1455, and one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, A.D. 1466, having conducted himself with so much moderation and prudence in those difficult times, as to possess the favour of the contending families of Lancaster and York. Our judge, at his leisure hours, composed his learned and useful work on English tenures of lands, to which he is indebted for that fame which he has long and deservedly enjoyed. The learned judge died in an advanced age, August 23, A.D. 1481, leaving three sons to share his ample fortune.

Sir John Fortescue was the great ornament of his honourable profession, and one of the most learned and best men of the age in which he flourished. Being the third son of Sir Henry Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, he was early intended for the law, and at a proper age entered a student in Lincoln's Inn, where he soon became famous for his superior knowledge, both of the civil and common law. When he was reader in that society, his lectures were attended with crowded audiences, and received with great applause. He was made a sergeant at law, A.D. 1430; appointed king's sergeant, A.D. 1441; and raised to the high office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench, A.D. 1442, in which he presided many years with great wisdom, dignity, and uprightness. As the Chief Justice was steady in his loyalty to his sovereign, Henry VI., he shared in his misfortunes, and was attainted of high treason by the first parliament of Edward IV., A.D. 1461, after he had fled into Scotland with his unfortunate master. It was probably there that he was created Lord Chancellor of England, an office which he never had an opportunity of exercising. Having retired into France, A.D. 1463, with Queen Margaret and her son Edward, Prince of Wales, he remained there several years, assisting them with his councils, and superintending the education of that hopeful young prince. It was for his instruction, to give him clear and just ideas of the constitution of England, as a limited and legal, and not an absolute monarchy, that he composed his admirable little treatise, *De Laudibus Legum*

*Angliæ*; which, for the excellence of its method, the solidity of its matter, and the justness of its views, excels every work on that subject in so small a compass, and must endear the memory of this great and good man to every friend of our happy constitution. This excellent treatise, after remaining too long in obscurity, was printed, and has passed through several editions. Sir John Fortescue accompanied Queen Margaret and Prince Edward in their last unfortunate expedition into England, and was taken prisoner, after the defeat of their army, at Tewksbury, May 4, A.D. 1471. Though Edward IV. made rather a cruel use of his victory, he spared the life of this venerable man; and after some time restored him to his liberty, and probably to his estate, and received him into favour. Sir John, like a wise and good man, acquiesced in the decision of Providence in the fatal contest between the houses of York and Lancaster; and, considering the last of these houses as now extinct, he frankly acknowledged the title of Edward IV. to the crown, and wrote in defence of that title. But he still retained the same political principles, and particularly his zealous attachment to a limited and legal government, in opposition to absolute monarchy. This is evident from his excellent treatise on the difference between an absolute and limited monarchy, which, after remaining long in manuscript, was published by an honourable descendant of the author, A.D. 1714. This treatise is written in English, was designed for the use of Edward IV., and is a valuable specimen of the English of those times; but much more valuable on account of the many curious particulars it contains concerning the constitution of England, and the condition of its inhabitants. This learned judge composed several other works, which are still extant in M.S., and some of which are probably lost; and, after a long, active, and virtuous life, he died in the ninetieth year of his age.

The love of learning was by no means the prevailing taste of the great in the times we are examining. Even in a later period, "it was thought enough for a nobleman's son to wind their horn, and to carry their hawk fair, and leave study and learning to the children of mean people." A few persons, however, of high rank possessed such strength of mind as to resist the tyranny of fashion, and engage with no little ardour and success in the pursuit of learning, and on that account deserve to be remembered with honour by posterity.

John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, who flourished in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV., was greatly distinguished among the nobility of his time, by his genius and love of learning. He succeeded to the great estates of his family, by the death of his father John Lord Tiptoft, 21st Henry VI., when he was about sixteen years of age; and, six years after, was honoured by that monarch with the higher title of earl of Worcester. This accomplished nobleman was, by the same prince, constituted Lord High Treasurer of England, when he was only twenty-five years of age. The earl of Worcester very early discovered a taste for learning, and at a proper age prosecuted his studies at Baliol college in Oxford; where, as his contemporary and fellow-student, John Rous of Warwick, tells us, he was much admired for his rapid progress in literature. In the twenty-seventh year of his age, he was commissioned, with some other noblemen, to guard the narrow sea, and performed that service with honour to himself and advantage to his country. But in the midst of all



these honourable toils and offices, his love of learning continued unabated; and he resolved to travel for his improvement. Having visited the Holy Land, he returned to Italy, and settled at Padua, where Lodovicus Carbo, Guarinus, and John Phrea, an Englishman, were then very famous for their learning, and attracted great crowds of students. Our illustrious stranger was treated with great respect at Padua, and much admired by all the men of letters, for the knowledge he already possessed, and his ardour in adding to his stores. His countryman, John Phrea, dedicated two books which he then published, to the earl of Worcester; and in these dedications he bestowed the highest praises on his patron, for his genius, learning, and many virtues; and amongst other things, says, "Those superior beings, whose office it is to be the guardians of our isle of Britain, knowing you to be a wise and good man, an enemy to faction, and a friend of peace, warned you to abandon a country which they had abandoned, that you might not be stained by mixing with impious and factious men." While he resided at Padua, which was about three years, during the heat of the civil wars in England, he visited Rome, and delivered an oration before Pope Pius II. (*Æneas Silvius*), and his cardinals, which drew tears of joy from his holiness, and made him say aloud, "Behold the only prince of our times, who for virtue and eloquence may be justly compared to the most excellent emperors of Greece and Rome." Such a compliment from an Italian to an Englishman must have been extorted by the force of truth.

The earl of Worcester was a great collector of books; and while he resided in Italy, he expended much money in literary purchases. "The earl of Worcester," says *Laurentius Carbo*, "captivated by the charms of the muses, hath remained three years in Italy, and now resides at Padua, for the sake of study, and detained by the civilities of the Venetians; who, being exceedingly fond of books, hath plundered, if I may so speak, our Italian libraries, to enrich England." After his return home, he made a present of books to the university-library of Oxford, which had cost him 500 marks: a great sum in those times.

As soon as the earl received intelligence that the civil war was ended by the elevation of Edward IV. to the throne, he returned to England, submitted to that prince, was received into his favour, and raised by him to several places of power and trust. In the second year of that reign he was made treasurer of the exchequer, and in the next year, chancellor of Ireland for life. He was soon after constituted lord deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Clarence, and at last made lord lieutenant of that kingdom, and constable of England. In a word, he was loaded with favours; and hardly a year passed in which he did not receive some valuable grant or great office.

But this prosperity was not of long duration. A new revolution took place. Edward IV. was obliged to abandon his kingdom with great precipitation to save his life. The earl of Worcester was not so fortunate as to escape; but after he had concealed himself a few days, he was discovered on a high tree in the forest of Weybrig, conducted to London, condemned at Westminster, and beheaded on Tower-hill, October 15, A.D. 1470, in the 42d year of his age. He was accused of cruelty in the government of Ireland; but his greatest crime, and that for which he suffered, was his steady loyalty to him whom he deemed his rightful sovereign and ge-

nerous benefactor, Edward IV. "O good blessed Lord God!" says Caxton, "what grete losse was it of that noble, virtuous, and well-disposed lord the Earl Worcester! What worship had he at Rome, in the presence of our holy fader the pope, and in all other places unto his deth! The axe then did at one blow cut off more learning than was in the heads of all the surviving nobility." Caxton was his contemporary; and being also a zealous Yorkist, could not but be well acquainted with him.

This earl translated the Orations of Publius Cornelius and Caius Flaminius, rivals for the love of Lucretia; and his translation, says Leland, was so neat, elegant, and expressive, that it equalled the beauty of the original. He translated also into English, *Cicero De Amicitia*, and his treatise *De Senectute*; and these translations were printed by Caxton, A.D. 1481. His famous oration before the pope and cardinals, and most of his original works, are lost, a few letters and small pieces only remaining in manuscript.

Another English nobleman, contemporary with the earl of Worcester, who was an author, and had a taste for letters, was Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, brother to the Queen of Edward IV. He was, in all respects, one of the most accomplished noblemen of his age. It is not known where this nobleman was educated, or how far he pursued his studies; but as he was early and constantly engaged in the tumults of those turbulent times, or in discharging the duties of the high offices with which he was invested, it is probable that he made no great progress in the cultivation of the sciences; and as his works consist of translations from the French, they did not require much erudition.

The following account of these works, by his printer and great admirer, honest William Caxton, will be more satisfactory than any that can be given by a modern writer. "The noble and virtuous Lord Anthoine, Erle Ryviers, Lord Scales, and of the Isle of Wight—uncle and governour to my lord prince of Wales—notwithstanding the great labours and charges that he hath had in the service of the king and the said lord prince, as well in Wales as in England, which hath be to him no little thought and business, both in spirite and body, as the fruit thereof experimentally sheweth; yet over that, tenriche his virtuous disposicion, he hath put him in devoyr, at all tymes when he might have a leysur, whiche was but startemele, to translate diverse bookes, out of French into English. Emong other, passed thurgh myn hande, the booke of the Wise Saynges or Dictes of Philosophers—and the Wise Holsom Proverbes of Cristine of Pyse, set in metre. Over that, hath made diverse balades against the seven dedely sinnes. Furhermore, he took upon him the translating of this present worke, named *Cordiale*, trusting, that bothe the reders and the hearers thereof sholde know themself hereafter the better, and amende their lyvyng." These three books, translated from the French by Earl Rivers, were printed by Caxton, A.D. 1477 and 1478; and our earl, and his printer Caxton, were the first English writers who had the pleasure to see their works published from the press. His ballads against the seven deadly sins, are presumed to be lost; but John Rous of Warwick has preserved a short poem, which he is said to have composed in his prison in Pomfret castle, a little before his death, which breathes a noble spirit of pious resignation to his approaching fate. This accomplished, brave, and amiable nobleman, as has been already related, was beheaded

at Pomfret, 23d June A.D. 1483, in the 41st year of his age. He is said to have been the cause of the bringing the invention of printing into England.

#### *History of the chief Seminaries of Learning.*

Though learning sensibly declined in Britain in this period, that was not owing to the want of schools, colleges, and universities; as, in the course of it, three colleges were founded in each of the English universities, and the two universities of St. Andrew and Glasgow were founded in Scotland.

Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, was the founder of Lincoln College in Oxford. In his youth he was a great admirer of Dr. Wickliffe, and a zealous advocate for his opinions; but having obtained good preferments in the church, and expecting better, he changed his principles, and became as violent an opposer as he had been a defender of these opinions. Having been raised to the episcopal chair of Lincoln, he founded Lincoln College in Oxford, A.D. 1430, for a rector and seven scholars, who were to make controversial divinity their particular study, to fit them for defending the church against the Lollards, by their writings and disputations. Bishop Fleming died soon after he had laid the foundation of his college, and left it in a very imperfect state. But the buildings were carried on, and several fellowships founded by successive benefactors; and at length the whole was completed about A.D. 1475, by Thomas Scott of Rotherham, bishop of Lincoln, who may be called the second founder of this college.

Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, founded All-Souls College in Oxford, A.D. 1437. Having determined to devote his money to pious and charitable uses, his friends, with whom he consulted, advised him to build an hospital for the disabled soldiers who were daily returning from the wars in France. But this great prelate, being more under the influence of superstition than humanity, and thinking it a greater act of charity to relieve the souls of the dead than the bodies of the living, founded a college for a warden and forty fellows, and appointed them to put up incessant prayers for the souls of those who had fallen in the French wars, and for the souls of all the faithful departed, from whence it was called *Collegium Omnium Animarum*, the College of All-Souls. The archbishop expended 454*l.* on the fabric, and procured a considerable revenue for it out of the lands of the alien priories, which had been dissolved a little time before.

William Patten, Bishop of Winchester, founded a college at Oxford, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene and from thence called Magdalene College, for a president, forty fellows, thirty scholars, four presbyters, eight singing clerks, sixteen choristers, with suitable officers and servants. The foundation of the fabric was laid A.D. 1458, and the whole structure was completed A.D. 1479. This college, by the bounty of its founder and other benefactors, soon became one of the richest in Europe.

Henry VI. founded King's College in Cambridge, A.D. 1443, for one provost, seventy fellows and scholars, three chaplains, six clerks, sixteen choristers, with a master, sixteen officers, twelve servitors, &c. The original plan of this foundation was truly royal and magnificent, if we may judge of it from the chapel, which has been long and universally admired as one of the finest pieces of Gothic architecture in the world. But the misfortunes of the unhappy founder prevented the execution of that plan. King Henry founded also the illustrious

school of Eton, near Windsor, about the same time to be a nursery for his college in Cambridge.

Queen Margaret, the active ambitious consort of Henry VI., founded Queen's College in Cambridge, A.D. 1448. This college was involved in the misfortunes of its foundress, and in danger of perishing in its infancy; but was preserved by the care and diligence of Andrew Duckett, its first president, who continued in that station no less than forty years; and by his assiduous solicitations, procured it so many benefactions, that he may, with great propriety, be esteemed its preserver and second founder.

Robert Woodlark, the third provost of King's College, founded Katherine-hall in Cambridge, A.D. 1475, for a master and three fellows. This hall, so small at its beginning, increased so much in its revenues, and the number of its members, by the bounty of many subsequent benefactors, that it became equal, if not superior, to some colleges.

The professors of the several sciences in Cambridge and Oxford anciently read their lectures, either in convents or in private houses, at a distance from one another, hired for that purpose; which was attended with various inconveniences. To remedy this, public schools were built, in both these universities, in the course of this period. Thomas Hokenorton, abbot of Osney, erected a range of stone buildings, in Oxford, A.D. 1439 which he divided into schools for the following arts and sciences; metaphysics, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, astronomy, geometry, music, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric and grammar. These were called the "new schools," and were used till long after the conclusion of this period. The foundation of the magnificent divinity school and library, in the same university, was laid about A.D. 1427; but the building was frequently interrupted for want of money. At length, by the liberal donations of several benefactors, particularly of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, Cardinal John Kemp archbishop of York, and his nephew Thomas Kemp, bishop of London, the structure was completed A.D. 1480. This fabric was an object of great admiration in those times; and the university speak of it in the most lofty strains, in their letters to their great benefactor the bishop of London, calling it "A work worthy of God, as much superior to all the great edifices around it, in magnitude and beauty, as divinity, to which it is dedicated, is superior to all the other sciences." The quadrangle, containing the public schools in Cambridge, at least the west side of it, was founded about the beginning of this period, and the whole was finished about A.D. 1475.

### SECTION III.

HISTORY OF THE ARTS, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. A.D. 1399, TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. A.D. 1485.

THE frequent wars in which the people of Britain were engaged in this period, were as unfriendly to the improvement of the arts as to the advancement of learning. The art of war, indeed, was cultivated with the greatest ardour, and many improvements were made in the science of shedding human blood; whilst some of the most necessary and useful arts were allowed to languish and decline. But it is proper, and may be both useful and amusing, to take a more attentive view, first of the necessary, and then of the pleasing arts, in this period.



*History of the useful arts.*

Agriculture, the most necessary and useful of all arts, could not flourish or be much improved, when those who cultivated the soil were little better than slaves, and laboured not so much for themselves as for their masters, who, in general, treated them with little kindness.

These unhappy rustics were not even permitted to pursue their humble toils in peace, but were liable every moment to be called from the plough into the field of battle, by a royal proclamation, or by the mandates of their own arbitrary lords. Such multitudes of this most useful order of men actually fell in battle, or were destroyed by the accidents and fatigues of war, that hands were wanting to carry on the necessary operations of husbandry. This occasioned loud complaints of the scarcity of labourers, and of the high price of labour. Many laws were made to reduce and fix the price of labour, to compel men to become labourers, and to restrain them from following other occupations. In one of these statutes it is said, that noblemen and others were greatly distressed for want of labourers and servants in husbandry; and therefore it was enacted, "That whoever had been employed at the plough, or cart, or any other husbandry-work, till he was twelve years of age, should be compelled to continue in that employment during life." It was further enacted, "That none who had not lands or rents of the value of twenty shillings a year (equivalent to ten pounds at present), should be permitted to put any of their sons apprentices to any other trade, but should bring them all up to husbandry." These unjust laws, which infringed so much on natural liberty, were enforced by very severe penalties: a proof that the evil they were intended to remedy was very sensibly felt.

But these and several other laws limiting the price of labour, seem to have had little or no effect. The scarcity of labourers still continued, and with the ravages of war increased, and at last produced a memorable revolution in the state of agriculture. The prelates, barons, and other great proprietors of land, kept extensive tracts of them around their castles, which were called their demesne lands, in their own immediate possession, and cultivated them by their villains, and by hired servants, under the direction of their bailiffs. But these great landholders having often led their followers to war, their numbers were gradually diminished, and hired servants could not be procured on reasonable terms. This obliged the prelates, lords, and gentlemen, to inclose the lands around their castles, and to convert them into pasture-grounds. This practice of inclosing became very general in England about the middle of this period, and occasioned prodigious clamours from those who mistook the effect of depopulation for its cause. For when we consider that the importance and security of the landed proprietors of those times depended more upon the number of their followers than on the greatness of their estates, we cannot suppose it possible that the generality of them, nearly about the same time, would have agreed to expel their followers from their demesne lands, in order to cover them with flocks and herds, if they had not been compelled to do it by some very general and powerful cause. We learn from the best authority, the testimony of many acts of parliament, that the depopulation of the country, and the difficulty of procuring labourers, was the real cause of this remarkable revolution.

John Rous of Warwick was a most violent declaimer against the nobility and gentry who inclosed their lands; and a considerable part of his History of England consists of the most bitter invectives against them; calling them depopulators, destroyers of villages, robbers, tyrants, basilisks, enemies to God and man; and assuring them, that they would all go to the devil when they died. This zealous enemy to inclosures tells us, that he presented a petition against them to the parliament that met at Coventry, A.D. 1459, which was totally disregarded; and that several petitions to succeeding parliaments had been equally unsuccessful. But though John Rous was a contemporary writer, no great regard is due to his opinions, as he was evidently a superficial observer, and a weak credulous man. In his declamations against those hated depopulators, he informs us that one of that character had actually been seen in hell, by a certain priest who was carried thither on the back of a devil, with whom he was familiar; that the priest was a little averse at first to trust himself on the back of his infernal friend, till the devil gave him his word of honour that he would bring him back in safety; which he faithfully performed.

But though this alteration in agriculture was introduced at first by the scarcity of labourers, and the high price of labour, it cannot be denied, that the custom of inclosing arable lands, and converting them into pastures, was at length carried too far; and early in the succeeding period we shall find that parliament interposed to stop its progress.

The frequent dearths which happened in this period, is another evidence of the imperfect state of agriculture. In the present age, when grain is double its ordinary price, it is accounted a great dearth, and is very severely felt by the great body of the people. But in those times grain was frequently triple or quadruple its usual price, which must have produced a grievous famine. The most common price of a quarter of wheat in this period seems to have been about 4s. or 4s. 6d., at the rate of 40s. or 45s. of our money at present. But we are informed by a contemporary historian, that in A.D. 1437 and 1438 the price of a quarter of wheat in many places was no less than 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (equivalent to 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* at present); and the price of all other kinds of grain in the same proportion to their ordinary prices. In this extremity, the common people endeavoured to preserve their wretched lives by drying the roots of herbs, and converting them into a kind of bread.

It must be confessed, that in the course of this period grain of all kinds was sometimes exceedingly cheap. Wheat was sold, A.D. 1455, in some places, at 1*s.* the quarter. But this was not so much owing to any improvements in husbandry as to an extraordinary importation of corn from the continent in order to procure a supply of English wool. This excessive importation, which threatened the ruin of the English farmers, excited the most violent complaints, and gave occasion to a corn-law, A.D. 1463. By that law it was enacted, that no grain of any kind should be imported, when wheat was below 6*s.* 8*d.*, rye under 4*s.*, and barley under 3*s.* per quarter; which were high prices, and called for a supply from abroad.

But the great decrease in the value of land is the strongest proof of the decline of agriculture in this period. There are some examples of land sold at twenty-five years purchase in the reign of Edward III., which, it is probable, was not much

above the common price. But there is the fullest evidence that land had fallen in its value to ten years purchase, in the reign of Edward IV. For that prince promised, by proclamation, a reward of 1000*l.* in money, or an estate of 100*l.* a-year, to any who should apprehend the duke of Clarence, or the earl of Warwick. It is even probable that land was sometimes sold considerably lower. Sir John Fortescue, advising Edward IV. to reward his servants with money, rather than with land, says, "It is supposed, that to sum of them is givyn 100*l.* worth land yerely, that would have hold him content with 200*l.* in money, if thay might have had it in hand." So deplorable are the effects of long and frequent wars, especially of intestine wars, in a country not overstocked with inhabitants.

Orchards and gardens were cultivated in this as well as in former periods; but if any great improvements were now made in that branch of agriculture, by the introduction of new fruits, plants, herbs, or flowers, they have escaped our researches. The following verses of King James I. of Scotland contain a description of the royal garden at Windsor, as it appeared about A.D. 1414:

Now was there maid fast by the Touris wall  
A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set  
Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small,  
Rallit about; and so with treis set  
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,  
That lyf<sup>\*</sup> was non walkinge there forbye  
That myght within searce any wight aspye,  
So thicke the beuis and the levis grene,  
Beschadet all the allyes that there were,  
And middis every herbere might be sene  
The sharp grene suete junipere,  
Growing so fair with branchis here and there,  
That as it semyt to a lyf without,  
The beuis spred the herbere all about.

Though greater attention was paid to the breeding and feeding of sheep and cattle in this than in any former period, the sowing of grasses and the manuring of pastures were quite unknown.

Salt is at all times an important article, and was of still greater importance in those times, when salted meats were so much used; and yet the art of making it was very imperfectly understood in England. Henry VI. being informed, that a new and better method of making salt had been invented in the Low Countries, he invited John de Sheidame, a gentleman of Zealand, with sixty persons in his company, to come into England, to instruct his subjects in the new method of making salt, promising them protection and encouragement.

It would be improper, on many accounts, to encumber the pages of a general history with every change in the arts. It is not necessary, therefore, to give a detailed description of the state of architecture, as it was very nearly the same in this as in the preceding period.

Though great guns were now used both in the attack and defence of places, no alterations were yet made in constructing and fortifying such places. The prodigious thickness and solidity of the walls of the Anglo-Norman castles, made any alteration appear unnecessary, as they seemed to be sufficiently strong to resist any force with which they could be assaulted. The truth is, that the people of England in this period were much more employed in beating down than in building. Many large, strong and magnificent castles were demolished or dismantled during the desolating civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, but very few were built. For at the same time that these castles

\* Lyf, living person.

were destroyed, their proprietors were killed or ruined. So many of the artificers employed in building fell in these and other wars, that they became exceedingly scarce, and the price of their labour very high; and all the laws made to remedy this evil proved ineffectual.

The taste for founding and building monasteries and churches did not prevail so much in this as it had done in some preceding periods. This was partly owing to the unhappy state of the country; and partly to the doubts which had been raised in the minds of many persons of all ranks, by Wickliffe and his followers, concerning the merit of those pious but expensive works. It cannot be denied, however, that the style of sacred architecture, commonly called the Gothic, continued to be gradually improved, and in the course of this period was brought to the highest perfection. Of this most lofty, bold, and perfect style of Gothic architecture, several specimens remain entire. Of this kind are, the divinity school at Oxford—the chapel of King's College at Cambridge—the collegiate church of Fotheringay—the chapel of St. George at Windsor, and several other churches in England.

To prevent the necessity of a minute description of the peculiarities of this style of architecture, it may be proper to lay before the reader the plan of King's College chapel in Cambridge (the most admired edifice of this kind), extracted from the last will of its royal founder, Henry VI., by one of our historians. "The words of the will are these—As touching the dimensions of the church of my said college, of our Lady and St. Nicholas at Cambridge, I have devised and appointed, that the same church shall containe in length 288 foot of assize, without any iles, and all of the wideness of 40 foot. And the length of the same church, from the west end, unto the altars at the quire door, shall contain 120 foot, and from the provost's stall unto the steps called Gradus Chori, 90 foot, for 36 stalls on either side of the same quire, answering to 70 fellows, and ten priests conduits, which must be *De prima forma*. And from the said stalls to the east end of the church, 22 foot of assize. Also a rere-dosse bearing the roodloft, departing the quire and the body of the church, containing in length 40 foot, and in breadth 14 foot. The walls of the same church to be in height 90 foot, embattled, vaulted, and chere-roofed, sufficiently butteraced, and every butterace fined with finials. And in the east end of the same church shall be a window of nine days, and betwixt every butterace a window of five days. And betwixt every of the same butteraces in the body of the church, on both sides of the same church, a closet, with an altar therein, containing in length 20 foot, and in breadth 10 foot, vawlted and finished under the soyle of the isle windows. And the pavement of the church to be enhanced four foot above the ground without; and the pavement of the quire one foot and a half above the pavement of the church." This light, lofty, and beautiful structure was founded A.D. 1441, and consecrated 1443, though it was not finished till some years after; and is still in excellent preservation.

If many churches and castles were destroyed by the desolating wars of this period, a much greater number of villages and private dwellings were demolished or deserted. John Rous of Warwick names no fewer than sixty villages, within twelve miles of that city, some of them formerly large and populous, with churches and manor houses, that were destroyed and abandoned. In such circumstances, no improvements could be made in civil architecture



that merit investigation. It is sufficient to observe in general, that the common people were but indifferently lodged; and that the mansions of the great were more magnificent than comfortable.

The arts of mining, of refining and working metals, so useful in themselves, and so necessary to all the other arts, were greatly improved in England in the fourteenth century. We have no reason to think that any of the metallic arts declined, but rather that they were improved and multiplied in our present period. The efforts of ingenious men to discover an universal medicine, and a method of refining the baser metals into gold and silver, were more strenuous and more encouraged in this than in any preceding period; and though these efforts did not succeed to their wish, they improved their knowledge of the nature of metals, and of the arts of working them. The wars which were hurtful to other arts and artists, were favourable to those employed in fabricating defensive armour and offensive arms, with which every man, both in England and Scotland, was obliged by law to be furnished.

Though tin and lead had long been staple commodities of England, and valuable articles of export, the English miners were not believed to be so skillful in their profession as those of Germany. Henry VI., therefore, having failed in all his attempts to procure the precious metals by alchymy, brought over, A.D. 1452, Michael Gosselyn, George Harttryke, Matthew Laweston, three famous miners, with thirty other miners, from Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary, to superintend and work the royal mines, and instruct his subjects in their art. Of the success of this project we have no account.

As gold and silver were very scarce in England in this period, the art of gilding a great variety of goods made of baser metals, to give them the appearance of plate, was much practised; and some of these gilders had so much art, and so little honesty, as to sell their gilded wares at the price of real plate. To punish such as should be guilty of this gross imposition, and also to prevent the use, or rather the waste, of too much gold and silver in gilding, it was enacted by parliament, A.D. 1403. "That no artificer, nor other man, whatsoever he be, from henceforth shall gilt nor silver any locks, rings, beads, candlesticks, harness of girdles, chalices, hilts or pomels of swords, powder-boxes, nor covers for cups, made of copper or latten, upon pain to forfeit to the king Cs. at every time that he shall be found guilty, and to make satisfaction to the party grieved for his damages; but that (chalices excepted) the said artificers may work, or cause to be wrought, ornaments for the church of copper and latten, and the same gilt or silver; so that always in the foot, or in some other part of every such ornament so to be made, the copper, and the latten shall be plain, to the intent that a man may see whereof the thing is made, for to eschew the deceit aforesaid." By a subsequent law, gilders were still further limited; and embroiderers, having been guilty of similar frauds, were subjected to similar penalties.

It has been justly observed, that as arts are improved, labour is gradually more and more divided; and that this division of labour contributes to their further improvement. The manufacturers of metals in England were now divided into many branches, and many articles of hardware were manufactured by them, that had formerly been imported. In consequence of petitions to the last parliament of this period from the pinner, cutlers, blade-smiths, blacksmiths, spurriers, gold-beaters, founders, card-

makers, wiremongers, coppersmiths, of London and other cities, towns, boroughs, and villages, an act was made, prohibiting the importation of all the following articles:—Harness for girdles, pins, knives, hangers tailors-shears, scissors, andirons, tongs, fire-forks, gridirons, stock-locks, keys, hinges, and garnets, spurs, beaten gold or beaten silver wrought in papers for painters, horse harness, bits, stirrups, buckles, chains, latten nails with iron shanks, turnels, standing candlesticks, hanging candlesticks, holy water stops, chaffing-dishes, hanging lavers, curtain-rings, cards for wool (except Roan cards), clasps for gowns, buckles for shoes, brooches, bells (except hawks-bells), tin and leaden spoons, wire of latten and iron, iron candlesticks, grates, or any other articles manufactured by the petitioners. This is a sufficient proof, to which others might be added, that the metallic arts were improved, and diffused, in the course of this period; though they were still but in their infancy, in comparison to the magnitude and perfection at which they have since arrived.

The great importance of the clothing arts, particularly of the woollen manufacture, was now so well understood in England, that the calamities and confusions of war only retarded, but could not prevent, the progress and improvement of those arts, and of that manufacture. The English had at length discovered and regarded these two obvious truths:—That it was better to manufacture their own clothing of their own wool at home, than to pay foreigners abroad for doing it;—and that wool made into cloth was a more valuable article of export, than in the fleece.

Kings and parliaments, in the preceding period, endeavoured to induce and compel the people to act upon these maxims, by making severe laws against the exportation of wool and the importation of cloth. By the operation of these laws, and other concurring causes, the number and skill of the people employed in the woollen manufacture gradually increased; and at the beginning of this period, that most valuable manufacture, which has contributed so much to the prosperity and wealth of England, was widely diffused and firmly established.

Though the kings and parliaments, in this period, were too much engaged in war, they did not neglect an object of so great importance as the woollen manufacture. On the contrary, no fewer than twelve acts of parliament were made in the short and turbulent reign of Henry IV. for the regulation and encouragement of that manufacture; for preventing the exportation of wool and importation of cloth; and for guarding against frauds in the fabrication of it at home. Henry V. was too much engaged in projects of ambition and conquest to pay proper attention to manufactures; but in the succeeding reigns, a great number of statutes were made for the improvement of the clothing arts. From these statutes, which afford the best historical evidence, it plainly appears, that the woollen manufacture had now spread from one end of England to the other, and produced, not only sufficient quantities of cloths of various kinds for home-consumption, but also great quantities for exportation.

The arts of spinning, throwing, and weaving silk, were brought into England in this period, and practised by a company of women in London, called "silk-women." Upon a petition of this female company to parliament, A.D. 1455, representing, that the Lombards and other Italians imported such quantities of silk thread, ribbons, corsees, &c. that they were in danger of being reduced to great po-

verty, an act was made for prohibiting the importation of any of the articles manufactured by these silk-women. These articles consisted only of laces, ribbons, and such narrow fabrics, in no great quantities. From such small beginnings did the silk manufacture of England derive its origin. Towards the end of this period, about A.D. 1480, men began to engage in the silk manufacture, which, before that time, had been wholly performed by women.

As the destructive art of war was much studied and practised, and was also much improved, in this period, various changes were introduced in the manner of raising, forming, and paying armies, in their arms, operations, discipline, &c.

The feudal military services, were always performed with reluctance, gradually decreased in efficacy, and at this time were not to be depended upon for raising an army, especially for a foreign expedition. When such an expedition therefore was intended, our kings raised the best part of their armies, by entering into indentures with their own dukes, earls, barons, and knights, and with foreign chieftains; who engaged to serve them on a certain expedition (described in the indenture), for a certain time, with a stipulated number of men at arms and archers, at a fixed price. These indentures contained several other covenants and regulations respecting the service, which makes it proper to lay the substance of one of them before the reader. By an indenture between Henry V. and Henry Lord Scroope, it is stipulated, That the said Lord Scroope shall attend and serve the king one year, in an expedition into France, with thirty men at arms, and ninety archers on horseback; himself to be one of the men at arms; the rest to consist of three knights and twenty-six esquires.—That Lord Scroope shall receive for his own daily pay, 4s.; for each of the knights, 2s.; for each of the esquires, 1s.; and for each of the archers, 6d.;—That, besides this pay, the Lord Scroope shall receive the usual regard (or *douceur*), at the rate of 100 marks per quarter, for thirty men at arms;—That all prisoners taken by Lord Scroope and his troops, in the said expedition, shall belong to him, except kings' sons, generals, and chieftains, who shall be delivered to the king on his paying a reasonable ransom to the captors. The other articles relate to the securities and terms of payment, the time and manner of musters, &c. and are not very material. This indenture was made 29th April, A.D. 1415, when Henry V. was preparing for his first expedition into France; about which time many others of the same kind were concluded.

The chieftains, who contracted with the king to serve him with a certain number of troops, made similar contracts with small bodies of men at arms and archers to make up that number. Thus, for example, Thomas earl of Salisbury engaged, by an indenture dated June 1, A.D. 1415, William Bydick, esq. a man at arms, to serve under him with ten archers, for one year, in the intended expedition into France, at the daily pay of 1s. for himself, and 6d. for each of his archers. From this contract it appears that the regard (as it was called), at the rate of 100 marks per quarter for every thirty men at arms, belonged wholly to the chieftain, to enable him to keep a table for his men at arms; and that he had also a right to the third part of all the plunder, and of the ransom of all the prisoners taken by those under his command. These military contracts were very beneficial to the great barons of those times, which made them fond of war, especially of foreign expe-

ditions, by which many of them were greatly enriched in the victorious reign of Henry V.; though their country was almost ruined by their pernicious victories.

We cannot but observe, that the pay of soldiers of all ranks, in an army raised in this manner, was very high. The daily pay of a duke was one mark, equivalent to about 7*l.* of our money; of an earl, 6*s.* 8*d.* equivalent to 3*l.* 10*s.*; of a baron, 4*s.* equivalent to 2*l.*; of a knight, 2*s.* equivalent to 1*l.*; of an esquire or man at arms, 1*s.* equivalent to 10*s.*; of an archer, 6*d.* equivalent to 5*s.* The pretences for this high pay were these,—the shortness of the service, and the great expenses they were at in furnishing themselves with horses, armour, arms, clothing, victuals, servants, and every thing, except shipping and artillery. But however just these pretences might be, the expense of an army of this kind soon exhausted all the revenues of the crown, and almost all the resources of the country. Henry V. had not only expended all the treasure he had been amassing for two years by borrowing, and every other art, but was obliged to pawn his crown, and his most valuable jewels, before he embarked on his first expedition against France.

When an invasion or rebellion was apprehended, and a great army to be raised in a short time, to repel the one, or suppress the other, a different and less expensive method was pursued. The king summoned all the military tenants of the crown to attend him in arms; sent letters to the archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, abbots, and priors, to arm and array all their clergy, to defend the church and kingdom against the enemies of God and the king; and issued proclamations to the sheriffs of the several counties commanding them to array all the able-bodied men in their counties, between the age of sixteen and sixty; at the same time granting commissions to certain knights and gentlemen in each county, to divide the men when raised, into regiments of 1000, and companies of 100, and parties of 20; to train and conduct them to the place of rendezvous. By these means very great armies were raised in a few weeks, at a very small expense. On pressing occasions, the great barons made voluntary offers to serve the king with a certain number of knights, men at arms, and archers, without pay or reward; and some of them to fit out ships, at their own expense, for the protection of the coasts.

Armies that were so suddenly raised, and, after a short service, as suddenly dismissed, could not be well disciplined. Henry V. seems to have been the first of our kings who was sensible of the importance of regular movements and united efforts, and was at much pains to teach his troops to march in straight lines, at proper distances, with a steady measured pace; to advance, attack, halt, and even fall back, at the word of command, without breaking their ranks. This discipline, imperfect as it was, gave him great advantages over the French, who in those times were almost as tumultuary in advancing to an attack, as in flying from a defeat. To this superior discipline of his troops that prince was indebted for his success in general, and particularly for his great victory at Azincour.

Though the men at arms, covered with polished armour from head to foot, and mounted on great horses, were the most splendid and most expensive, they were not the most useful troops. The archers formed the chief strength of the English armies, and were the great instruments of all their victories in this period. The archers sometimes gained great victories



without the least assistance from the men at arms; as, particularly, in the decisive victory over the Scots at Hamblon, A.D. 1402. In that bloody battle the men at arms did not strike a stroke, but were mere spectators of the valour and victory of the archers. The earl of Douglas, who commanded the Scots army in that action, enraged to see his men falling thick around him by showers of arrows, and trusting to the goodness of his armour (which had been three years in making), accompanied by about eighty lords, knights, and gentlemen, in complete armour, rushed forward, and attacked the English archers, sword in hand. But he soon had reason to repent his rashness. The English arrows were so sharp and strong, and discharged with so much force, that no armour could repel them. The earl of Douglas, after receiving five wounds, was made prisoner; and all his brave companions were either killed or taken. Philip de Comines acknowledges, what our own writers assert, that the English archers excelled those of every other nation; and Sir John Fortescue says again and again—"that the might of the realm of England standyth upon archers." The superior dexterity of their archers gave the English a great advantage over their capital enemies the French and Scots. The French depended chiefly on their men at arms, and the Scots on their pikemen; but the ranks of both were often thinned and thrown into disorder by flights of arrows before they could reach their enemies.

The changes introduced into the art of war by the invention of gunpowder were very slow. The martial adventurers of those times were not fond of changing the arms to which they had been accustomed; and it was difficult to find instruments to manage and direct an agent so impetuous as gunpowder. The instruments employed for that purpose, for almost two centuries, were called by the general name of "cannon," though they were of many different kinds, shapes, and sizes, distinguished from each other by particular names, as culverines, serpentes, basilisks, fowlers, scorpions, &c. All these ancient cannon were made of iron only, without any mixture, till towards the end of this period, when a mixed and harder metal was invented, called font-metal or bronze.

We read of some cannon that discharged balls of 500 pounds weight, and required fifty horses to draw them, and of others not much heavier than a musket; and between these two extremes there were many gradations. Monstrelet mentions a cannon cast by John Maugué, a famous founder, A.D. 1478, that threw a ball of 500 lb. from the Bastille to Charenton; and Philip de Comines acquaints us, that there were ten thousand men armed with culverines in the Swiss army at the famous battle of Morat, A.D. 1470. These small culverines, or hand-cannon, as they were sometimes called, were carried some of them by one man, and some of them by two men, and fired from a rest. They seem to have been first brought into Britain by the Flemings who accompanied Edward IV. in his return to England, A.D. 1471; for these troops, in number 300, were armed, it is said, with hand-guns.

The Scots had a kind of artillery peculiar to themselves in this period, called "carts of war." They are thus described in an act of parliament, A.D. 1456: "It is thocht speidfull, that the king make respect to certain of the great burrows of the land that are of only myght, to mak carts of weir, and in ilk cart twa gunnis, and ilk one to have twa chalmers, with the remanent of the graith that effeirs

thereto, and ane cunning man to shute thame." By another act, A.D. 1471, the prelates and barons are commanded to provide such carts of war against their old enemies the English.

Many of the cannon-balls used in this period were made of stone. Henry V. gave a commission, A.D. 1419, to John Louth, clerk of the ordnance, and John Bennet, mason in Maidstone, to press a sufficient number of masons to make 7000 cannon-balls, in the quarries of Maidstone-beath. Even towards the end of this period, some of the cannon-balls were made of stone, and others of metal. Edward IV. gave a commission to one William Temple, A.D. 1481, to press masons, smiths, and plumbers, to make cannon-balls, some of stone, some of iron, and some of lead. It is a curious and well-attested fact, that the art of discharging red-hot balls from cannon was known and practised early in this period. When an English army, commanded by the duke of Gloucester, besieged Cherbourg, A.D. 1418, the besieged (as we are told by a contemporary writer of the best credit) discharged red-hot balls of iron from their cannon into the English camp, to burn the huts in which the soldiers were lodged.

The cannon that were used in ships of war in this period were few in number, and of a small size. This appears from the following authentic account of the furniture of the ship called the Queen's-hall, in which Henry IV. sent his daughter Philippa, queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, to her husband. Henry Somer, keeper of the private wardrobe in the Tower, delivered to William Lovency, treasurer to Queen Philippa, for the armament of her ship—2 guns—40 pounds of powder for these guns—40 stone balls—40 tompons—1 mallet—2 firepans—40 pavises—24 bows—and 40 sheffs of arrows. From the above account, it is probable that each of these guns required only one pound of powder for a charge. But when ships were fitted out for a warlike expedition, they were a little better armed.

Gunpowder and cannon were not much used in fields of battle for a considerable time after they were invented. Though they were sometimes used before, Edward IV. was the first king of England who depended much on his field-pieces, or derived any great advantage from them. In the battle of Stamford, fought by that prince against a numerous army of his rebellious subjects, commanded by Sir Robert Wells, "the king (we are informed by a contemporary historian) sparkled his enemies with his ordnance, slew many of the commons, and thereby gained the victory." The train of field artillery prepared by Edward, A.D. 1481, to repel a formidable invasion threatened by the Scots, must have been considerable, since it required a great number of oxen and horses to draw it, and consisted of six or seven different kinds of cannon.

No part of the military art was more studied, or better understood, by the English in this period, especially in the reign of Henry V., than that of attacking strong places. That heroic prince had no opportunity of fighting many battles; but he besieged and took many cities, towns, and castles, that were strongly fortified, bravely defended, and believed to be impregnable. These sieges are described at considerable length by two contemporary historians; from whose writings the following very brief account of the modes of the attack and defence of places in this period is collected.

When Henry V. had invested a city or town where he expected a vigorous resistance, and appre-

hended an attempt to raise the siege, he secured his army from the besieged by lines of contravallation, and from the enemy without, by lines of circumvallation, strengthened by pallisadoes, and small towers of wood at proper distances. In summer he lodged his men in tents, and in winter in huts disposed in regular streets. Approaches were made by trenches; batteries were constructed, and planted with machines for throwing great stones, and with battering cannon to make breaches in the walls. Under the protection of the artillery, the ditch was filled up with branches of trees, earth, and stones. In the mean time, the miners were employed in making approaches under ground; and these being sometimes met by counterminers, bloody skirmishes were fought between the besiegers and besieged. In these skirmishes in the mines, Henry himself frequently engaged. The besiegers and besieged annoyed each other by flights of arrows from their cross-bows, and by large bodies of combustible materials set on fire and discharged from engines. By these means Henry took every city, town, and castle in France that he besieged, either in person or by his generals, though some of them were defended with great bravery to the last extremity.

An art was invented on the continent, and introduced into England, in this period, which, though it cannot be called necessary, is certainly most excellent and useful. This was the art of printing, which has contributed so much to dispel that darkness in which the world was involved, and diffuse the light of religion, learning and knowledge of all kinds. Its origin remains in some obscurity; and there have been many disputes about the time, the place, and even the person by whom it was invented. Without entering into these disputes, it may be sufficient to say, that, upon the whole, it seems most probable that Laurentius Coster, keeper of the cathedral of Haerlem, conceived the first idea of printing about A.D. 1430; and between that time and A.D. 1440, when he died, printed several small books in that city, with wooden types tied together with threads. As this art was likely to be very profitable, Laurentius kept the secret with great care, and wished to transmit it to his family. But this design did not succeed. For about the time of his death, John Geinsfleisch, one of his workmen, made his escape from Haerlem, carrying with him, it is said, some of his master's types, and retired to Mentz, and there began to print with wooden types, A.D. 1441, being encouraged and supplied with money by John Fust, a wealthy citizen. About two years after he settled at Mentz, John Geinsfleisch, or his assistant John Gutenberg, invented metal types, and set them in frames, which was so great an improvement, that the city of Mentz claimed the honour of being the place where printing was invented. From Haerlem and Mentz, this noble art was gradually conveyed to other cities of Germany, Italy, France, England and other countries.

All our historians and other writers, who flourished in or near those times, and mention the introduction of printing into England, unanimously ascribe that honour to William Caxton, mercer and citizen of London. It is said the learned Lord Rivers was the cause of its introduction, and that he introduced Caxton to the patronage of Edward IV. Attempts have been made to deprive Caxton of that honour, in favour of one Corsellis, who, it is pretended, printed here some years before him. But the story of Corsellis is in many particulars improbable; and there seems still to be good reason to believe that

Caxton was really the first printer of England. He has been already noticed as an historian; he was also the translator of many books out of French into English; but he merited most of his country by introducing the art of printing. After he had served his apprenticeship to an eminent mercer in London, he went into the Low Countries, A.D. 1442, as agent to the Mercer's company, and resided abroad about thirty years. He was appointed by Edward IV., A.D. 1464, his ambassador to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Philip Duke of Burgundy, one of the greatest princes in Europe; and when the Lady Margaret, King Edward's sister, was married to Charles duke of Burgundy, A.D. 1468, he was greatly favoured and much employed by that active princess. Though Caxton was now about fifty-six years of age, being a man of great curiosity and indefatigable industry, he acquired, "at grete charge and dispense," as he says himself, so complete a knowledge of the new and admired art of printing, that he actually printed, A.D. 1471, at Cologne, a book which he had translated out of French into English, called "The Recule of the Histories of Troye." Having presented a copy of this book to his patroness, the duchess of Burgundy, for which he was well rewarded, and disposed of as many copies as he could on the continent, he came over to England, A.D. 1472, bringing with him the remaining copies as specimens of his skill in the art. Encouraged by Thomas Milling, abbot of Westminster, Lord Rivers and others, he set up a printing press, A.D. 1473, most probably in the almonry of Westminster abbey, where it is certain he wrought a few years after; and from that press he produced, in March A.D. 1474, a small book translated by himself out of French, called "The Game at Chess," which is the first book we know with certainty was printed in England. From this time to his death, A.D. 1491, he applied with so much ardour to translating and printing, that though he was an old man, he published about fifty books, some of them large volumes, and many of them translated by himself.

Though Caxton was the first, he was not the only printer in England at this period. Theodore Rood, John Lettow, William Machelina, and Wynkyn de Worde, foreigners, and Thomas Hunt, an Englishman, printed in London both before and after the death of Caxton; by whom, it is probable, the foreigners were brought into England, and employed as his assistants. A schoolmaster of St. Alban's, whose name is not preserved, set up a press at that place; and several books were printed at Oxford between A.D. 1478 and 1485. In the colophon of one of the books printed there in the last of these years are some verses, which seem to indicate, that the English printers were not only able to answer the demand for books at home, but even exported some of their works.

*History of the fine Arts of Sculpture, Painting,  
Poetry, and Music.*

If the frequent wars were unfriendly to the necessary, they could not be favourable to the fine and pleasing arts; and if any of these flourished, it must have been owing to some accidental circumstances.

We have good reason to believe, that sculptors and statuary were more employed, and better rewarded for their works, in this than any former period, which must have contributed to the improvement of their art. The followers of Wickliffe condemned the worship of images in the strongest terms; and several of them submitted to suffer the most pain-



ful death, rather than to acknowledge the lawfulness of that worship. This alarmed the clergy, and made them redouble their efforts to inspire the minds of the people with a superstitious veneration for images. With this view, they not only propagated many stories of miracles wrought by images, but they increased the number of them, and spared no expense to procure such as, by the excellence of their workmanship, the beauty of their appearance, and the richness of their dress, were likely to excite the admiration, and inflame the devotion, of the multitude towards them. These efforts were not unsuccessful. There was no time in which the worship of images more prevailed than in the age immediately before the Reformation; nor was there any thing which the people of England then relinquished with greater reluctance, than the images of their churches. These, however, were at length completely removed and destroyed; which puts it out of our power to judge by inspection of the degree of excellence to which sculpture had arrived in this period. A few statues still remain in niches, on the outside of some of our cathedrals, particularly on the west end of the cathedral of Wells; and though these outside statues were probably not the works of the best artists, they afford no unfavourable specimen of this art in those times.

The taste of adorning sepulchral monuments with statues, and figures in basso and alto relievo, prevailed as much, both in England and on the continent, in this as in any period; and this taste procured much employment to the sculptor and statuary. Many of these monuments, with their statues, were defaced or ruined with the conventual churches in which they were placed; but those on the monuments in other churches escaped much better than the images which had been objects of adoration; and great numbers of them are still remaining. We know with certainty, that English artists were employed in erecting monuments for some of the great princes on the continent. Thomas Colyn, Thomas Holeywell, and Thomas Poppehowe, made the alabaster tomb of John IV., duke of Brittany, in London, carried it over, and erected it in the cathedral of Nantz, A.D. 1408. We know also, that the great English barons of those times expended much money on their monuments, and employed, in executing them, the best artists that could be found. A few of these artists were foreigners; but the greatest number of them were natives of England. Of the five artists who were employed in erecting the monument of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who died A.D. 1439, and adorning it with images, four were Englishmen, viz. two marblers, one founder, and one coppersmith; the other artist was a Dutch goldsmith. The number of images adorning this monument was thirty-two, besides the great image of the earl. These were all cast of the finest latten, by William Austin, founder, of London, and gilded with gold by Bartholomew Lambespring, the Dutch goldsmith. Though the beauty of this monument and its various ornaments is much impaired by time, yet some parts of it are in such preservation, as to give us a favourable idea of the skill of these artists, and of the improving state of their several arts. This monument, with the chapel of our lady in St. Mary's church, Warwick, in which it was erected, cost 2481*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*, equivalent to 21,800*l.* of our money at present. In an age when hardly any person of rank or wealth died who had not a monument erected to his memory, with his effigies, in free-stone, marble, or metal upon it, the

artists who were employed in erecting these monuments, having so much employment and encouragement, could not fail to make improvements in their arts.

The reigning superstitions of those times, with the vanity of the rich and great, contributed as much to the improvement of painting as of the arts above mentioned, by furnishing constant employment and good encouragement to a great number of painters. For as cathedral, conventual, and other rich churches, were crowded with crucifixes and images, and their chapels with sepulchral statues, so the walls of both were almost covered, and their windows almost obscured, with paintings of various kinds—as pictures of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and other saints, Scripture-histories, allegorical and armorial pieces, &c. All these paintings have been long ago destroyed, except a few fragments of painted glass; but we have sufficient evidence that they did exist, and that many of them were painted in this period. "John Carpenter, town-clerk of London, in the reign of Henry V., caused, with great expences, to be curiously painted upon board, about the north cloister of St. Paul's, a monument of Death, leading all estates, with the speeches of Death, and answer of every state." This famous picture, called "The Dance of Death," contained the figures of persons in all the different ranks of life, in their proper dresses, and was painted in imitation of one of the same kind, in the cloister adjoining to St. Innocent's church-yard in Paris. The French verses were translated into English by John Lydgate, the poetic monk of Bury. The expence of painting the above-mentioned monument of Richard earl of Warwick, and the chapel, was considerable; and these paintings were of different kinds, and performed by different artists. John Prudde, glazier in Westminster, engaged to glaze the chapel "with glass from beyond the seas, of the finest colours, of blue, yellow, red, purple, sanguine, and violet, and of all other colours that shall be most necessary and best; to make rich and embellish the matters, images, and stories, that shall be delivered to him by patterns on paper, afterwards to be newly traced and pictured by another painter, in rich colour, at his charges." It is not improbable that the fifty-three delineations, illustrating the history of this earl of Warwick, by John Rous, who then resided at Warwick (contained in a MS. in the Cotton library), which have been published by Mr. Strutt, are the very patterns that were delivered to John Prudde to be painted on the windows of the chapel, or that these delineations were copied from the windows after they were painted. However this may be, the glass and workmanship cost 108*l.*, equivalent to 1080*l.* of our money. John Brentwood steyner, of London, covenanted "to paint fine and curiously on the west wall of the chapel, the dome of our Lord God Jesus, and all manner of devices and imagery thereto belonging, of fair and sightly proportion;" for which he was to receive 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, equivalent to 130*l.* Christian Colburne, painter, in London, covenanted "to paint in most fine, fairest, and curious wise, four images of stone ordained for the new chapel in Warwick; whereof two principal images, the one of our Lady, the other of St. Gabriel, the angel; and two less images, one of St. Anne and another of St. George, these four to be painted with the finest oil colours, in the richest, finest, and freshest clothings that may be made of fine gold, azure, of fine purple,

of fine white, and other finest colours necessary, garnished, bordered, and powdered, in the finest and curiousest wise." We have no opportunity of knowing with what taste these paintings were executed; but it was certainly intended that they should be very fine.

Portrait-painting had not yet become fashionable, and we hardly hear of any portraits that were painted in this period, except those of a few great princes, prelates, and nobles. As this branch of the art, therefore, was not much cultivated, it was not much improved. The portraits of the kings and queens of England, and of a few other eminent persons of those times, which are still preserved, prove that portrait-painting was then in a very imperfect state in England. In the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland there is a portrait, in oil colours, well preserved, with the following inscription, in Spanish, at the bottom: "The most excellent and most serene Lord T. George Innes, a native of Scotland, minister-provincial and vicar-general of England, cardinal, who flourished A. D. 1412, and wrote those books." The books are painted near the top of the picture on a shelf, with the following titles in Latin: "Description of Jerusalem in its deformity—Lamentations of the Holy Land—Griefs of the Virgin Mary—History of the order of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of captives." The cardinal is drawn in the habit of the order of the Trinity (in which he made a conspicuous figure, as superior of the convent at Aberdeen, minister-provincial for Scotland, and at last vicar-general for England, Scotland, and Ireland), with the cross of that order on his breast, and the red mantle of a cardinal above his habit. On his head he has a small red bonnet, and the large red hat on a table before him. In his right hand, extended, he holds a pen, in his left a scroll of paper; his eyes are lifted up, his face turned a little to one side, with strong expressions of intense thought and contemplation. This picture has probably been preserved by the care of the ancient and honourable family of Innes, in Aberdeenshire, from which the cardinal was descended, and was presented to the society by a gentleman of that family. If it was really painted in Spain, A. D. 1412, only two years after painting in oil is said to have been invented by John Van Eyck, it affords another presumptive proof that this invention is more ancient than is commonly believed.

The illuminators of books supplied the place both of history and portrait-painters in this period, and present us with the pictures of many eminent persons of both sexes, and representations of various transactions, in miniature. This delicate art of illuminating was chiefly cultivated by the monks, and carried to a high degree of perfection. Many beautiful specimens of this art are still remaining in the British Museum, and other libraries; and prints of a considerable number of them have been published by Mr. Strutt. Though these prints do not exhibit the bright and vivid colours of the originals, they give us a view, not only of the persons and dresses of our ancestors, but also of their customs, manners, arts, and employment, their arms, ships, houses, furniture, &c. and enable us to judge of their skill in drawing and colouring. Their figures are often stiff and formal; but their ornaments are in general fine and delicate, and their colours clear and bright, particularly their gold and azure. In some of these illuminations the passions are strongly painted. How strongly, for example, is terror painted in the

faces of the earl of Warwick's sailors, when they were threatened with a shipwreck, and grief in the countenances of those who were present at the death of that hero? After the introduction of printing, this elegant art of illuminating gradually declined, and at length was quite neglected.

Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower, the illustrious fathers of English poetry, died in the beginning of this period; and after their death, that pleasing art evidently declined and languished. Of this their successors seem to have been sensible, acknowledged them for their masters, and loaded them with praises.

James I., king of Scotland, an excellent poet, as well as most accomplished prince, concludes his poem called "The King's Quair," with a kind of dedication of it to the memory of those two great poets, then lately dead.

Thomas Occleve flourished in the reign of Henry V., and composed a considerable number of poems; but, as few of them have been thought worthy of publication in print, it will be sufficient to give his character as a poet, in the words of Warton: "Occleve is a feeble writer, considered as a poet; and his chief merit seems to be, that his writings contributed to propagate and establish those improvements in our language which were now beginning to take place. His works indicate a coldness of genius, and, on the whole, promise no gratification to those who seek for invention and fancy."

John Lydgate, a monk in the great Benedictine monastery at St. Edmundsbury, was by far the most voluminous, and, in some respects, the best poet of this period. He composed verses on a great variety of subjects, and many different occasions. His principal works which have been printed were these four—*The Life of our Lady—The Fall of Princes—The Siege of Thebes—and The Destruction of Troy*. Of these, and Lydgate's other poems, the reader will find a satisfactory account, with many specimens, in Warton's *History of English Poetry*. The chief excellencies of this poet were, the smoothness of his versification, and the strength, beauty, and copiousness of his descriptions, in which he abounds; but he seems to have been inferior to his contemporary King James in originality, and the powers of invention. Lydgate was not only a good poet, but also a general scholar, acquainted with all the learning of the times in which he flourished; and it is no small reproach to those times that he died in his monastery, at an advanced age, without ever having received any preferment.

Several other poets, or rather versifiers, appeared in this period; but they are not entitled to a place in general history.

As martial music was much used and cultivated in this period, it is probable that it was improved; but of the particulars of these improvements we have no certain information. The band which attended Henry V. in France, consisted of ten clarions, and many other instruments, and played an hour every morning and another every evening, at the king's head-quarters.

Church music was cultivated with as much care and diligence in this as in any preceding period. As the clergy endeavoured to captivate the eyes of the people by the magnificence of their churches, the beauty of their paintings and images, the splendour of their dresses, the pomp of their processions, &c., so they endeavoured to charm their ears by the sweetness of their music; especially in cathedral and conventual churches, and in the chapels of kings, prelates, and great barons, where the service was



daily sung by numerous bands of men and boys, to the sound of organs. This made it necessary for all who assisted in performing the public offices of the church, to acquire a competent knowledge of music, and caused those who excelled in that art to be much admired and well rewarded.

Church music was not merely practised as an art, but the theory of it was studied as a science, in this period. It was one of the four sciences which constituted the quadrivium of the schools; and was studied with greater attention than any of the other three—which were, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. A considerable number of the youth who were educated for the church made music their principal study at the universities, in order to obtain the academical honours of bachelors and doctors of music; because those who obtained these honours were almost certain of preferment. Thomas Saintwix, doctor of music, for example, was appointed provost of King's College, in Cambridge, by its founder, Henry VI., A. D. 1463.

Harmony was now superadded to the melody or plain chant of the ancient church. Counterpoint was invented, though it was very imperfectly understood. This new art, as it may be called, furnished an ample field for exercising the genius and industry of musical students; and this was the chief subject of their studies. A great number of tracts on counterpoint were written in England and other countries in this period, of which the greater part are lost. Many pieces of this new music were composed for the church, but very few of them have been preserved. The honour of inventing counterpoint is ascribed to the English by John Tinctor, one of the best writers on music in this period. "Of which new art," says he, "as I may call it, viz. counterpoint, the fountain and origin is said to have been among the English, of whom Dunstable was the chief or head." In these words, the invention of counterpoint is ascribed to the English, but not to Dunstable, who is only said to have been at the head of English musicians of his time, of which there is sufficient evidence still remaining. John Dunstable, famous for his superior skill in astronomy and music, flourished in the former part of the fifteenth century, and died in London, A. D. 1458. Tinctor, who flourished in the same century, could not be ignorant that counterpoint was invented before the birth of Dunstable. It is not improbable, that what Giraldus Cambrensis had written concerning the natural harmony practised by the people of Wales and the North of England in his time, gave rise to the report, that counterpoint was invented in England.

Church music was not only admired and studied by the clergy, but it was one of the most pleasing amusements of the laity, and was cultivated with diligence and success by persons of the highest rank. Henry V. was an admirer of church music, and amused himself with playing on the organ. His contemporary, James I. of Scotland, was a capital performer on the organ, and even composed several pieces of sacred music for the use of the church. James III. being no less fond of music than of the other fine arts, invited the most famous musicians to his court, and loaded them with favours. Sir William Rogers, a musician, was one of his six unhappy favourites who were put to death at Lauder, A. D. 1482. Ferrerius, an Italian, who wrote the history of this prince, acquaints us, that he had conversed with several celebrated musicians in Italy, who spoke in high terms of the excellence of Scotch

music, and the munificence of James III., in whose court, they told him, they had been educated. These musicians had probably belonged to that numerous choir which King James established in the chapel of his palace in the castle of Stirling, and had returned into their own country after the death of their royal patron, and carried with them the knowledge of the Scotch music. Not only the kings, princes, and prelates, but all the great and opulent barons of those times had magnificent chapels in their castles, furnished with organs, musicians, and singers; and these nobles, with their friends and families, attended the services of the church performed in their chapels as agreeable entertainments as well as acts of devotion.

The people of England have in all ages delighted in secular or social music. It is a sufficient proof of this, amongst many others that might be given, that the professors of that art, the scalds and minstrels, were the favourites of the great, and the idols of the people, for many ages. But long and great prosperity had the same effect on those minstrels, that it has uniformly had on every order of men. It swelled their numbers beyond all due proportion, increased their avarice, inflamed their pride, and corrupted their manners—and at length lost them that public favour which they had long enjoyed. But though the minstrels began to decline in their credit in the present period, and were neither so highly honoured, nor so richly rewarded, as they had formerly been; yet such of them as excelled in their art were still much respected. Not only all our kings, but almost all the nobility and men of fortune, had bands of these secular musicians or minstrels in their service, who resided in their families, and even attended them in their journeys, for their amusement. These domestic minstrels, besides their board, clothing, and wages, which they received from their masters, were permitted to perform in rich monasteries, and in the castles of other barons, upon occasions of festivity, for which they were handsomely rewarded. Edward IV., A. D. 1469, on the complaint of Walter Haliday, and his other minstrels, that many ignorant disorderly persons assumed the "name of minstrels, and brought the profession into disgrace, gave and granted a license unto Walter Haliday, John Cuff, Robert Marshall, Thomas Grane, Thomas Calthorne, William Cliff, William Christian, and William Eynesham, his minstrels, and their successors, to be one body and cominality, perpetual, and capable in law." Edward, by the same charter, gave ample powers to this musical corporation, for correcting the disorders, and regulating the affairs, of the minstrels. But this institution neither corrected the disorders, nor retrieved the reputation, of this fraternity.

Many of the poems, songs, and ballads, that were sung by the minstrels and people of this period, have undoubtedly perished; but a considerable number of them have been preserved and published. They are of very different degrees of merit, and written on a great variety of subjects; some of them calculated to entertain the great, and others to divert the vulgar. But though the words of these poems are preserved, the tunes to which many of them were originally sung are now unknown; and the most diligent inquirers have been able to discover only a very few specimens of the popular music of this period.

## SECTION III.

THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE, COIN, AND SHIPPING,  
A.D. 1399, TO A.D. 1485.

THE trade of Britain met with many obstructions in the present period, which greatly retarded its progress and extension. The martial spirit that reigned in both the British nations, with the foreign or domestic wars in which they were almost constantly engaged, formed the greatest of these obstructions. In such turbulent times, commerce could not flourish: when war was the only honourable occupation, the merchant was despised, his person and property were insecure, and exposed to many dangers both by sea and land. As our kings had few ships of their own, whenever they had occasion for a fleet, to fight their enemies or transport their armies, they pressed into their service all the ships as well as all the sailors that could be found; which put a total stop to trade. Thus, to give one example out of many, Henry V., at his first invasion of France, A. D. 1415, pressed all the ships in all the ports of England, of twenty tons and upwards, to transport his army, &c. to the continent. Even those who were engaged in trade had imbibed so much of the martial, ferocious spirit of the times, that they frequently acted as pirates; and when they met with ships of inferior force, they seized or plundered them, without distinguishing between friends and foes. This obliged the mariners of other nations and their sovereigns to make loud complaints to the court of England; and when they could not obtain redress (which was often the case), they were compelled to make reprisals, which increased the dangers of navigation, and interrupted the intercourse between countries that were not at war. It was common for the kings of England, and other princes, in this period, to grant letters of marque to a single merchant, empowering him to make reprisals on the subjects of a state with which they were at peace, till he was indemnified for the losses he had sustained from the subjects of that state. Besides this, both the Baltic and the British seas were infested with pirates, who seized and plundered the ships of all nations without distinction. Neither the merchants nor the legislators of this period entertained just ideas of trade, or of the most effectual means of promoting it; and we may reckon the monopolizing spirit of the former, and the imprudent regulations of the latter, among the impediments that obstructed its progress.

The British merchants considered all foreigners who came amongst them for the sake of trade as interlopers and enemies; and, at their instigation, the legislature laid them under restrictions that were hardly tolerable. It was enacted by the parliament of England, "That all foreign merchants should lay out all the money they received for the goods they imported, in English merchandise to be exported—That they should not carry out any gold or silver in coin, plate, or bullion, under the penalty of forfeiture—That they should sell all the goods they imported in the space of three months—That one merchant-stranger should not sell any goods in England to another merchant-stranger—That when a foreign merchant arrived in any port or town in England, a sufficient host should be assigned him with whom to dwell, and no where else." The parliaments, both of England and Scotland, made many laws against the exportation of gold and silver in any shape, or on any account; not reflecting that, if the balance of trade was against them, that balance must be paid

in these precious metals, in spite of all the laws that could be made against it, and that these laws could serve no other purpose but to perplex and distress the merchant.

But the island of Britain is so favourably situated for trade, and the love of gain is so strong and general a passion in the human mind, that all these obstructions, though they retarded, did not wholly prevent, the progress of commerce in this period, as will appear from the sequel.

Henry IV., being a wise prince, and knowing the great importance of commerce, promoted it as much as the unsettled state of his affairs permitted. After tedious negotiations, he put an end to the disputes and mutual depredations that had long prevailed between the English merchants and mariners, and those of the Hanse towns of Germany, and of the seaport towns of Prussia and Livonia subject to the grand master of the Teutonic order of knights, who then possessed these two last countries. Both parties made loud complaints, and gave in high estimates of the damages they pretended they had sustained; and it required long discussions to ascertain the justice of these estimates. At length it was agreed, A. D. 1409, that Henry should pay 15,955 gold nobles to the grand master, and 416 of the same to the consuls of the city of Hamburg, as the balance against his subjects. Among other claims, the German and Prussian merchants demanded damages for some hundreds of their countrymen who had been thrown overboard and drowned by the English. To this claim Henry made answer—"That when we shall be advertised of the number, state, and condition of the said parties drowned, we will cause suffrages and prayers, and divers other wholesome remedies, profitable for the souls of the deceased, and acceptable to God and men, to be ordained and provided; upon condition that, for the souls of our drowned countrymen, there be the like remedy provided by you." These transactions exhibit a strange mixture of barbarity and superstition which too much prevailed in the times we are now describing.

Though the dislike of the English to merchant-strangers continued through the whole of this period, and they were exposed to frequent insults and subjected by law to various hardships, yet several companies of them were settled in London and other places, under the protection of royal charters. The German merchants of the steel-yard formed one of the most ancient, opulent, and powerful of these companies, being a branch of the great commercial confederacy of the Hanse towns in Germany and Prussia. This company had been highly favoured by Henry III., who by his charters conferred upon it various privileges and exemptions, which were confirmed by his successors, both in the last and present period. These privileges are not distinctly known; but it plainly appears that they were exempted from contributing to subsidies, tenths and fifteenths, and were not subjected to the additional duties imposed from time to time on goods exported and imported; paying only the ancient customs agreed upon at the time of their establishment, which were very small. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that the English merchants did not approve of a company of foreigners seated in the metropolis, and enjoying greater advantages in trade than themselves. This company had houses in other towns, particularly at Lynn and Boston, and preserved their privileges, with some interruptions, almost a century after the conclusion of this period. Compa



nies of merchants of Venice, Genoa, Florence, Lucca, and Lombardy, were also settled in England, chiefly in London, protected by royal charters, and managing the trade of the states and cities to which they belonged. In a word, a great part of the foreign trade of England was still in the hands of these companies of merchant-strangers.

The merchants of the staple, as they were called, were formed into a corporation, or trading company, about the beginning of the preceding period. The constitution and design of that once rich and flourishing company has been already described. It still subsisted, and, though it had met with some discouragement, was not inconsiderable. This company paid no less for the customs of the staple commodities of wool, wool-fells, woollen cloth, leather, tin, and lead, it exported, A. D. 1458, than 68,000*l.*, containing as much silver as 136,000*l.* of our money; which is a sufficient proof that its dealings were then extensive. They were strictly bound by their charter, and by-law, to carry all the goods they exported to the staple at Calais; and to land them at any other port was made felony by act of parliament, A. D. 1439. The corporation or company of the staple was originally composed of foreigners; but by degrees some English merchants were admitted into it, as being fittest for managing their affairs in England, to which branch of the business the English were confined.

The most ancient company of English merchants of which there is any trace in history, was established about the end of the thirteenth century, and was called "The brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket," in honour of that celebrated English saint. The design of that company was to export the woollen cloth, which about that time began to be manufactured in considerable quantities in England; and as that manufacture increased, the trade of the brotherhood also increased. Henry IV., A. D. 1406, incorporated this society by a charter, regulating their government and their privileges. By this charter, any merchant of England or Ireland who desired it, was to be admitted into the company, on paying a small fine. As this society was composed of the native subjects of the kings of England, it was favoured both by government and by the people, made gradual encroachments on the trade of the merchants of the staple, and at length ruined that company.

The English merchants, observing the advantages that foreigners derived from having partners and correspondents of their own countries settled in England, imitated their example, and established factories in several places on the continent. Henry IV. granted a charter, A. D. 1404, to the English merchants residing in Germany, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and Norway, empowering them to hold general assemblies, to make laws, to choose governors, with authority to determine disputes among themselves, and with foreigners, and to preserve the privileges granted to them by the sovereigns of these countries. The same king granted a similar charter, A. D. 1406, to the English merchants in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and Flanders. The first of these charters being too extensive, Henry granted a separate one, A. D. 1408, to the English settled in the dominions of the king of Denmark, who was also king of Sweden and Norway. These charters were confirmed by Henry VI. A. D. 1428. The office and powers of these governors seem to have been nearly the same with those of our modern consuls; and toward the end of this period, they were called by that name, and appointed by the

king. Richard III. A. D. 1485, appointed Laurentio Strozzi, a merchant of Florence, to be consul, and president of all the English merchants at Pisa, and parts adjacent; "allowing him for his trouble the fourth part of one per cent. on all goods of Englishmen, either imported to, or exported thence." In that commission Richard says, he had appointed that officer in imitation of other nations; which makes it probable, that it was the first commission of the kind granted by a king of England.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the commercial treaties that were made by the kings of England, with almost all the princes and states of Europe, in this period. These treaties were very necessary, to restrain the piratical spirit that reigned in the mariners of all nations in those times: but they were very ill observed; and few seamen of any country could resist the temptation of seizing a weaker vessel, when she fell in their way, though belonging to a friendly power. This occasioned continual complaints of the breach of treaties, and the frequent renewal of these treaties. No fewer than four commercial treaties, for example, were concluded between England and the Hanse-towns, in the space of three years—from A. D. 1472, to 1474, and all to little purpose; and we have copies of eighteen such agreements between England and Flanders, in this period; which is a sufficient evidence that none of them were well observed. The intent of those treaties was, to prevent mutual depredations at sea, and to secure a friendly reception to the merchants of the contracting parties in each other's ports; and no doubt they contributed something to these purposes, though not so much as was intended.

The English, in this period, were fully convinced of the importance and necessity of being masters at sea, and particularly on their own coasts, and in the narrow seas between this island and the continent. This was most earnestly inculcated upon them, by a rhyming pamphlet, written about A. D. 1433. The now unknown author of that pamphlet asserted, in the strongest terms, that if the English kept the seas, especially the narrow seas, they would compel all the world to be at peace with them, and to court their friendship. The ancient duty of tonnage and poundage was granted to our kings by parliament, to enable them to guard the seas and protect the merchants. This duty (raised to 3*s.* on every ton of wine, and 5 per cent. on all other goods imported,) together with the fourth part of the subsidy on wool and leather, was granted by Henry IV., A. D. 1406, with consent of parliament, to the merchants, to guard the seas; but payment was soon stopped, on complaints being made to the king that the seas were not properly guarded. Henry IV. maintained the dominion of the narrow seas with great spirit, and took ample revenge on the French, Flemings, and Britons, who had insulted the English coasts, and interrupted the English commerce, when the king was engaged against the earl of Northumberland and his confederates. William de Wilford, admiral of the narrow seas, sailed to the coast of Brittany, where he took forty of their ships, and burnt an equal number. The earl of Kent did equal mischief on the coast of Flanders; and the famous Henry Pay, admiral of the cinque-ports, took a whole fleet of French merchantmen, consisting of 120 sail.

The heroic Henry V. was almost as victorious at sea as at land; and in his reign the fleets of England rode triumphant on the narrow seas. His bro-

ther John duke of Bedford obtained one naval victory, A.D. 1416, and the earl of Huntington another, A.D. 1417, over the united fleets of France and Genoa, taking or destroying almost all their ships; which effectually secured the dominion of the sea to the English for several years. Henry V. seems to have been the first king of England who had any ships that were his own property. At his first invasion of France, he had two large and beautiful ships with purple sails, the one called the King's Chamber, the other his Hall. The author of the pamphlet above mentioned, says of this prince,

—At Hampton he made the great dromons,  
Which passed other great ships of all the commons;  
The Trinity, the Grace de Dieu, the Holy Ghost,  
And other moe, which now be lost.

In the long unhappy reign of Henry VI., especially after the death of his uncle the duke of Bedford, A.D. 1435, the affairs of the English declined with great rapidity, both by sea and land. The French, having expelled them from all their conquests on the continent, except Calais, insulted them on their own coasts—took, plundered, and burnt the town of Sandwich. But the great earl of Warwick being appointed admiral, equipped several squadrons, with which he scoured the channel, took many valuable ships, and in some degree recovered the dominion of the sea.

Edward IV. paid great attention to mercantile and maritime affairs, and on two occasions collected very great fleets: first, when he actually invaded France, A.D. 1475; and, secondly, when he prepared for another invasion of it, but was prevented by death. This prince had several ships that were his own property, with which he at some times protected the trade of his subjects, and at other times he employed them in trade as a merchant, which contributed not a little to his great wealth.

The reign of Richard III. was so short and turbulent, that he had little opportunity of turning his attention to the dominion of the sea. It is, however, certain, that if he had guarded the narrow seas with greater care, he might have prevented the landing of his rival the earl of Richmond, and preserved both his life and crown.

Though the English, in this period, were much engaged in war, and consequently could not carry on trade with the same ease and safety as in more peaceful times, the circle of their commerce was not contracted, but rather a little enlarged. The countries with which they had commercial intercourse in the fourteenth century, have been already enumerated; and there is the fullest evidence that their intercourse with all these countries still continued, and that English merchants now began to visit some seas and coasts which they had not formerly frequented. A company of London merchants, A.D. 1413, loaded several ships with wool and other merchandise, to the value of 24,000*l.* (a great sum in those times), for the western ports of Morocco, which was probably the first adventure of the English to those parts. The Genoese seized these ships as interlopers; and Henry IV. granted their owners letters of marque, to seize the ships and goods of the Genoese wherever they could find them. There was a great trade between Venice, Genoa, Florence, and other cities of Italy, and England, long before this time; but that trade seems to have been wholly carried on in foreign bottoms, and by foreign merchants. This appears from the commercial treaties between the English government and these Italian states and cities, in which they stipulate for the

safety and friendly reception of their ships and merchants in the ports of England, without any stipulation in favour of English ships or merchants in their ports; which could not have been neglected, if they had frequented those ports. The merchants of England, in the course of this period, attempted to obtain a share in this trade; but they met with great opposition in the execution of this design, not only from the Italians, but even from their own sovereigns, who favoured those foreigners, because they accommodated them with great loans of money in their straits, and paid higher customs than their own subjects. It was not till the reign of Richard III. that the English merchants obtained any solid footing in Italy; as is evident from the preamble of that prince's commission to Laurentio Strozzi to be their consul at Pisa:—"Whereas certain merchants and others from England intend to frequent foreign parts, and chiefly Italy, with their ships and merchandise, and we being willing to consult their peace and advantage as much as possible, and observing from the practice of other nations, the necessity of their having a peculiar magistrate among them for the determining of all disputes, &c." Two English merchants, A.D. 1481, encouraged by Edward IV., and by the Spanish duke of Medina Sidonia, prepared a fleet for a trading voyage to some of those countries on the coast of Africa that had been lately discovered by the Portuguese, particularly to Guinea. But that enterprise was prevented by the interposition of John II., king of Portugal, at the court of England. So slow was the progress of commerce at this time, in comparison of the rapid, astonishing advances it made in the next period.

A pretty full enumeration of the exports and imports of England has been given in a former period, to which very much cannot now be added. Several changes, however, had taken place in these particulars; and some additions had been made both to the exports and imports, a few of which may be mentioned. Slaves were no longer exported from England: but pilgrims were now become a considerable article of exportation; and several ships were every year loaded from different ports with cargoes of these deluded wanderers, who carried out with them much money for defraying the expenses of their journey, and making presents to the saints they visited: for all these saints, they were told, were much pleased with money. We meet with many licenses granted by our kings to masters of ships, permitting them to carry a certain number of pilgrims, from such a port to the shrine of such a saint, named in the permit. Henry VI., for example, granted permits, A.D. 1434, for the exportation of 2433 pilgrims to the shrine of St. James of Campostella. Fortunately there was still a greater importation of pilgrims from the continent, to visit the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury; which brought the balance of this traffic in favour of England.

As great improvements had been made in the woollen manufactory, great varieties, and much greater quantities of woollen cloths, were exported than in any former period. These formed one of the most valuable articles of exportation to every country with which England had any trade. But still the English were so far from working up all their wool, that great quantities of that precious commodity, so much valued in Italy and Flanders, were yet exported; and the subsidy on wool exported was one of the most certain and valuable branches of the royal revenue.

Corn seems now to have been a more important



article of export than it had been in some former periods; and several laws were made for regulating its exportation and importation. A law was made A.D. 1425, granting a general and permanent permission to export corn, except to enemies, without particular licenses; but giving the king and council a discretionary power to restrain that liberty, when they thought it necessary for the good of the kingdom. The country gentlemen in the house of commons, A.D. 1463, complained that the easterlings or merchants of the steel-yard, by importing too great quantities of corn, had reduced the price of that commodity so much, that the English farmers were in danger of being ruined. To prevent this it was enacted, "That when the quarter of wheat did not exceed the price of 6s. 8d., rye 4s., and barley 3s., no person should import any of these three kinds of grain, upon forfeiture thereof."

The curious pamphlet called the "Prologue of English Policy," already quoted, gives a distinct account of the commodities imported into England by the merchants of different countries, or carried by them to the great emporium of Bruges in Flanders, and from thence imported by English merchants; and as it was written near the middle of this period, by one who was well acquainted with the subject, it is worthy of credit. According to that author the commodities of Spain were figs, raisins, wines, oils, soap, dates, liquorice, wax, iron, wool, wadmote, goatfell, redfell, saffron, and quicksilver. Those of Portugal were nearly the same. Those of Brittany were wine, salt, crest-cloth or linen and canvas. Those of Germany, Prussia, &c., or the merchants of the steel-yard, were besides corn, iron, steel, copper, osmond, bowstaves, boards, wax, pitch, tar, flax, hemp, peltry, thread, fustian, buckram, canvas, and wool-cards. Those of Genoa were gold, cloth of gold, silk, cotton, oil, black pepper, rock-alum, and woad. Those of Venice, Florence, and other Italian states, were all kinds of spices and grocery wares, sweet wines, sugar, drugs, with (as that author adds),

Apes, and japes, and marmosits taylor'd,  
And wifis and triffis that have little avayled.

As several manufactures were introduced into England in the course of this period, laws were made, towards the end of it, against importing any of the articles furnished by these manufactures. Upon a petition to the house of commons, A.D. 1483, from the manufacturers of London and other towns, representing the great damage they sustained by the importation of the articles which they manufactured, an act was made against the importation of "girdles, harneys wrought for girdles, points, leather-laces, purses, pouches, pins, gloves, knives, hangers, tailors' shears, scissars and irons, cup-boards, tongs, fireforks, gridirons, stock-locks, keys, hinges and garnets, spurs, painted glasses, painted papers, painted forcers, painted images, painted cloths, beaten gold and beaten silver wrought in papers for painters, saddles, saddle-trees, horse-harneys, boots, bits, stirrups, buckler-chains, latten nails with iron shanks, turners, hanging-candlesticks, holy-water-stops, chaffing-dishes, hanging-leavers, curtain-rings, wool-cards, roan-cards, buckles for shoes, shears, broaches for spits, bells, hawks-bells, tin and leaden spoons, wire of latten and iron, iron-candlesticks, grates and borns for lanthorns, or any other things made by the petitioners, on pain of forfeiture."

Foreign trade was not carried on exactly in the same manner in those times as it is at present,

Merchants did not ordinarily carry their goods to the ports where they were to be finally disposed of and used, but to certain emporia called staple towns, where they met with customers from the countries where their goods were wanted, and with the commodities they wished to purchase for importation. This seems to have been owing to the imperfect state of navigation, which made long voyages tedious, and to the abounding of pirates, which made them dangerous. Merchants, therefore, of distant countries divided the fatigue and danger, and met each other half-way. This was attended with another advantage, that they were sure of finding a more complete assortment of goods for their purpose at those staple towns, than they could have found at any other place. Bruges in Flanders was the great emporium of Europe in this period, to which merchants of the south and north conveyed their goods for sale; and so great was their resort to it from the Mediterranean and the Baltic, that 150 ships were seen, A.D. 1486, to arrive at its harbour of Slucey in one day.

The great fairs in Brabant were also frequented by merchants from England, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, Scotland, and Ireland; and a great variety of goods were brought to them from all the neighbouring countries. But the English, it is said, bought and sold more at these fairs than all the other nations:

—Her marts ben feble shame, to say,  
But Englishmen thider dress their way.

Fishing, as a source of wealth and commerce, was not neglected by the English in this period; particularly for cod and stock-fish on the coasts of Iceland, and for herrings on their own coasts. The merchants of Bristol and some other towns sent several vessels annually to Iceland, in opposition to the frequent complaints of the kings of Denmark, and prohibitions of their own sovereigns, to procure stock-fish, which were then much used in victualling ships for long voyages.

Of Iceland to write is little nede  
Save of stock-fish: yet forsooth indeed,  
Out of Bristow and costes, many one  
Men have practised by needle and by stone,  
Thuderwardes within a little while.

The herring-fishery on the coast of Norfolk was an object of great importance in the fourteenth century, and rendered the towns on that coast rich and flourishing; and the herring fair at Yarmouth was of so much consequence, that it was regulated by several statutes. The consumption of herrings still continuing to be immensely great in all the nations of Europe, the English herring-fishery was still carried on with vigour and success.

Some very wealthy merchants flourished in this period in Italy, France, and England. The family of Medici at Florence was the most opulent and illustrious mercantile family that ever existed in Europe. When Cosmo de Medici was only a private merchant and citizen of Florence, he expended four millions of gold florins in building churches and palaces in that city and its environs, and one million in charitable foundations for the support of the poor. Jaque Le Cœur was the greatest merchant that ever France produced, and had alone more trade and more riches than all the other merchants of that kingdom; and by his trade and riches contributed greatly to save his country. It was this extraordinary man who furnished Charles VII. with money to pay and support those armies with which

he recovered his provinces from the English. John Norbury, John Hende, Richard Whittington, and several other merchants in London, appear to have been rich, from the great sums they occasionally lent their sovereign, and the great works they erected for the use and ornament of the city. But William Canning, who was five times mayor of Bristol, and a great benefactor to that city, seems to have been the greatest English merchant of this period. Edward IV. took from him at once (for some misdemeanor in trade) 2470 tons of shipping; amongst which there was one ship of 900 tons, one of 500, and one of 400, the rest being smaller. We are not informed what Mr. Canning's misdemeanor was; but it is most probable that there was nothing dishonourable in it, as the above anecdote is inscribed upon his tomb.

From this brief account of the trade of England in this period, it plainly appears that it was not inconsiderable; and it is probable it was not unprofitable, but the contrary. We have no means, however, of discovering with certainty to which side the balance inclined, or the exact value of that balance; but we have reason to think, in general, that it was in favour of England, and that it was very valuable. It appears, from an authentic record, that about the middle of the fourteenth century, the balance of trade in one year (1354) in favour of England, was no less than 294,184*l.* of the money of those times; and we know with certainty, that some articles of export, particularly the great article of woollen cloth, had very much increased in the present period. The incessant exhausting drain of money from England to the court of Rome still continued. Henry V., after squeezing every shilling he could from his subjects, anticipated his revenues, pawned his crown and jewels, and carried an immense mass of treasure out of England in his attempts to conquer France. Henry VI. expended as much in losing as his father had done in gaining these foreign conquests; and we know of no other means by which these treasures could be replaced, but by the profits of manufactures and of commerce. In a word, it seems to be highly probable, that while the kings of England, in this period, were dissipating the riches of their dominions, by their defeats and victories, manufacturers and merchants were restoring them, by the silent operations of art and trade.

As money or coins have long been the great medium of commerce, and the common measure of the value of all other commodities; and as the acquisition of them has been the great object of particular merchants, and of trading nations, they are well entitled to a place in the commercial history of every period. Without a competent knowledge of coins in every age, of their weight and fineness, and of their comparative value with respect to other commodities and to the coins of our own times, we can form no just conceptions of the price of labour, the rate of living, the prosperity and wealth of nations, and many other important facts in history. We are apt, for example, to be surprised to hear that the wages of common labourers in the fifteenth century were only three-halfpence a-day, and to imagine that these poor labourers must have lived in a very wretched manner; but when we are told that those three-halfpence contained as much silver as three-pence, and would purchase as many of the necessities of life as fifteen-pence of our money will do at present, our surprise and pity are at an end.

It has been already observed, that anciently the English nominal pound in coin contained a real

Tower pound of silver, weighing 5400 grains Troy; that of this pound of silver were coined 240 pennies (the largest coins then in use), weighing each 22½ Troy grains; and that the money of England continued on the same footing from the Conquest till near the middle of the fourteenth century, when Edward III. made an alteration. That prince, A.D. 1346, coined 270 pennies, weighing each only 20 Troy grains, instead of 22½, out of a Tower pound of silver; by which the value of the nominal pound was reduced from 60 of our shillings to 51*s.* 8*d.* That same prince made another change in his money, A.D. 1351, by coining groats that weighed only 72 grains, instead of 90 (the original weight of four pennies), by which the nominal pound was brought down to 46*s.* 6*d.* of our present money, at which it continued till after the beginning of the period we are now delineating.

By an act of parliament, 13th Henry IV., A.D. 1412, it was directed, "That by reason of the great scarcity of money in the realm of England, the pound Tower should, from the feast of Easter following, be coined into thirty shillings by tale." A strange imagination—that diminishing the value of the nominal pound would make money more plentiful! and yet it was on this groundless fancy that all the above and subsequent changes were made. By this last regulation, the value or quantity of silver in the nominal pound was reduced to 38*s.* 9*d.* of our money; and on that footing the coin of England continued more than half a century, during the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI.

Edward IV., A.D. 1464, by coining 37*s.* 6*d.* by tale out of the Tower pound of silver, brought down his groats (the largest coin then in use) to 48 Troy grains, and the intrinsic value of the nominal pound to 31*s.* of our money; and thus it remained till long after the conclusion of the present period.

These successive changes in the value or quantity of silver, in the nominal pound of coin, which could add nothing to the real riches of the kingdom, were productive of many inconveniencies. Every change deceived the people for some time to their loss, and occasioned great confusion in the payment of debts, rents, annuities, and in all mercantile and money transactions.

The only gold coins that were struck in England in the greatest part of this period, in the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., were nobles, with their halves and quarters. The first nobles of Henry IV. weighed 120 grains, and their value was 21*s.* 1½*d.*, the same weight and value with those of his predecessor Richard II. But, in the last year of his reign, the noble was reduced to 108 grains, value 19*s.*; and on that footing it continued during the two succeeding reigns. The gold noble was of 23 carats ¾ grains fine, and ½ grain in alloy, and was much admired, both at home and abroad, for its purity and beauty.

Edward IV., A.D. 1466, struck gold coins, called "angels," from the figure of an angel on the reverse; and their halves, called "angelets." The angel weighed 80 grains, passed for 6*s.* 8*d.* of the silver money of those times, and was worth 14*s.* 1*d.* of our present money.

It would require a long and very tedious induction of particulars, to ascertain the exact difference between the rate of living at present and in the period we are now examining. It appears that to the lower and middle ranks of the people, living was, in that period, nominally ten times, and really five times cheaper than it is at present, to persons of the



same rank. To understand the distinction between the nominal and real difference in the rate of living, we have only to reflect, 1st, That one nominal money-pound, in the fifteenth century, contained as much silver as two nominal pounds contain at present; and therefore a person who had then an income of 10*l.* a year, had as much silver to expend as one who has now an income of 20*l.* a year; and, 2dly, That the same quantity of silver, suppose a pound weight, would then have purchased as many of the necessities of life as five times that quantity, or five pounds weight of silver will purchase at present: for these two reasons, one who had a free annual income of ten nominal money-pounds in the fifteenth century, was as rich and could live as well as one who has an income of ten times as many money-pounds, or of 100*l.* at present; though in reality, any given weight of coins had then only five times the value and efficacy that the same weight of coins, of equal purity, have in our times.

That the above account of the nominal difference in the rate of living, and the real difference in the value of money, is not far from the truth, many proofs might be produced. As grain of different kinds, and animal food, are the chief means of supporting human life, their prices claim particular attention in forming a judgment of the expense of living. The average price of a quarter of wheat, in that part of the fifteenth century which is the subject of this appendix (except in a few years of famine), appears to have been about 5*s.* which multiplied by ten, produces 50*s.* which is esteemed a very low price at present. When wheat was 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter, a famine was dreaded, and the ports were opened for importation. All other kinds of grain were cheaper in proportion to wheat than they are at present. Animal food of all kinds was still cheaper than grain. The price of an ordinary, probably a small, cow, was 7*s.* money, equivalent to 3*l.* 10*s.* of our coin; of a calf, 1*s.* 8*d.* equivalent to 16*s.* 8*d.*; of an ox, 13*s.* 4*d.* equivalent to 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; of a sheep, 2*s.* 5*d.* equivalent to 1*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*; of a hog, 2*s.* equivalent to 1*l.*; of a goose, 3*d.* equivalent to 2*s.* 6*d.* &c. Liquors were fully as cheap as either bread-corn or butcher's meat, or rather cheaper. Claret cost only 1*s.* a gallon, equivalent to 10*s.* and ale 1*½d.* equivalent to 1*s.* 3*d.* It was established by law, 2d Henry V. A.D. 1414, "That no yearly chaplain within the realm shall take from henceforth, more for his whole wages by the year (that is to say, for his board, apparel, and other necessities), but seven marks, or 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* equivalent to 46*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*," a sum insufficient to support a single clergyman in board, lodgings, apparel, and every thing else, in a manner suitable to his character. By the same statute it is ordained, "That parish-priests which be, or shall be retained to serve cures, shall take, from henceforth, for their whole wages, by the year, but 8 marks, or 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*;" which, being multiplied by ten, yields 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; a sum certainly far too little for the decent support of a parish priest at present: and we cannot suppose that the parliament of England would have fixed the highest stipend to be given to a curate at 8 marks, if that sum had not then been sufficient for his decent support. Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king's bench, and afterwards chancellor to Henry VI., wrote his book on the difference between an absolute and limited monarchy, towards the end of this period; and in that work he says, in plain terms, "that five pounds in a year was a fair living for a yeoman;" which cannot be said of fifty pounds a year in our times.

In a word, it seems to be abundantly evident, that inferior clergymen, yeomen, respectable tradesmen and others in the middle ranks of life, could have lived more plentifully, in the fifteenth century, on an income of 5*l.* a year, of the money of that age, than those of the same rank can live on ten times that nominal, or five times that real income, that is, on 50*l.* a year at present. The precious metals of gold and silver have indeed greatly increased in Britain since those times; but we must not therefore imagine, that we are so much richer than our ancestors; because as these metals increased in quantity, they decreased in value and efficacy.

The state of shipping in Britain seems to have been nearly the same in this that it had been in the former period. Commerce was not much extended, and a great part of it was still carried on by foreign merchants in foreign bottoms; which retarded the increase both of ships and sailors. Some attempts were made to build ships of greater burden than had formerly been in use, in imitation of the carracks of Venice and Genoa, which were often seen in British harbours. But these attempts were probably very few, as they are mentioned by our historians with expressions of admiration, and those who made them obtained both honours and immunities. James Kennely, the patriotic bishop of St. Andrew's, is as much celebrated for building a ship of uncommon magnitude, called the "Bishop's Berge," as for building and endowing a college. John Tavernor of Hull, obtained various privileges and immunities from Henry VI. A.D. 1449, "because he had built a ship as large as a great carrack:" a sufficient proof that few such ships were then built in England.

#### SECTION IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE MANNERS, VIRTUES, VICES, REMARKABLE CUSTOMS, LANGUAGE, DRESS, DIET, AND DIVERSIONS, FROM 1399, TO A.D. 1485.

No very material alteration in the ranks and orders of men in society took place in this period; but there seems to have been a considerable change in the comparative importance and influence of the people in these several ranks. The distinction between the nobility and gentry of England was now fully established, in consequence of the division of the parliament into two houses; and the former enjoyed several privileges to which the latter had no claim. In the previous records of parliament, the ecclesiastical peers are always placed first, the dukes and earls next, but the names of lords and gentlemen are intermixed; and several gentlemen who were not lords of parliament, have *dominus* prefixed to their names. In a word, the distinction between lords and lairds in those times was very inconsiderable. The citizens and burgesses were more respected, or rather, not so much despised, as they had been formerly; and even the common people were treated with greater lenity, as their haughty lords often stood in need of their assistance in the field of battle.

The most remarkable change in all ranks of men in this period, was a great diminution of the numbers of the people in every rank (except that of beggars), by the devastation and depopulation of the country. This depopulation was occasioned by the three greatest scourges to which mankind are exposed—famine, pestilence, and war; but chiefly by the last. Famine was most fatal to those in the lower walks of life

war was most destructive to those of higher rank, in proportion to their number; the pestilence made no distinction.

To say nothing of the great numbers of brave men who fell in the foreign and civil wars in the reign of Henry IV., prodigious multitudes perished in the French wars, in the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI., which continued about thirty years, and were uncommonly destructive. The English nobility and gentry engaged in those wars with the greatest ardour, in hopes of obtaining splendid settlements on the continent. But instead of gaining fortunes, so many of them lost their lives, that in the last year of the victorious Henry V. there was not a sufficient number of gentlemen left in England to carry on the business of civil government. This is evident from the following statute made in that year: "Whereas, by an act made in the 14th of Edward III., it was statute and ordained, That no sheriff or escheator should remain above one year in his office, because there was then a sufficient number of gentlemen in every county of England, well qualified to fill these offices to the satisfaction both of the King and his subjects: and whereas, by diverse pestilences within the kingdom, and by foreign wars, there is not a sufficiency at present of proper persons to fill these offices: it is therefore enacted by this parliament, That the king may appoint sheriffs and escheators to continue more than one year in their respective offices, for four years commencing at the next election of these officers." This act appears to have been made with much reluctance, and from mere necessity.

But if the victories of Henry V. were so fatal to the population of this country, the defeats and disasters of the succeeding reign were still more destructive. In the twenty-fifth year of this war, the instructions given to the Cardinal of Winchester, and other plenipotentiaries appointed to treat about a peace, authorised them to represent to those of France, "that there haan been moo men slayne in these wars for the title and claime of the coroune of France, of oon nacion and other, than ben at this daye in both landys, and so much Christiene blode shede, that it is to grete a sorow and an orroure to thinke or here it." But these and many other representations were in vain. The war continued several years longer; and before it ended, the two powerful kingdoms of France and England were so much exhausted, that, in some campaigns, they could hardly bring 10,000 men into the field on either side.

England was still further depopulated by the bloody contest between the houses of Lancaster and York which succeeded the French wars. This contest was peculiarly fatal to persons of rank and power, and seemed to threaten that order of men with extirpation. If we may believe Philip de Comines, one of the most credible historians of those times, no fewer than sixty or eighty princes and nobles of the blood-royal of England lost their lives in this quarrel, either in battle or on the scaffold. The same writer informs us, that Edward IV. told him one day in conversation, that in all the nine pitched battles he had gained, he had fought on foot; and that as soon as the enemy began to fly, he mounted his horse, and cried to his men to spare the common people, and to kill their leaders. At the battle of Towton, one of these nine, three earls and ten lords of the Lancastrian party, besides a prodigious number of knights and gentlemen, were found dead on the field. At the first parliament of Edward IV.,

long before the conclusion of that fatal contest, the nobility of England consisted only of one duke, four earls, one viscount, and twenty-nine barons; all the nobles of the Lancastrian party having been either killed in battles or on scaffolds, or had fled into foreign countries to save their lives.

The circumstances of the people in this period were far from being comfortable. The crown tottered on the heads of princes who were sometimes on a throne, sometimes in a prison, or in exile. Of the three kings who reigned in Scotland, one, after spending the best years of his life in captivity, perished by a violent death; the other two fell in war; and they were all cut off in the prime of their age. Many of the rich and great experienced the most deplorable reverses of fortune, and sank into indigence and obscurity; and some of the most ancient and noble families in both kingdoms were ruined and almost extirpated. The common people enjoyed few of the comforts, and sometimes wanted the necessities, of life; and neither their persons nor properties were secure. It was indeed impossible that a people so much employed in destroying the inhabitants of other countries, or in tearing one another in pieces, could be happy. But all the distresses in which the people were then involved did not diminish their vices nor increase their virtues. Their manners in these respects seem to have been nearly the same in this as in the preceding period, and have been already described. It will be sufficient therefore, in this place, to mention a few particulars, which were either peculiar to the times we are now considering, or become more or less conspicuous.

Chivalry, one of the most remarkable peculiarities in the manners of the middle ages, flourished greatly in England in the fourteenth, but declined in the fifteenth century. Our kings and nobles were then so much engaged in real combats, that they could not pay equal attention to the representations of them in tilts and tournaments. The decline of chivalry is thus feelingly lamented by that simple person (as he often calls himself) Mr. William Caxton:—"O ye knyghtes of England; where is the custome and usage of noble chyvalry that was used in tho days? What do ye now but go to the baynes, and play at dyse? And some not well advyssed, use not honest and good rule, again all ordre of knyghthode. Leve this, leve it, and rede the noble volumes of St. Graal, of Lancelot, of Galaad, of Trystram, of Perse Forest, of Percyval, of Gawayn, and many mo; ther shall ye see manhode, curtoyse, and gentylness.—I would demaunde a question, yf I shold not displease: How many knyghtes ben ther now in England, that have thuse and theherceise of a knyghte; that is to wite, that he knoweth his horse, and his horse him. I suppose, and a due serche sholde be made, there sholde be many founden that lacke; the more pyte is. I wold it pleasyd our soverayne lord that twyse or thryse a-ye, or as the lest ones, he wold do cry justis of pies, to thende, that every knyght shold have hors and harneys, and also the use and craft of a knyghte, and also to torneoye one agaynste one, or two agaynste two, and the best to have a prys, a diamond or jewel, such as shold please the prynce."

But though chivalry was now declining, it was far from being extinct. Henry V. of England, and James I. of Scotland, are highly extolled for their dexterity in tilting; and Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick, was famous for the victories he obtained in those knightly encounters, both at home and



abroad. Many of the first productions of the press were books of chivalry, and adventures of knights-errant. We meet with a great number of royal protections granted by our kings to foreign princes, nobles, and knights, to come into England to perform feats of arms; and licences to their own subjects, to go into foreign countries for the same purpose. All coronations and royal marriages were attended with splendid tilts and tournaments, in which the young nobles, knights, and gentlemen, displayed their courage, strength, and dexterity in horsemanship and the use of arms, in the presence and for the honour of their ladies.

The most magnificent of these tournaments was that performed by the bastard of Burgundy and Anthony Lord Scales, brother to the queen of England, in Smithfield, A.D. 1467. The king and queen of England spared no expense to do honour to so near a relation; and Philip, duke of Burgundy, the most magnificent prince of that age, was no less profuse in equipping his favourite son. Several months were spent in adjusting the preliminaries of this famous combat, and in performing all the pompous ceremonies prescribed by the laws of chivalry. Edward IV. granted a safe conduct, October 29, A.D. 1466, to the bastard of Burgundy, earl of La Roche, with a thousand persons in his company, to come into England, to perform certain feats of arms with his dearly-beloved brother Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales and Nuelles. But so many punctilios were to be settled by the intervention of heralds, that the tournament did not take place till June 11, A.D. 1467. Strong lists having been erected in Smithfield, 120 yards and 10 feet long, 80 yards and 10 feet broad, with fair and costly galleries all around, for the accommodation of the king and queen, attended by the lords and ladies of the court, and a prodigious number of lords, knights, and ladies of England, France, Scotland, and other countries, in their richest dresses; the two champions entered the lists and were conducted to their pavilions. There they underwent the usual searches, and answered the usual questions, and then advanced into the middle of the lists. The ceremony is thus described by Stow:—"The first day they ranne together with sharp spears, and departed with equal honour. The next day they turneyed on horseback. The Lord Scales horse had on his chaffron a long sharp pike of steel; and as the two champions coaped together, the same horse thrust his pike into the nostrils of the bastard's horse; so that, for very pain, he mounted so high, that he fell on the one side with his master; and the Lord Scales rode about him with his sword drawn in his hand, till the king commanded the marshal to help up the bastard, who openly said, I cannot hold me by the clouds; for though my horse fail me, I will not fail my encounter-companion. But the king would not suffer them to do any more that day. The next morrow, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two pikes, and fought valiantly; but at the last the point of the pike of the Lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the bastard's helm, and by fine force might have plucked him on knees: but the king suddenly cast down his warder, and then the marshal severed them. The bastard not content with this chance, required the king, of justice, that he might performe his enterprise. The Lord Scales refused not. But the king, calling to him the constable and the marshal, with the officers of arms, after consultation had, it was declared for a sentence definitive, by the duke of Clarence, then constable

of England,\* and the duke of Norfolk, then marshal, that if he would go forward with his attempted challenge, he must, by the law of arms, be delivered to his adversary in the same state and like condition as he stood when he was taken from him. The Bastard, hearing this judgment, doubted the sequel of the matter, and so relinquished his challenge."

The bravery and martial ardour of both the British nations never appeared more conspicuous than in the present period, particularly in the reign of Henry V. The English, under that heroic prince, seemed to be invincible; and fought with so much courage and success, that, towards the end of his reign, they had a very probable prospect of making a complete conquest of the great and populous kingdom of France. The Scots were much admired for the steady intrepidity with which they defended themselves, and the seasonable and successful succours they sent to their ancient allies in their greatest distress, when they were on the brink of ruin, and forsaken by all the world.

But national as well as personal courage is subject to sudden and surprising changes, which are sometimes produced by very trifling causes. There is not a more remarkable example of this in history than that extraordinary revolution in the spirits of the French and English armies, at the siege of Orleans, A.D. 1428, which has been already mentioned. Before that period, the English fought like lions, and the French fled before them like sheep. But as soon as the Maid of Orleans, a poor obscure servant-girl, about seventeen years of age, appeared on the scene of action, the fortune of the war, and the spirits of the contending nations, were entirely changed. The French became bold and daring, the English dastardly and desponding. The terror of that dreaded heroine was not confined to the English army in France, but seized the great body of the people at home, and made many who had enlisted in the service desert, and hide themselves in holes and corners. This appears from the proclamations issued in England, commanding the sheriffs of London, and of several counties, to apprehend those who had deserted and concealed themselves for fear of the Maid. As it is imprudent to discover any distrust of national courage when war is necessary, it is no less imprudent to plunge a nation into a war, from too great a reliance on a quality that may fail when it is least expected.

The hospitality of our ancestors, particularly of the great and opulent barons, has been much admired, and considered as a certain proof of the nobleness and generosity of their spirits. The fact is well attested. The castles of the powerful barons were capacious palaces, daily crowded with their numerous retainers, who were always welcome to their plentiful tables. They had their privy counsellors, their treasurers, marshals, constables, stewards, secretaries, chaplains, heralds, pursuivants, pages, henshmen or guards, trumpeters, minstrels, and, in a word, all the officers of the royal court. The etiquette of their families was an exact copy of that of the royal household; and some of them lived in a degree of pomp and splendour little inferior to that of the greatest kings. Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, we are told, "was ever had in great favour of the commons of the land, because of the exceeding household which he daily kept in all countries wherever he sojourned or lay; and when he came to London, he held such an house, that six

\* John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, was then constable

oxen were eaten at a breakfast; and every tavern was full of his meat." The earls of Douglas in Scotland, before the fall of that great family, rivalled, or rather exceeded, their sovereigns in pomp and profuse hospitality. But to this manner of living, it is highly probable, these great chieftains were prompted, by a desire of increasing the number and attachment of their retainers, on which, in those turbulent times, their dignity, and even their safety, depended, more than by the generosity of their tempers. These retainers did not constantly reside in the families of their lords; but they wore their liveries and badges, frequently feasted in their halls, swelled their retinues on all great solemnities, attended them on their journeys, and followed them into the field of battle. Some powerful chieftains had so great a number of these retainers constantly at their command, that they set the laws at defiance, were formidable to their sovereigns, and terrible to their fellow-subjects; and several laws were made against giving and receiving liveries. But these laws produced little effect in this period.

Hospitality was not confined to the great and opulent, but was practised rather more than it is at present by persons in the middle and lower ranks of life. But this was owing to necessity, arising from the scarcity of inns, which obliged travellers and strangers to apply to private persons for lodging and entertainment; and those who received them hospitably acquired a right to a similar reception.

The people of Britain were not chargeable with the contempt, or even neglect, of the ceremonies of religion in this period. On the contrary, many of them spent much of their time and money in performing those ceremonies. To say nothing of the almost constant service in cathedral and conventual churches, all the great barons had chapels in their castles, which very much resembled cathedrals in the number of their clergy and choristers, the richness of their furniture and images, and the pomp and regularity with which the service of the church was daily performed. The earl of Northumberland, for example, had constantly in his family a dean of his chapel, who was a doctor of divinity, a sub-dean, and nine other priests; eleven singing men and six singing boys; in all, twenty-eight, who daily performed divine service in his chapel, at matins, lady-mass, high-mass, evensong, and complyne. The four first singing men acted as organists weekly by turns. This was a very splendid and expensive establishment, consisting of greater numbers than are now to be found in several cathedrals.

But unhappily, the religion of our ancestors in those times was so strongly tinged with gross irrational superstition, that it had little tendency to enlighten their minds, regulate their passions, or reform their lives. Their creed contained some articles that their very senses, if they durst have used them, might have convinced them could not be true; and others that were equally contrary to reason and revelation. The ceremonies of their worship were mere mechanical operations, in which their minds had little or no concern; and they were taught to place their hopes of the divine favour on such fallacious grounds as the pardon of a venal priest, the patronage of a saint, pilgrimage, fastings, flagellations, and the like. But the most odious feature of the religion of those times was its horrid cruelty and intolerance, which prompted them to burn their fellow-Christians, because they dared to think for themselves, and to worship God in a

manner which they believed to be more acceptable than the established forms.

It is one evidence amongst many others, that their religion had little influence on their morals, that perjury prevailed to a degree that is hardly credible, and the obligations of the most solemn oaths were almost totally disregarded by persons of all ranks. Of this the reader must have observed many examples in the preceding history, particularly in the conduct of Edward IV. and Richard III. All the lords, spiritual and temporal, in the famous parliament at Shrewsbury, A. D. 1398, called "the great parliament," took a solemn oath on the cross of Canterbury, never to suffer any of the acts of that parliament to be changed; and yet these same lords, in less than two years after, repealed all those acts. Various ceremonies were invented to give additional solemnity to oaths, and secure their observation. Philip the good, duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1453, in the middle of a great feast, and in the presence of his whole court, had a roasted pheasant brought to his table, with great pomp, and swore over it a most tremendous oath, that he would march an army against the great Turk; and all the lords and knights of his court swore in the same manner that they would march with him: but none of them performed their oaths. It is no wonder that the common people were so profligate in this respect, that not a few of them, we are told, lived by swearing for hire in courts of justice.

The English were remarkable in this period, among the nations of Europe, for the absurd and impious practice of profane swearing in conversation. The count of Luxemburg, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Stafford, visited the Maid of Orleans in her prison at Rouen, where she was chained to the floor, and loaded with irons. The count, who had sold her to the English, pretended that he had come to treat with her about her ransom. Viewing him with just resentment and disdain, she cried, "Begone! You have neither the inclination nor the power to ransom me." Then turning her eyes towards the two earls, she said, "I know that you English are determined to put me to death; and imagine, that, after I am dead, you will conquer France. But though there were an hundred thousand more God-dam-meers in France than there are, they will never conquer that kingdom." So early had the English got this odious nickname, by their too frequent use of that horrid imprecation. A contemporary historian, who had frequently conversed with Henry VI., mentions it as a very remarkable and extraordinary peculiarity in the character of that prince, that he did not swear in common conversation, but reproved his ministers and officers of state when he heard them swearing.

An excessive irrational credulity still continued to reign in all the nations of Europe, and seems to have prevailed rather more in Britain than in some other countries. Of this many proofs might be produced. There was not a man then in England who entertained the least doubt of the reality of sorcery, necromancy, and other diabolical arts. Let any one peruse the works of Thomas Walsingham, our best historian in this period, and he will meet with many ridiculous miracles, related, with the greatest gravity, as the most unquestionable facts. The English were remarkable for one species of credulity peculiar to themselves, viz. a firm belief in the predictions of certain pretended prophets, particularly of the famous Merlin. Philip de Comines, in his relation of what passed at the interview between



Edward IV. and Lewis XI. on the bridge of Picquiny (at which he was present), acquaints us, that after the two kings had saluted one another, and conversed a little together, the bishop of Ely, chancellor of England, began an harangue to the two monarchs, by telling them that the English had a prophecy, that a great peace would be concluded between France and England at Picquiny; for the English (says Comines) are great believers in such prophecies, and have one of them ready to produce on every occasion.

The English frequently defeated the French in the field in this period, but were generally defeated by them in the cabinet. Philip de Comines, who was an excellent judge of mankind, and seems to have studied the national character of the English with great care, acknowledged that they were but blundering negotiators, and by no means a match for the French. They were easily imposed upon, he says, by dissimulation, apt to fall into a passion, and to become impatient when they were contradicted; and, in a word, that they were not so subtle, insinuating, and patient, as their adversaries, who took advantage of all their foibles. The English certainly committed a most grievous error in withdrawing, in a passion, from the great congress at Arras, A. D. 1435; and no prince was ever more shamefully deceived by another than Edward IV. by that artful and faithless monarch Lewis XI.

A fierce and even cruel spirit too much prevailed in both the British nations in this period, and formed a disagreeable feature in their national characters. This was owing to the violent contests, and almost constant wars, in which they were engaged; which hardened their hearts, inflamed their passions, and made them familiar with blood and slaughter. The reader must have observed many proofs of this fierce and cruel spirit. The wars and battles of this period were uncommonly fierce and sanguinary; the prisoners of distinction were generally put to death on the field, in cold blood; and assassination and murders were very frequent, perpetrated on persons of the greatest eminence, by the hands of kings, nobles, and near relations. The ferocity of these unhappy times was so great, that it infected the fair and gentle sex, and made many ladies and gentlewomen take up arms, and follow the trade of war. "At this siege (of Sens, A. D. 1420), also lyn many worthy laydes and gentilwomen, both French and English; of the whiche many of hem begonne the faitz of armes long time agoon, but of lying at seges now they begynne first." But the women of Wales, on one occasion, are said to have been guilty of deeds so horrible and indelicate, that they are hardly credible.

When we consider the state of the country, the condition and character of many of its inhabitants, we shall not be surprised to hear that England was much infested with robbers in this period. Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king's bench in the reign of Henry VI., acknowledges that robbery was much more frequent in England than in France or Scotland; and, which is remarkable in one of his profession, he boasts of this as a proof of the superior courage of the English. "It hath ben often seen in England, that three or four thefes hath sett upon seven or eight true men, and robyd them al. But it hath not ben seen in Fraunce, that seven or eight thefes have ben hardy to robbe three or four true men. Wherefor it is right seld that Frenchmen be hangyd for robberye, for that they have no bertye to do so terrible an acte. There be therefor

mo men hangyd in England, in a yere, for robberye and manslaughter, than there be hangyd in Fraunce, for such cause of crime, in seven yers. There is no man hangyd in Scotland in seven yers together for robberye; and yet they be often tymes hangyd for larceny and stelyng of goods in the absence of the owner therof: but their barts serve them not to take a manny's goods, while he is present, and will defend it; which maner of takyng is called robberye. But the English man be of another corage: for if he be poer, and see another man having riches, which may be taken from him by might, he wol not spare to do so." Whatever becomes of the reasoning of the chief justice, his authority is sufficient to establish this fact, that robbery prevailed much more in England than in France or Scotland, in his time.

The manners of the clergy in the preceding period, which have been so fully described, were so similar to those of the times we are now delineating, that, to prevent unnecessary repetitions, the reader may be referred to that description. For though Dr. Wickliffe and his followers declaimed with as much vehemence against the pride, ambition, avarice, cruelty, luxury, and other vices of the clergy, as against their erroneous doctrines and superstitious ceremonies, they declaimed in vain: the clergy were at least as much attached to their riches, their honours, and their pleasures, as to their speculative opinions; and as unwilling to abandon their vices as to renounce their errors. In a word, the generality of the British clergy in this period were neither more learned, nor more virtuous, than their immediate predecessors; and seem to have differed from them in nothing but in the superior cruelty with which they persecuted the unhappy Lollards.

Great cities in general are not very friendly to the virtue of their inhabitants, especially of the young and opulent. Caxton observed concerning the youth of London in his time, that when they were very young they were exceedingly amiable and promising; but that when they arrived at riper years, many of them disappointed the hopes of their friends, and dissipated the wealth that had been left them by their parents. "I see that the children that ben borne within the sayd cyte (London) encrease and prouffyte not like their faders and olders; but for mooste parte, after that they ben comeyn to theyr perfight yeres of discrecion, and rypenes of age, how well that theyre faders have left to them, grete quantite of goodes, yet scarcely amonge ten, two thrive. O, blessed Lord! when I remembre thys, I am al abashed: I cannot juge the cause; but fayrer, ne wyser, ne bet bespoken children in theyre youthe ben no wher than ther ben in London; but at thyr ful ryping, there is no carnel, ne good corn founden, but chaff for the moost part."

If our ancestors in this period were free from certain vices and follies which are too prevalent among their posterity in the present age, they were guilty of others, some of them of a very odious nature, which do not now prevail. Let us not then imagine, from an ill-founded veneration for antiquity, that the former times were better than these. In several respects they were certainly much worse, if not more unhappy.

The living language of a great commercial people, who cultivate the sciences and have much intercourse with other nations, is liable to perpetual changes. These changes are introduced by slow and imperceptible degrees; but in the course of a few ages they become conspicuous. The language (for

example), of the people of England, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, is now as unintelligible to their posterity, as a dead or foreign language. If this any reader may be convinced, by looking into the Saxon Chronicle, or turning to the language of the quotations in this work. In the fourteenth century, the people of England began to speak a language which may be called English; though it was still so different from that which is spoken by their posterity in the present age, that it can hardly be understood without the assistance of a glossary.

The language of the vulgar, in every age, is considerably different from that of the polite and learned; and in some periods there are greater changes in the one than in the other. In our present period, we find few or no improvements in the language of the learned, because there were few or no improvements made in learning. The works of Chaucer and Gower, who flourished in the fourteenth century, are as intelligible to a modern reader, as those of King James I. of Scotland, Lydgate, or Occleve. But we learn from the testimony of William Caxton, that the language of the common people of England underwent a very remarkable change in the course of this period. "Certainly the language now used (A.D. 1490), varyeth ferre from that which was used and spoken whan I was born. For we Englishe men ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, which is never stedfaste, but ever waverynge." The difference between the language most commonly used and most generally understood, and that which was affected by the polite and learned, was then so great, that Mr. Caxton (who was much employed in translating books out of French into English) was greatly perplexed what words to use, in order to render his translations universally useful and agreeable. "Some gentylmen (says he) have blamed me, saying, that in my translacions I had over curyous termes, which could not be understande of comyn peple, and desired me to use old and homely termes in my translacions; and fayn wolde I satisfy every man. But som honest and grete clerkes have been wyth me, and desired me to wryte the moste curyous termes that I coude fynde. And thus between playn, rude, and curyous, I stand abashed." To extricate himself out of this difficulty, Caxton very wisely resolved to use terms neither over rude nor over curyous.

Difference of dialect is common to every language, in every age and country, especially in countries of great extent, and divided into many provinces. This difference was so great in England, in this period, that (as we are told) the inhabitants of one county hardly understood those of another. "That comyne Englishe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from another; insomuche, that in my dayes happened, that certayn merchants were in a shipp in Tamyse, for to have sailed over the see into Zelande, and for lacke of wynd they taryed atte Forland, and went to land for to refreshe them; and one of them, named Sheffelde, a mercer, came into an hows, and axed for mete, and speccially he axed arter egges; and the good wyf answered, That she coude speke no Frenshe. And the merchant was angry; for he also coude speke no Frenshe; but wolde have hadde egges, and she understode him not. And thenne at last another sayd, that he wolde have ceyren; thenne the good wyf sayd, that she understode him well."

From the specimens that have been given of the English of this period, from the best writers both in prose and verse, the reader must have observed with

some surprise their various and irregular manner of spelling, which contributes not a little to the obscurity of their writings. Spelling, in those times, was so perfectly arbitrary and unsettled, that the same writer spelt the same word two or three different ways in the same page. In a word, every writer contented himself with putting together any combination of letters that occurred to him at the time, which he imagined would suggest the word he intended to his readers, without ever reflecting what letters others used, or he himself had used, on former occasions, for that purpose.

It is difficult to discover any very material difference between the language of England and of the low lands of Scotland, in this period; the writers of the one country being as intelligible to a modern reader as those of the other. Of this any one may be convinced, by comparing the works of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Barbour, or of any two contemporary writers of the two countries. There was probably a considerable difference in the pronunciation, as there is at present.

Customs which have been long established are apt to be continued, after a change of circumstances has rendered them absurd and inconvenient. Could any custom be more inconvenient and unreasonable, than to compose and promulgate the laws of a country in a language which few of the legislators, and hardly any of the other inhabitants, understood? Such a custom prevailed in England in this period. The numerous statutes made in the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI., and of Edward IV., except a very few in Latin, were composed, recorded, and promulgated in French; though that language was then very little understood or used in England. Many proofs might be produced of this last fact; but the express testimony of an author of undoubted credit, who flourished in those times, will be sufficient. Caxton assures us that the great motives which induced him to spend so much of his time in translating books out of French into English, were, "1. Because most quanty of the peple understoude ne Frenshe here in this noble royaume of England—and, 2. To satisfy the requestes of his singlar good lordes," who needed these translations as well as others. Richard III. and the parliament which met at Westminster in 1483, put an end to this absurd custom, by framing their acts in the English language.

As the people of England, in this period, possessed great abundance of excellent wool, and had made considerable progress in the clothing arts, it is probable that they were comfortably and decently dressed. This conjecture is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of Sir John Fortescue; who, in proving that the English, who lived under a limited monarchy, were much happier than their rivals the French, who lived under a despotic government, gives this as one example of their superior happiness, that they were much better dressed or clothed. "The French weryn no wollyn, but if it be a pore cote, under their uttermost garment, made of grete canvas, and call it a frok. Their hosyn be of like canvas, and passin not their knee; wherefor they be gartered, and their thyghs bare. Their uifs and children gone bare fote. But the English wear fine woollen cloth in all their apparell. They have also abundance of bed-coverings in their houses, and of all other woollen stuffe." It is probable, however, that Sir John Fortescue, in this passage, speaks of yeomen, substantial farmers, and artificers. For it appears, from an act of parliament



made A.D. 1441, for regulating the wages and clothing of servants employed in husbandry, that their dress and furniture could hardly answer the above description. By that law a bailiff or overseer was to have an allowance of 5*s.*, equivalent to 50*s.* money a-year, for his clothing; a hind or principal servant, 4*s.*, equivalent to 40*s.* at present; an ordinary servant, 3*s.* 4*d.*, equivalent to 33*s.* 4*d.* But as all these persons were allowed meat, drink, and wages, they might be comfortably and decently clothed, by expending a part of their wages on their clothing. The dress of the labourers and common people in this period appears to have been simple and well contrived, consisting of shoes, hose made of cloth, breeches, a jacket and coat buttoned and fastened about the body by a belt or girdle. They covered their heads with bonnets of cloth. As the common people could not afford to follow the capricious changes of fashion, the dress of both sexes in that order seems to have continued nearly the same through several ages.

But comfort and decency are not the only, very often not the chief, objects regarded in dress. It has been an ancient and universal custom, to distinguish the different ranks and professions in society by their different robes and dresses. The robes worn by the kings, princes, dukes, earls, lords, and knights of England, on public solemnities, are so well known, and have been so often described, that a minute delineation of them in this place is unnecessary, and would be tedious.

As vanity contributed as much as necessity to the introduction and use of clothing, that powerful universal passion has presided ever since in the province of dress, and produced an almost innumerable multitude of modes and fashions in every age. Many of these fashions appear to us ridiculous; some of them were certainly inconvenient; few of them deserve to be recorded or revived; and therefore a very brief notice of the most remarkable of them, it is hoped, will be sufficient to gratify the reader's curiosity. To attempt a minute detail of them all, in regular succession, would be as vain as to attempt such a detail of the shape of last year's clouds.

Those fashions that are most absurd and troublesome, and most keenly opposed and censured, are commonly most permanent. Folly is fickle when it is let alone, but obstinate when it is opposed. No fashion could be more absurd and troublesome than that of the long-pointed shoes, with which they could not walk till they were tied to their knees with chains. This fashion was condemned by the papal bulls, and the decrees of councils, and disclaimed against with great vehemence by the clergy; and yet it prevailed, in some degree, almost three centuries. At length the parliament of England interposed, by an act, A.D. 1463, prohibiting the use of shoes or boots with pikes exceeding two inches in length, and prohibiting all shoemakers to make shoes or boots with longer pikes, under severe penalties. But even this was not sufficient to put an end to this ridiculous inconvenient fashion. The civil power was obliged to call in the aid of the church; and a proclamation was published in all parts of England, denouncing the dreadful sentence of excommunication, besides all other penalties, against all who wore shoes or boots with pikes longer than two inches.

The dress of the beaux and fine gentlemen of England, in this period, was remarkably close and light. Their stockings and breeches were in one

piece, as tight to their limbs as possible, like the tartan trowse of the gentlemen in the highlands of Scotland. Their coats or jackets were very short, reaching only an inch or two below the top of their breeches; and John Rous, of Warwick, complains bitterly, that, by the shortness of their coats, they exposed those parts to view which ought to have been concealed. Parliament also attempted to prevent this indecency, and made an act, A.D. 1463, that no man should wear a jacket but what was of such a length, that, when he stood upright, it should hide his buttocks. But the power of fashion was greater than the power of parliament. Long hair was much admired by the gay, and as much condemned by the grave, particularly by the clergy, in this period. John Rous reproaches the beaux of his time for suffering their long hair to cover their foreheads, on which they had been marked with the sign of the cross, at their baptism. On their heads they wore bonnets of cloth, silk, or velvet, adorned with pearls and precious stones. In winter and bad weather they used mantles, which were at some times as short as their jackets, and at other times so long, that their sleeves reached the ground. These mantles with long sleeves are ridiculed by the poet Occleve, in the following lines:

Now hath this land little nede of broomes.  
To sweepe away the filth out of the streete,  
Sin side sleeves of penniless grooms  
Will it uplike, be it dry or weete.

When Henry prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., waited on his father, Henry IV., in order to make his peace, he was dressed in a mantle or gown of blue satin, full of small oylet holes, with a needle hanging at every hole by a silk thread. This was sufficiently ridiculous, but it was the fashion.

The young, gay, and opulent of the fair sex were not less fond of ornaments, nor less fickle and fanciful in the fashions of their dress than their admirers. The head-dresses of the ladies were exceedingly large, lofty, and broad. This mode was introduced in the preceding period, prevailed long both in France and England, and at length arrived at a most enormous pitch. When Isabel of Bavaria, the vain, voluptuous consort of Charles VI., kept her court at Vincennes, A.D. 1416, it was found necessary to make all the doors of the palace both higher and wider, to admit the head-dresses of the queen and her ladies. To support the breadth of these dresses, they had a kind of artificial horn on each side of the head, bending upwards, on which many folds of ribbons and other ornaments were suspended. From the top of the horn, on the right side, a streamer, of silk or some other light fabric, was hung, which was sometimes allowed to fly loose, and sometimes brought over the bosom, and wrapt about the left arm. These head-dresses, by their immense size, admitted a great variety of ornaments, and thereby afforded the ladies an opportunity of displaying their taste and fancy to advantage.

The extravagance of both sexes, and of all ranks, in their dress, has been a subject of complaint in every age, and in none more than in our present period. The parliament of England attempted to set bounds to that extravagance, by several sumptuary laws, particularly by two acts in the reign of Edward IV. But vanity is invincible; and these and other acts of that kind served only to give a different turn to extravagance.

The diet of the people of England in general, in this period (if we may believe Sir John Fortescue) was neither coarse nor scanty. "They drink,

says he, "no water, except when they abstain from other drinks, by way of penance, and from a principle of devotion. They eat plentifully of all kinds of fish and flesh, with which their country abounds." This was probably intended for a description of the manner in which persons in good circumstances, in the richest parts of the kingdom, lived in years of plenty. It is also necessary to remark, that it was the chief design of this patriotic writer, to convince his royal pupil, Prince Edward, that the subjects of a limited monarch were much happier than the slaves of an absolute sovereign. With this view, he painted both the plenty and prosperity of the English, and the poverty and misery of the French, in the strongest colours. "The commons in France," says he, "be so impoverished and destroyyd, that they may unith lyve. Thay drynke water, they eate apples, with bred right brown, made of rye. They eate no flesche, but if it be selden, a littill larde, or of the intrails or beds of bests sclayne for the nobles and merchaunts of the land." But though it was true, that England had suffered less than France by the ravages of war and the exactions of government, and that the English in general lived better than the French, there is sufficient evidence that the labourers and common people, especially in the north of England, did not possess that plenty and variety of provisions mentioned by Sir John Fortescue. *Æneas Silvius*, afterwards Pope Pius II., assures us, that none of the inhabitants of a populous village in Northumberland, in which he lodged, A.D. 1437, had ever seen either wine or wheat-bread; and that they expressed great surprise when they saw them on his table. In the years of scarcity, which were too frequent, the common people were involved in great distress, and not a few of them died of hunger, or of diseases contracted by the use of unwholesome food.

The monks in rich monasteries lived more fully, and even more delicately, than almost any other order of men in the kingdom. The office of chief cook was one of the great offices in these monasteries, and was conferred with great impartiality, on that brother who had studied the art of cookery with most success. The historian of Croyland-abbey speaks highly in praise of brother Laurence Chateres, the cook of that monastery; who, prompted by the love of God, and zeal for religion, had given forty pounds (equivalent to 400*l.* at present) "for the recreation of the convent with the milk of almonds on fish-days." He gives us also a long and very particular statute which was made for the equitable distribution of this almond-milk, with the finest bread and best honey.

The secular clergy were no enemies to the pleasures of the table; and some of them contrived to convert gluttony and drunkenness into religious ceremonies, by the celebration of glutton-masses, as they very properly called them. These glutton-masses were celebrated five times a-year, in honour of the Virgin Mary, in this manner: early in the morning, the people of the parish assembled in the church, loaded with ample stores of meats and drinks of all kinds. As soon as mass ended, the feast began, in which the clergy and laity engaged with equal ardour. The church was turned into a tavern, and became a scene of excessive riot and intemperance. The priests and people of different parishes entered into formal contests, which of them should have the greatest glutton-mass, that is, which of them should devour the greatest quantities of meat and drink, in honour of the Holy Virgin.

It was now become the custom in great families

to have four meals a-day, viz. breakfasts, dinners, suppers, and liveries, which was a kind of collation in their bed-chambers, immediately before they went to rest. As our ancestors in this period were still early risers, they breakfasted at seven, and dined at ten o'clock forenoon, supped at four afternoon, and had their liveries between eight and nine; soon after which they went to bed. But though they breakfasted thus early, their appetites seem to have been sufficiently keen. The breakfast of an earl and his countess, on Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, in the holy fast of Lent, was, "first a loaf of bread in trenchors, two manchets,\* a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, four white herrings, or a dish of sproits." This, for two persons, at seven o'clock in the morning, was a tolerable allowance for a day of fasting. Their suppers on these days were equally plentiful. Their breakfast on flesh-days was, "first a loaf of bread in trenchors, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a cheyne of mutton, or a cheyne of beef boiled." The liveries, or evening collations, for the lord and lady were, "first two manchets, a loaf of household bread, a gallon of beer, and a quart of wine." The wine was warmed, and mixed with spiceries. No rule was fixed for dinners, as these were the principal meals, at which they entertained their company. It is remarkable, that shopkeepers, mechanics, and labourers breakfasted at eight in the morning, dined at noon, and supped at six in the evening; which were later hours than those of the nobility. So different are the customs of one age from those of another.

The hospitality of the great and opulent barons of this period has been already mentioned. These barons not only kept numerous households, but they frequently entertained still greater numbers of their retainers, friends, and vassals. These entertainments were conducted with much formal pomp and stateliness, but not with equal delicacy and cleanliness. The lord of the mansion sat in state, in his great chamber, at the head of his long clumsy oaken board; and his guests were seated on each side, on long hard benches or forms, exactly according to their stations; and happy was the man whose rank entitled him to be placed above the great family silver-salt in the middle. The table was loaded with capacious pewter dishes, filled with salt-beef, mutton, and butcher-meat of all kinds; with venison, poultry, sea-fowls, wild-fowls, game, fish, &c. &c. dressed in different ways, according to the fashion of the times. The sideboards were plentifully furnished with ale, beer, and wines, which were handed to the company, when called for, in pewter and wooden cups, by the mareschals, grooms, yeomen, and waiters of the chamber, ranged in regular order. But with all this pomp and plenty, there was little elegance. The guests were all obliged to use their fingers instead of forks, as those most simple and useful instruments, which contribute so much to cleanliness, were not yet introduced. They sat down to table at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and did not rise from it till one in the afternoon, by which three of the best hours of the day were spent in gormandizing.

The feasts at coronations and royal marriages, and at the installation of great prelates, were exceedingly splendid in this period; and at these feasts prodigious multitudes were entertained. The

\* A manchet was a small loaf of the finest bread, weight six ounces.



marriage feast of Henry IV. and his queen Jane of Navarre consisted of six courses; three of flesh and fowls, and three of fish. All these courses were accompanied and adorned with "suttleties," as they were called. These "suttleties" were figures in pastry, of men, women, beasts, birds, &c. placed on the table to be admired, but not touched. Each figure had a label affixed to it; containing some wise or witty saying, suited to the occasion of the feast, which was the reason they were called "suttleties." The installation feast of George Neville, archbishop of York, and chancellor of England, exceeded all others in splendour and expense, and in the number and quality of the guests. The reader may form some idea of this enormous feast, by perusing the following catalogue of the provisions prepared for it.

"The goodly provision made for the installation-feast of George Neville, archbishop of York, A.D. 1466.

In wheat, quarters.....	300
In ale, tuns.....	300
In wine, tuns.....	100
In ipocrasse, pipes.....	1
In oxen.....	104
In wild bulls.....	6
In muttons.....	1000
In veals.....	304
In porkes.....	304
In swanns.....	400
In geese.....	2000
In cappons.....	1000
In piggs.....	2000
In plovers.....	400
In quailles.....	1200
In fowles called rees.....	2400
In peacocks.....	104
In mallards and teales.....	4000
In cranes.....	204
In kidds.....	204
In chickens.....	2000
In pigeons.....	2000
In connies.....	4000
In bitters.....	204
In heronshaws.....	400
In pheasants.....	200
In partridges.....	500
In woodcocks.....	400
In curlewes.....	100
In egrits.....	1000
In stags, bucks, and roes.....	500
In pasties of venison cold.....	4000
In parted dishes of jellies.....	1000
In plain dishes of jellies.....	3000
In cold tarts, baked.....	4000
In cold custards, baked.....	3000
In hot pasties of venison.....	1500
In hot custards.....	2000
In pikes and breams.....	308
In porpoises and seals.....	12
Spices, sugared delicates, and wafers plenty."	

This curious bill of fare will give the reader some idea of this enormous feast. No turkies are mentioned in it, because they were not then known in England. Cranes, heronshaws, porpoises, and seals, are seldom seen at modern entertainments.

Few things are more permanent, and less liable to change, than national diversions. The sports of the field have been the favourite diversions of persons of rank and fortune through many successive ages; and in the short intervals of peace between one war and another, were pursued with as much ardour in this as in any other period. For more than

five centuries after the Norman conquest, princes, nobles, knights, and esquires, displayed their courage, strength, and dexterity, in horsemanship and the use of arms, in splendid tilts and tournaments, for the entertainment of the great and the fair; while the common people diverted themselves with feats of boxing, wrestling, leaping, running, &c. &c. Our Saxon ancestors, in the woods and wilds of Germany, were as desperate adventurers at games of chance, as the most thoughtless and fearless of their posterity in the present times; and we meet with complaints of the prevalence of this pernicious humour in every intervening age. Miracles, mysteries, and moralities continued, with very little variation, to be the only representations that resembled theatrical entertainments for several centuries, in the middle ages, and were so in the present period. The foot-ball was, in those times, a favourite diversion of the common people; and the hand-ball of persons of rank and fortune, who played with it on horseback as well as on foot, for great sums of money. There was never wanting in the middle ages, a great number of jugglers, minstrels, mimics, mummers, tumblers, rope-dancers, and other artists, who supported themselves by diverting others; and they seem to have been no contemptible performers in their several arts. In a word, the amusements of persons of all ranks, for more than five centuries after the conquest, were so much the same, that it is unnecessary to give a minute detail of them in every period; and it will be sufficient to describe, in their proper places, such new amusements as have been introduced from time to time.

Such was the martial spirit that reigned in the present period, that the legislators of both the British kingdoms attempted to compel the people to relinquish their most favourite pastimes, and to spend all their leisure hours in archery.

Card-playing was probably introduced into Britain in the course of this period. Playing-cards were made, and most likely invented, about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, by Jaquemin Gringonneur, a painter in Paris. They were invented, it is said, for the amusement of that unhappy prince, Charles VI., in his lucid intervals. That they were made for, and used by that prince, is evident, from the following article in his treasurer's accounts: "Paid fifty-six shillings of Paris, to Jaquemin Gringonneur the painter, for three packs of cards gilded with gold, and painted with diverse colours and devices, to be carried to the king for his amusement." From the above article we perceive, that playing-cards were originally very different in their appearance and their price from what they are at present. They were gilded, and the figures were painted or illuminated, which required no little skill and genius, as well as labour. The price of one pack of these cards was no less than 18s. 8d. of Paris, a very considerable sum in those times. The last circumstance is probably one reason that playing-cards were little known or used for a good many years after they were invented. Though we meet with several complaints of the too great prevalence of dice-playing, we have met with none with regard to card-playing, in the writers of those times. By degrees, however, cards became cheaper, and the use of them more common; and we have the evidence of an act of parliament, that both card-playing and card-making were known and practised in England before the end of this period. On an application of the card-makers of London to parliament. A.D. 1463 an







HENRY VI.

HENRY VI.

act was made against the importation of playing-cards. We now return to the political history.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

### HENRY VII.

*Accession of Henry VII.—His title to the crown—King's prejudice against the house of York—His joyful reception in London—His coronation—Sweating sickness—A parliament—Entail of the crown—King's marriage—An insurrection—Discontents of the people—Lambert Simnel—Revolt of Ireland—Intrigues of the duchess of Burgundy—Lambert Simnel invades England—Battle of Stoke—Queen's coronation.*

THE victory which the earl of Richmond gained at Bosworth was entirely decisive, being attended as well with the total rout and dispersion of the royal army as with the death of the king himself. Joy for this great success suddenly prompted the soldiers in the field of battle to bestow on their victorious general the appellation of King, which he had not hitherto assumed; and the acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" by a natural and unpremeditated movement, resounded from all quarters. To bestow some appearance of formality on this species of military election, Sir William Stanley brought a crown of ornament which Richard wore in battle, and which had been found among the spoils; and he put it on the head of the victor. Henry himself remained not in suspense, but immediately, without hesitation, accepted of the magnificent present which was tendered him. He was come to the crisis of his fortune; and being obliged suddenly to determine himself, amidst great difficulties which he must have frequently revolved in his mind, he chose that part which his ambition suggested to him, and to which he seemed to be invited by his present success.

The following sketch of the state of society and law, at this period, is thus given by Hallam.

"The general privileges of the nation were far more secure than those of private men. Great violence was often used by the various officers of the crown, for which no adequate redress could be procured, the courts of justice were not strong enough, whatever might be their temper, to chastise such aggressions; juries, through intimidation or ignorance, returned such verdicts as were desired by the crown; and, in general, there was perhaps little effective restraint upon the government, except in the two articles of levying money and enacting laws.

"The peers alone, a small body, varying from about fifty to eighty persons, enjoyed the privileges of aristocracy, which, except that of sitting in parliament, were not very considerable, far less oppressive. All below them, even their children, were commoners, and, in the eye of the law, equal to each other. In the gradation of ranks, which, if not legally recognised, must still subsist through the necessary inequalities of birth and wealth, we find the gentry, or principal landholders, many of them, distinguished by knighthood, and all by bearing coat armour, but without any exclusive privilege; the yeomanry, or small freeholders and farmers, a very numerous and respectable body, some occupying their own estates, some those of landlords; the burgesses and inferior inhabitants of trading towns, and, lastly, the peasantry and labourers. Of these, in earlier times, a considerable part,

though not perhaps so very large a proportion as is usually taken for granted, had been in the ignominious state of villenage, incapable of possessing property, but at the will of their lords. They had, however, gradually been raised above this servitude; many had acquired a stable possession of lands under the name of copyholders; and the condition of mere villenage was become rare.

"The three courts at Westminster, the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, consisting of four or five judges, administered justice to the whole kingdom; the first having an appellate jurisdiction over the second, and the third being in a great measure confined to causes affecting the crown's property. But as all suits relating to land, as well as some others, and all criminal indictments, could only be determined, so far as they depended on oral evidence, by a jury of the county, it was necessary that justices of assize and gaol-delivery, being in general the judges of the courts at Westminster, should travel into each county commonly twice a year, in order to try issues of fact, so called in distinction from issues of law, where the suitors admitting all essential facts, disputed the rule applicable to them. By this device, which is as ancient as the reign of Henry II., the fundamental privilege of trial by jury, and the convenience of private suitors, as well as accused persons, was made consistent with an uniform jurisprudence; and though the reference of every legal question, however insignificant, to the courts above must have been inconvenient and expensive in a still greater degree than at present, it had doubtless a powerful tendency to knit together the different parts of England, to check the influence of feudality and clanship, to make the distant counties better acquainted with the capital city, and more accustomed to the cause of government, and to impair the spirit of provincial patriotism and animosity. The minor tribunals of each county, hundred, and manor, respectable for their antiquity and for their effect in preserving a sense of freedom and justice, had in a great measure, though not probably so much as in modern times, gone into disuse. In a few counties there still remained a palatine jurisdiction, exclusive of the king's courts; but in these the common rules of law and the mode of trial by jury were preserved. Justices of the peace, appointed out of the gentlemen of each county, inquired into criminal charges, committed offenders to prison, and tried them at their quarterly sessions, according to the same forms as the judges of gaol-delivery. The chartered towns had their separate jurisdiction under the municipal magistracy.

"The laws against theft were severe, and capital punishments unsparingly inflicted. Yet they had little effect in repressing acts of violence, to which a rude and licentious state of manners and very imperfect dispositions for preserving the public peace naturally gave rise. These were frequently perpetrated or instigated by men of superior wealth and power above the control of the mere men of power, above the control of the officers of justice. Meanwhile the kingdom was increasing in opulence, the English merchants possessed a large share of the trade of the north; and a woollen manufactory, established in different parts of the kingdom, had not only enabled the legislature to restrain the imports of cloths, but begun to supply foreign nations. The population may probably be reckoned, without any material error, at three millions, but by no means distributed in the same proportion as at



present; the northern counties, especially Lancashire and Cumberland, being very ill peopled, and the inhabitants of London and Westminster not exceeding sixty or seventy thousand."

There were many titles on which Henry could found his right to the crown; but no one of them free from great objections, if considered with respect either to justice or to policy.

During some years Henry had been regarded as heir to the house of Lancaster by the party attached to that family; but the title of the house of Lancaster itself was generally thought to be very ill-founded. Henry IV. who had first raised it to royal dignity, had never clearly defined the foundation of his claim: and while he plainly invaded the order of succession, he had not acknowledged the election of the people. The parliament, it is true, had often recognised the title of the Lancastrian princes; but these votes had little authority, being considered as instances of complaisance towards a family in possession of present power: and they had accordingly been often reversed during the late prevalence of the house of York. Prudent men also, who had been willing, for the sake of peace, to submit to any established authority, desired not to see the claims of that family revived; claims which must produce many convulsions at present, and which disjointed for the future the whole system of hereditary right. Besides, allowing the title of the house of Lancaster to be legal, Henry himself was not the true heir of that family: and nothing but the obstinacy natural to faction, which never without reluctance will submit to an antagonist, could have engaged the Lancastrians to adopt the earl of Richmond as their head. His mother indeed, Margaret, countess of Richmond, was sole daughter and heir of the duke of Somerset, sprung from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster: but the descent of the Somerset line was itself illegitimate, and even adulterous. And though the duke of Lancaster had obtained the legitimization of his natural children by a patent from Richard II. confirmed in parliament, it might justly be doubted whether this deed could bestow any title to the crown; since in the patent itself all the privileges conferred by it are fully enumerated, and the succession to the kingdom is expressly excluded. In all settlements of the crown made during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes, the line of Somerset had been entirely overlooked; and it was not till the failure of the legitimate branch, that men had paid any attention to their claim. And, to add to the general dissatisfaction against Henry's title, his mother, from whom he derived all his right, was still alive; and evidently preceded him in the order of succession.

The title of the house of York, both from the plain reason of the case, and from the late popular government of Edward IV. had universally obtained the preference in the sentiments of the people; and Henry might ingraft his claim on the rights of that family, by his intended marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, the heir of it; a marriage which he had solemnly promised to celebrate, and to the expectation of which he had chiefly owed all his past successes. But many reasons dissuaded Henry from adopting this expedient. Were he to receive the crown only in the right of his consort, his power he knew would be very limited; and he must expect rather to enjoy the bare title of king by a sort of courtesy, than possess the real authority which belongs to it. Should the princess die before him without issue, he must descend from the throne, and

give place to the next in succession: and even if his bed should be blest with offspring, it seemed dangerous to expect that filial piety in his children would prevail over the ambition of obtaining present possession of regal power. An act of parliament, indeed, might easily be procured to settle the crown on him during life; but Henry knew how much superior the claim of succession by blood was to the authority of an assembly, which had always been overborne by violence in the shock of contending titles, and which had ever been more governed by the conjunctures of the times, than by any consideration derived from reason or public interest.

There was yet a third foundation on which Henry might rest his claim—the right of conquest, by his victory over Richard, the present possessor of the crown. But besides that Richard himself was deemed no better than an usurper, the army which fought against him consisted chiefly of Englishmen; and a right of conquest over England could never be established by such a victory. Nothing also would give greater umbrage to the nation than a claim of this nature; which might be construed as an abolition of all their rights and privileges, and the establishment of absolute authority in the sovereign. William himself, the Norman, though at the head of a powerful and victorious army of foreigners, had at first declined the invidious title of Conqueror; and it was not till the full establishment of his authority that he had ventured to advance so violent and destructive a pretension.

But Henry was sensible that there remained another foundation of power somewhat resembling the right of conquest, namely, present possession; and that this title, guarded by vigour and abilities, would be sufficient to secure perpetual possession of the throne. He had before him the example of Henry IV. who, supported by no better pretension, had subdued many insurrections, and had been able to transmit the crown peaceably to his posterity. He could perceive that this claim, which had been perpetuated through three generations of the family of Lancaster, might still have subsisted, notwithstanding the preferable title of the house of York, had not the sceptre devolved into the hands of Henry VI. which were too feeble to sustain it. Instructed by this recent experience, Henry was determined to put himself in possession of regal authority; and to show all opponents that nothing but force of arms, and a successful war, should be able to expel him. His claim as heir to the house of Lancaster he was resolved to advance; and never allowed it to be discussed: and he hoped that this right, favoured by the partisans of that family, and seconded by present power, would secure him a perpetual and an independent authority.

These views of Henry are not exposed to much blame; because founded on good policy, and even on a species of necessity. But there entered into all his measures and counsels another motive, which admits not of the same apology. The violent contentions which, during so long a period, had been maintained between the rival families, and the many sanguinary revenges which had been alternately taken on each other, had inflamed the opposite factions to a high pitch of animosity. Henry himself, who had seen most of his near friends and relations perish in battle or by the executioner, and who had been exposed, in his own person, to many hardships and dangers, had imbibed a violent antipathy to the York party, which no time or experience were ever able to efface. Instead of embracing the present

happy opportunity of abolishing these fatal distinctions, of uniting his title with that of his consort, and of bestowing favour indiscriminately on the friends of both families; he carried to the throne all the partialities which belong to the head of a faction, and even the passions which are carefully guarded against by every true politician in that situation. To exalt the Lancastrian party, to depress the adherents of the house of York, were still the favourite objects of his pursuit; and through the whole course of his reign, he never forgot these early prepossessions. Incapable, from his natural temper, of a more enlarged and more benevolent system of policy, he exposed himself to many present inconveniences, by too anxiously guarding against that future possible event which might disjoin his title from that of the princess whom he espoused. And while he treated the Yorkists as enemies, he soon rendered them such, and taught them to discuss that right to the crown, which he so carefully kept separate; and to perceive its weakness and invalidity.

To these passions of Henry, as well as to his suspicious politics, we are to ascribe the measures which he embraced two days after the battle of Bosworth. Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, was detained in a kind of confinement at Sherif-Hutton in Yorkshire, by the jealousy of his uncle Richard; whose title to the throne was inferior to that of the young prince. Warwick had now reason to expect better treatment, as he was no obstacle to the succession either of Henry or Elizabeth; and from a youth of such tender years no danger could reasonably be apprehended. But Sir Robert Willoughby was dispatched by Henry, with orders to take him from Sherif-Hutton, to convey him to the Tower, and to detain him in close custody. The same messenger carried directions that the princess Elizabeth, who had been confined to the same place, should be conducted to London, in order to meet Henry, and there celebrate her nuptials.

Henry himself set out for the capital, and advanced by slow journeys. Not to rouse the jealousy of the people, he took care to avoid all appearance of military triumph; and so to restrain the insolence of victory, that every thing about him bore the appearance of an established monarch making a peaceable progress through his dominions, rather than of a prince who had opened his way to the throne by force of arms. The acclamations of the people were every where loud, and no less sincere and hearty. Besides that a young and victorious prince, on his accession, was naturally the object of popularity; the nation promised themselves great felicity from the new scene which opened before him. During the course of near a whole century the kingdom had been laid waste by domestic wars and convulsions; and if at any time the noise of arms had ceased, the sound of faction and discontent still threatened new disorders. Henry, by his marriage with Elizabeth, seemed to insure a union of the contending titles of the two families; and having prevailed over a hated tyrant, who had anew disjoined the succession even of the house of York, and had filled his own family with blood and murder, he was every where attended with the unfeigned favour of the people. Numerous and splendid troops of gentry and nobility accompanied his progress. The mayor and companies of London received him as he approached the city: the crowds of people and citizens were zealous in their expressions of satisfaction. But Henry, amidst this general effusion of joy, dis-

covered still the stateliness and reserve of his temper, which made him scorn to court popularity: he entered London in a close chariot, and would not gratify the people with a sight of their new sovereign.

But the king did not so much neglect the favour of the people as to delay giving them assurances of his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, which he knew to be so passionately desired by the nation. On his leaving Brittany, he had artfully dropped some hints, that if he should succeed in his enterprise, and obtain the crown of England, he would espouse Anne, the heir of that duchy; and the report of this engagement had already reached England, and had begotten anxiety in the people, and even in Elizabeth herself. Henry took care to dissipate these apprehensions, by solemnly renewing, before the council and principal nobility, the promise which he had already given to celebrate his nuptials with the English princess. But though bound by honour, as well as by interest, to complete this alliance, he was resolved to postpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and till his title should be recognised by parliament. Still anxious to support his personal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded lest a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of sovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own title by the house of Lancaster.

There raged at that time in London, and other parts of the kingdom, a species of malady unknown to any other age or nation, the sweating sickness, which occasioned the sudden death of great multitudes; though it seemed not to be propagated by any contagious infection, but arose from the general disposition of the air and of the human body. In less than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered; but when the pestilence had exerted its fury for a few weeks, it was observed, either from alterations in the air, or from a more proper regimen which had been discovered, to be considerably abated. Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation. In order to heighten the splendour of that spectacle, he bestowed the rank of knight banneret on twelve persons; and he conferred peerages on three. Jasper earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas Lord Stanley, his father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney, earl of Devonshire. At the coronation, likewise, there appeared a new institution, which the king had established for security as well as pomp, a band of fifty archers, who were termed yeomen of the guard. But lest the people should take umbrage at this unusual symptom of jealousy in the prince, as if it implied a personal diffidence of his subjects, he declared the institution to be perpetual. The ceremony of coronation was performed by Cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury.

The parliament being assembled at Westminster, the majority immediately appeared to be devoted partisans of Henry; all persons of another disposition either declining to stand in those dangerous times, or being obliged to dissemble their principles and inclinations. The Lancastrian party had every where been successful in the elections; and even many had been returned, who, during the prevalence of the house of York, had been exposed to the rigour of law, and had been condemned by sentence of attainer and outlawry. Their right to take seats in the house being questioned, the case was referred to all the judges, who assembled in the exchequer chamber, in order to deliberate on so delicate a sub-



ject. The opinion delivered was prudent, and preserved a just temperament between law and expediency. The judges determined, that the members attainted should forbear taking their seat till an act were passed for the reversal of their attainder. There was no difficulty in obtaining this act; and in it were comprehended a hundred and seven persons of the king's party.

But a scruple was started of a nature still more important. The king himself had been attainted; and his right of succession to the crown might thence be exposed to some doubt. The judges extricated themselves from this dangerous question, by asserting it as a maxim: "That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that from the time the king assumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged." Besides that the case, from its urgent necessity, admitted of no deliberation, the judges probably thought, that no sentence of a court of judicature had authority sufficient to bar the right of succession; that the heir to the crown was commonly exposed to such jealousy as might often occasion stretches of law and justice against him; and that a prince might even be engaged in unjustifiable measures during his predecessor's reign, without meriting on that account to be excluded from the throne, which was his birthright.

With a parliament so obsequious, the king could not fail of obtaining whatever act of settlement he was pleased to require. He seems only to have entertained some doubt within himself on what claim he should ground his pretensions. In his speech to the parliament he mentioned his just title by hereditary right; but lest that title should not be esteemed sufficient, he subjoined his claim by the judgment of God, who had given him victory over his enemies. And again, lest this pretension should be interpreted as assuming a right of conquest, he ensured to his subjects the full enjoyment of their former properties and possessions.

The entail of the crown was drawn according to the sense of the king, and probably in words dictated by him. He made no mention in it of the Princess Elizabeth, nor of any branch of her family; but in other respects the act was compiled with sufficient reserve and moderation. He did not insist that it should contain a declaration or recognition of his preceding right; as on the other hand he avoided the appearance of a new law or ordinance. He chose a middle course, which, as is generally unavoidable in such cases, was not entirely free from uncertainty and obscurity. It was voted, "That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king;" but whether as rightful heir, or only as present possessor, was not determined. In like manner, Henry was contented that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or give the preference to that of Lancaster: he left that great point ambiguous for the present, and trusted that, if it should ever become requisite to determine it, future incidents would open the way for the decision.

But even after all these precautions, the king was so little satisfied with his own title, that in the following year he applied to papal authority for a confirmation of it; and as the court of Rome gladly laid hold of all opportunities which the imprudence, weakness, or necessities of princes afforded it to extend its influence, Innocent VIII. the reigning pope, readily granted a bull in whatever terms the

king was pleased to desire. All Henry's titles, by succession, marriage, parliamentary choice, even conquest, are there enumerated; and to the whole the sanction of religion is added; excommunication is denounced against every one who should either disturb him in the present possession, or the heirs of his body in the future succession of the crown; and from this penalty no criminal, except in the article of death, could be absolved but by the pope himself, or his special commissioners. It is difficult to imagine that the security derived from this bull could be a compensation for the defect which it betrayed in Henry's title, and for the danger of thus inviting the pope to interpose in these concerns.

It was natural, and even laudable, in Henry to reverse the attainders which had passed against the partisans of the house of Lancaster: but the revenges which he exercised against the adherents of the York family, to which he was so soon to be allied, cannot be considered in the same light. Yet the parliament, at his instigation, passed an act of attainder against the late king himself, against the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, viscount Lovel, the lords Zouche and Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington, Sir William Berkely, Sir Humphrey Stafford, Catesby, and about twenty other gentlemen, who had fought on Richard's side in the battle of Bosworth. How men could be guilty of treason, by supporting the king in possession against the earl of Richmond, who assumed not the title of king, it is not easy to conceive; and nothing but a servile complaisance in the parliament could have engaged them to make this stretch of justice. Nor was it a small mortification to the people in general, to find that the king, prompted either by avarice or resentment, could in the very beginning of his reign so far violate the cordial union which had previously been concerted between the parties, and to the expectation of which he had plainly owed his succession to the throne.

The king, having gained so many points of consequence from the parliament, thought it not expedient to demand any supply from them, which the profound peace enjoyed by the nation, and the late forfeiture of Richard's adherents, seemed to render somewhat superfluous. The parliament, however, conferred on him during life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the same manner by some of his immediate predecessors; and they added, before they broke up, other money bills of no great moment. The king, on his part, made returns of grace and favour to his people. He published his royal proclamation, offering pardon to all such as had taken arms, or formed any attempts against him, provided they submitted themselves to mercy by a certain day, and took the usual oath of fealty and allegiance. Upon this proclamation many came out of their sanctuaries; and the minds of men were every where much quieted. Henry chose to take wholly to himself the merit of an act of grace, so agreeable to the nation, rather than communicate it with the parliament (as was his first intention), by passing a bill to that purpose. The earl of Surrey, however, though he had submitted, and delivered himself into the king's hands, was sent prisoner to the Tower.

During this parliament the king also bestowed favours and honours on some particular persons who were attached to him. Edward Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, attainted in the late reign, was restored to the honours of his family, as well as to its fortune, which was very ample.

generosity, so unusual in Henry, was the effect of his gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had first concerted the plan of his elevation, and who by his own ruin had made way for that great event. Chandos of Brittany was created earl of Bath; Sir Giles Daubeney, Lord Daubeney; and Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Broke. These were all the titles of nobility conferred by the king during this session of parliament.

But the ministers whom Henry most trusted and favoured were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Morton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, were the men to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and secret counsels. They had shared with him all his former dangers and distresses; and he now took care to make them participate in his good fortune. They were both called to the privy council; Morton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, Fox was created bishop of Exeter. The former, soon after, upon the death of Bourchier, was raised to the see of Canterbury. The latter was made privy seal; and successively bishop of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. For Henry, as Lord Bacon observes, loved to employ and advance prelates; because, having rich bishoprics to bestow, it was easy for him to reward their services; and it was his maxim to raise them by slow steps, and make them first pass through the inferior sees. He probably expected, that as they were naturally more dependent on him than the nobility, who during that age enjoyed possessions and jurisdictions dangerous to royal authority; so the prospect of farther elevation would render them still more active in his service, and more obsequious to his commands.

In presenting the bill of tonnage and poundage, the parliament, anxious to preserve the legal undisturbed succession to the crown, had petitioned Henry, with demonstrations of the greatest zeal, to espouse the princess Elizabeth; but they covered their true reason under the dutiful pretence of their desire to have heirs to the crown. He now thought in earnest of satisfying the minds of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated at London, and that with greater appearance of universal joy than either his first entry or his coronation. Henry remarked with much displeasure this general favour borne to the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign, but bred disgust towards his consort herself, and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments. Though virtuous, amiable, and obsequious to the last degree, she never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaisance from her husband; and the malignant ideas of faction still, in his sullen mind, prevailed over all the sentiments of conjugal tenderness.

The king had been carried along with such a tide of success ever since his arrival in England, that he thought nothing could withstand the fortune and authority which attended him. He now resolved to make a progress into the north, where the friends of the house of York, and even the partisans of Richard, were numerous; in hopes of curing, by his presence and conversation, the prejudices of the malcontents. When he arrived at Nottingham he heard that viscount Lovel, with Sir Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas his brother, had secretly withdrawn themselves from their sanctuary at Colchester: but this news appeared not to him of such importance as to stop his journey; and he proceeded

forward to York. He there heard that the Staffords had levied an army, and were marching to besiege the city of Worcester: and that Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Henry was not dismayed with this intelligence. His active courage, full of resources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy. Though surrounded with enemies in these disaffected counties, he assembled a small body of troops in whom he could confide; and he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford. He joined to them all his own attendants; but he found that this hasty armament was more formidable by their spirit and their zealous attachment to him, than by the arms or military stores with which they were provided. He therefore gave Bedford orders not to approach the enemy; but previously to try every proper expedient to disperse them. Bedford published a general promise of pardon to the rebels; which had a greater effect on their leader than on his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprise that exceeded his courage and capacity, was so terrified with the fear of desertion among his troops, that he suddenly withdrew himself; and after lurking some time in Lancashire, he made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the duchess of Burgundy. His army submitted to the king's clemency; and the other rebels, hearing of this success, raised the siege of Worcester, and dispersed themselves. The Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found that this church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence: the elder was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he had been misled by his brother, obtained a pardon.

Henry's joy for this success was followed, some time after, by the birth of a prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its descent.

Though Henry had been able to defeat this hasty rebellion, raised by the relics of Richard's partisans, his government was become in general unpopular: the source of public discontent arose chiefly from his prejudices against the house of York, which was generally beloved by the nation, and which for that very reason became every day more the object of his hatred and his jealousy. Not only a preference on all occasions, it was observed, was given to the Lancastrians; but many of the opposite party had been exposed to great severity, and had been bereaved of their fortunes by acts of attainder. A general resumption likewise had passed of all grants made by the princes of the house of York; and though this rigour had been covered under the pretence that the revenue was become insufficient to support the dignity of the crown, and though the grants, during the later years of Henry VI. were resumed by the same law, yet the York party, as they were the principal sufferers by the resumption, thought it chiefly levelled against them. The severity exercised against the earl of Warwick begat compassion for youth and innocence exposed to such oppression; and his confinement in the Tower, the very place where Edward's children had been murdered by their uncle, made the public expect a like catastrophe for him, and led them to make a comparison between Henry and that detested tyrant. And when it was remarked that the queen herself met with harsh treatment, and even after the birth of a son was not admitted to the honor of a public coronation Henry's



prepossessions were then concluded to be inveterate, and men became equally obstinate in their disgust to his government. Nor was the manner and address of the king calculated to cure these prejudices contracted against his administration; but had in every thing a tendency to promote fear, or at best reverence, rather than good will and affection. While the idea entertained of his policy and vigour retained the nobility and men of character in obedience; the effects of his unpopular government soon appeared, by incidents of an extraordinary nature.

There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who possessed some subtlety, and still more enterprise and temerity. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's government, by raising a pretender to his crown; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was son of a baker, and who, being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been spread among the people, and received with great avidity, that Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward IV. had, by a secret escape, saved himself from the cruelty of his uncle, and lay somewhere concealed in England. Simon, taking advantage of this rumour, had at first instructed his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be so fondly cherished by the public: but hearing afterwards a new report, that Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince. Though the youth was qualified by nature for the part which he was instructed to act, yet it was remarked, that he was better informed in circumstances relating to the royal family, particularly in the adventures of the earl of Warwick, than he could be supposed to have learned from one of Simon's condition: and it was thence conjectured, that persons of higher rank, partisans of the house of York, had laid the plan of this conspiracy, and had conveyed proper instructions to the actors. The queen-dowager herself was exposed to suspicion; and it was indeed the general opinion, however unlikely it might seem, that she had secretly given her consent to the imposture. This woman was of a very restless disposition. Finding that, instead of receiving the reward of her services in contributing to Henry's elevation, she herself was fallen into absolute insignificance, her daughter treated with severity, and all her friends brought under subjection, she had conceived the most violent animosity against him, and had resolved to make him feel the effects of her resentment. She knew that the impostor, however successful, might easily at last be set aside; and if a way could be found at his risque to subvert the government, she hoped that a scene might be opened which, though difficult at present exactly to foresee, would gratify her revenge, and be on the whole less irksome to her than that slavery and contempt to which she was now reduced.

But whatever care Simon might take to convey instruction to his pupil Simnel, he was sensible that the imposture would not bear a close inspection; and he was therefore determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland. That island, which was zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their lieut-

enant, was improvidently allowed by Henry to remain in the same condition in which he found it; and all the counsellors and officers who had been appointed by his predecessors still retained their authority. No sooner did Simnel present himself to Thomas Fitz-gerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman, not suspecting so bold an imposture, gave attention to him, and began to consult some persons of rank with regard to this extraordinary incident. These he found even more sanguine in their zeal and belief than himself: and in proportion as the story diffused itself among those of lower condition, it became the object of still greater passion and credulity, till the people in Dublin with one consent tendered their allegiance to Simnel, as to the true Plantagenet. Fond of a novelty which flattered their natural inclination, they overlooked the daughters of Edward IV., who stood before Warwick in the order of succession; they paid the pretended prince attendance as their sovereign; lodged him in the castle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, by the appellation of Edward VI. The whole island followed the example of the capital; and not a sword was any where drawn in Henry's quarrel.

When this intelligence was conveyed to the king, it reduced him to some perplexity. Determined always to face his enemies in person, he yet scrupled at present to leave England, where he suspected the conspiracy was first framed, and where he knew many persons of condition, and the people in general, were much disposed to give it countenance. In order to discover the secret source of the contrivance, and take measures against this open revolt, he held frequent consultations with his ministers and counsellors, and laid plans for a vigorous defence of his authority, and the suppression of his enemies.

The first event which followed these deliberations gave surprise to the public: it was the seizure of the queen-dowager, the forfeiture of all her lands and revenue, and the close confinement of her person in the nunnery of Bermondsey. This act of authority was covered with a very thin pretence. It was alleged that, notwithstanding the secret agreement to marry her daughter to Henry, she had yet yielded to the solicitations and menaces of Richard, and had delivered that princess and her sisters into the hands of the tyrant. This crime, which was now become obsolete, and might admit of alleviations, was therefore suspected not to be the real cause of the severity with which she was treated; and men believed that the king, unwilling to accuse so near a relation of a conspiracy against him, had cloaked his vengeance or precaution under colour of an offence known to the whole world. They were afterwards the more confirmed in this suspicion, when they found that the unfortunate queen, though she survived this disgrace several years, was never treated with any more lenity, but was allowed to end her life in poverty, solitude, and confinement.

The next measure of the king's was of a less exceptionable nature. He ordered that Warwick should be taken from the Tower, be led in procession through the streets of London, be conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people. He even gave directions that some men of rank, attached to the house of York, and best acquainted with the person of this prince, should approach him, and converse with him; and be trusted that these, being convinced of the absurd

imposture of Simnel, would put a stop to the credulity of the populace. The expedient had its effect in England; but in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt, and zealously retorted on the king the reproach of propagating an imposture, and of having shewn a counterfeit Warwick to the public.

Henry had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him was not laid on such slight foundations as the absurdity of the contrivance seemed to indicate. John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister to Edward IV., was engaged to take part in the conspiracy. This nobleman, who possessed capacity and courage, had entertained very aspiring views; and his ambition was encouraged by the known intentions of his uncle Richard, who had formed a design, in case he himself should die without issue, of declaring Lincoln successor to the crown. The king's jealousy against all eminent persons of the York party, and his rigour towards Warwick, had farther struck Lincoln with apprehensions, and made him resolve to seek for safety in the most dangerous counsels. Having fixed a secret correspondence with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in Lancashire, he retired to Flanders, where Lovel had arrived a little before him; and he lived during some time in the court of his aunt the duchess of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over.

Margaret, widow of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, not having any children of her own, attached herself with an entire friendship to her daughter-in-law, married to Maximilian, archduke of Austria; and after the death of that princess, she persevered in her affection to Philip and Margaret her children, and occupied herself in the care of their education and of their persons. By her virtuous conduct and demeanour she had acquired great authority among the Flemings; and lived with much dignity, as well as economy, upon that ample dowry which she inherited from her husband. The resentments of this princess were no less warm than her friendships; and that spirit of faction which it is so difficult for a social and sanguine temper to guard against had taken strong possession of her heart, and entrenched somewhat on the probity which shone forth in the other parts of her character. Hearing of the malignant jealousy entertained by Henry against her family, and his oppression of all its partisans, she was moved with the highest indignation, and she determined to make him repent of that enmity to which so many of her friends, without any reason or necessity, had fallen victims. After consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, she hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer; and sent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. The countenance given by persons of such high rank, and the accession of this military force, much raised the courage of the Irish, and made them entertain the resolution of invading England, where they believed the spirit of disaffection as prevalent as it appeared to be in Ireland. The poverty also under which they laboured made it impossible for them to support any longer their new court and army, and inspired them with a strong desire of enriching themselves by plunder and preterment in England.

Henry was not ignorant of these intentions of his enemies; and he prepared himself for defence. He ordered troops to be levied in different parts of the kingdom, and put them under the command of the duke of Bedford and earl of Oxford. He confided

the marquis of Dorset, who he suspected would resent the injuries suffered by his mother the queen-dowager: and, to gratify the people by an appearance of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Walsingham, famous for miracles; and there offered up prayers for success, and for deliverance from his enemies.

Being informed that Simnel was landed at Foudrey, in Lancashire, he drew together his forces, and advanced towards the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the disaffected counties in the north would rise in their favour: but the people in general, averse to join Irish and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's imposture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation for success and conduct, either remained in tranquillity, or gave assistance to the royal army. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, was determined to bring the matter to a speedy decision; and the king, supported by the native courage of his temper, and emboldened by a great accession of volunteers, who had joined him under the earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Strange, declined not the combat. The hostile armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was bloody, and more obstinately disputed than could have been expected from the inequality of their force. All the leaders of the rebels were resolved to conquer or to perish; and they inspired their troops with like resolution. The Germans also, being veteran and experienced soldiers, kept the event long doubtful; and even the Irish, though ill-armed and almost defenceless, showed themselves not defective in spirit and bravery. The king's victory was purchased with loss, but was entirely decisive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, perished in the field of battle, with four thousand of their followers. As Lovel was never more heard of he was believed to have undergone the same fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was not tried at law, and was only committed to close custody; Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment to Henry. He was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen; whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.

Henry had now leisure to revenge himself on his enemies. He made a progress into the northern parts, where he gave many proofs of his rigorous disposition. A strict enquiry was made after those who had assisted or favoured the rebels. The punishments were not all sanguinary: the king made his revenge subservient to his avarice. Heavy fines were levied upon the delinquents. The proceedings of the courts, and even the courts themselves, were arbitrary. Either the criminals were tried by commissioners appointed for the purpose, or they suffered punishment by a sentence of a court-martial. And, as a rumour had prevailed before the battle of Stoke that the rebels had gained the victory, that the royal army was cut in pieces, and that the king himself had escaped by flight, Henry was resolved to interpret the belief or propagation of this report as a mark of disaffection; and he punished many for that pretended crime. But such in this age was the situation of the English government, that the royal prerogative, which was but imperfectly restrained during the most peaceable periods, was sure, in tumultuous or even suspicious times, which frequently recurred, to break all bounds of law, and to violate public liberty.



After the king had gratified his rigour by the punishment of his enemies, he determined to give contentment to the people in a point which, though a mere ceremony, was passionately desired by them. The queen had been married near two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this affectation of delay had given great discontent to the public, and had been one principal source of the disaffection which prevailed. The king, instructed by experience, now finished the ceremony of her coronation; and, to shew a disposition still more gracious, he restored to liberty the marquis of Dorset, who had been able to clear himself of all the suspicions entertained against him.

Lingard gives the following details of the ceremony. "On the Friday before the coronation (which took place on the 25th of November, 1487), fourteen gentlemen were created knights of the Bath. On the Saturday the queen went in procession from the Tower to Westminster. She was dressed in white cloth of gold of damask, with a mantle of the same furred with ermine. 'Her faire yellow hair hung downe pleyne beynd her bak, with a calle of pipes over it.' On her head was a circle of gold ornamented with precious stones. In this dress she was borne through the city reclining in a litter, with a canopy of cloth of gold carried over her by four knights of the body. Several carriages, and four baronesses, on grey palfreys, followed. On the Sunday she was crowned, and afterwards dined in the hall. The lady Catherine Gray and Mistress Ditton went under the table, and sate at her feet, while the countesses of Oxford and Rivers knelt on each side, 'and at certeyne tymes held a kerchief byfor her Grace!' The king viewed both the coronation and the dinner from behind a lattice."

He also gives the following account of the star-chamber. "The reader will recollect, that, by 'maintenance,' was understood an association of individuals under a chief, whose livery they wore, and to whom they bound themselves by oaths and promises, for the purpose of maintaining by force the private quarrels of the chief and the members. Hence the course of justice was obstructed, jurors were intimidated, and offenders escaped with impunity. Hence also (and this it was that chiefly provoked the hostility of the king) powerful noblemen were furnished with the means of raising forces at a short warning to oppose the reigning prince, or to assist a new claimant. In the preceding parliament an oath had been required from the lords, and was ordered to be taken by the commons in each county, that they would not keep in their service men openly cursed, or murderers, or felons, or outlaws; that they would not retain persons by indentures, or give liveries contrary to law; and that they would not make riots or maintenances, nor oppose the due execution of the king's writs. In the present it was enacted, that the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, or two of them, with one bishop, one temporal peer, and the chief judges of king's bench and common pleas, should have authority to call before them persons accused of having offended in any of these points, and to punish the guilty, as if they had been convicted by the ordinary course of justice. Thus the jurisdiction of the court of star-chamber, so celebrated afterwards, was confirmed by authority of parliament. It was not, however, a new institution. The king had always been acknowledged as the fountain of justice; and though he generally administered the

laws by his delegates in the ordinary courts, yet, in matters of high import to the state, he was accustomed to call causes before himself in council, which, if they were of a criminal description, were decided in a room called, from its decorations, the star-chamber—if of a civil nature, in another denominated the white chamber."

## CHAP. XXIX.

### HENRY VII.

*State of foreign affairs—State of Scotland—of Spain—of the Low Countries—of France—of Brittany—French invasion of Brittany—French embassy to England—Disimulation of the French court—An insurrection in the North—suppressed—King sends forces into Brittany—Annexation of Brittany to France—A parliament—War with France—Invasion of France—Peace with France—Perkin Warbeck—His imposture—He is avowed by the duchess of Burgundy—and by many of the English nobility—Trial and execution of Stanley—A parliament.*

THE king acquired great reputation throughout Europe by the vigorous and prosperous conduct of his domestic affairs: but as some incidents about this time invited him to look abroad, and exert himself in behalf of his allies, it will be necessary, in order to give a just account of his foreign measures, to explain the situation of the neighbouring kingdoms; beginning with Scotland, which lies most contiguous.

The kingdom of Scotland had not yet attained that state which distinguishes a civilized monarchy, and which enables the government, by the force of its laws and institutions alone, without any extraordinary capacity in the sovereign, to maintain itself in order and tranquillity. James III., who now filled the throne, was a prince of little industry and of a narrow genius; and though it behoved him to yield the reins of government to his ministers, he had never been able to make any choice which could give contentment both to himself and to his people. When he bestowed his confidence on any of the principal nobility, he found that they exalted their own family to such a height as was dangerous to the prince, and gave umbrage to the state: when he conferred favour on any person of meaner birth, on whose submission he could more depend, the barons of his kingdom, enraged at the power of an upstart minion, proceeded to the utmost extremities against their sovereign. Had Henry entertained the ambition of conquests, a tempting opportunity now offered of reducing that kingdom to subjection; but as he was probably sensible that a warlike people, though they might be overrun by reason of their domestic divisions, could not be retained in obedience without a regular military force, which was then unknown in England, he rather intended the renewal of the peace with Scotland, and sent an embassy to James for that purpose. But the Scots, who never desired a durable peace with England, and who deemed their security to consist in constantly preserving themselves in a warlike posture, would not agree to more than a seven years' truce, which was accordingly concluded.

The European states on the continent were then hastening fast to the situation in which they remained, without any material alteration, for near three centuries; and began to unite themselves into

one extensive system of policy, which comprehended the chief powers of Christendom. Spain, which had hitherto been almost entirely occupied within herself, now became formidable by the union of Arragon and Castile in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, who being princes of great capacity, employed their force in enterprises the most advantageous to their combined monarchy. The conquest of Granada from the Moors was then undertaken, and brought near to a happy conclusion. And in that expedition the military genius of Spain was revived; honour and security were attained; and her princes, no longer kept in awe by a domestic enemy so dangerous, began to enter into all the transactions of Europe, and made a great figure in every war and negotiation.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, son of the Emperor Frederick, had, by his marriage with the heiress of Burgundy, acquired an interest in the Netherlands; and though the death of his consort had weakened his connexions with that country, he still pretended to the government as tutor to his son Philip, and his authority had been acknowledged by Brabant, Holland, and several of the provinces. But as Flanders and Hainault still refused to submit to his regency, and even appointed other tutors to Philip, he had been engaged in long wars against that people, and never was able thoroughly to subdue their spirit. That he might free himself from the opposition of France, he had concluded a peace with Lewis XI., and had given his daughter Margaret, then an infant, in marriage to the dauphin; together with Artois, Franche-Comté, and Charolois, as her dowry. But this alliance had not produced the desired effect. The dauphin succeeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Charles VIII; but Maximilian still found the mutinies of the Flemings fomented by the intrigues of the court of France.

France, during the two preceding reigns, had made a mighty increase in power and greatness; and had not other states of Europe at the same time received an accession of force, it had been impossible to have retained her within her ancient boundaries. Most of the great fiefs—Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne, Provence, and Burgundy—had been united to the crown; the English had been expelled from all their conquests; the authority of the prince had been raised to such a height as enabled him to maintain law and order; a considerable military force was kept on foot, and the finances were able to support it. Lewis XI. indeed, from whom many of these advantages were derived, was dead, and had left his son in early youth and ill educated, to sustain the weight of the monarchy: but having entrusted the government to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a woman of spirit and capacity, the French power suffered no check or decline. On the contrary, this princess formed the great project, which at last she happily effected, of uniting to the crown Brittany, the last and most independent fief of the monarchy.

Francis II., duke of Brittany, conscious of his own incapacity for government, had resigned himself to the direction of Peter Landais, a man of mean birth, more remarkable for abilities than for virtue or integrity. The nobles of Brittany, displeased with the great advancement of this favourite, had even proceeded to disaffection against their sovereign; and after many tumults and disorders, they at last united among themselves, and in a violent manner seized, tried, and put to death the obnoxious minister. Dreading the resentment of the prince

for this invasion of his authority, many of them retired to France; others, for protection and safety, maintained a secret correspondence with the French ministry, who, observing the great dissensions among the Bretons, thought the opportunity favourable for invading the duchy; and so much the rather, as they could cover their ambition under the specious pretence of providing for domestic security.

Lewis, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir of the monarchy, had disputed the administration with the lady of Beaujeu; and though his pretensions had been rejected by the states, he still maintained cabals with many of the grandees, and laid schemes for subverting the authority of that princess. Finding his conspiracies detected, he took to arms, and fortified himself in Beaugency; but as his revolt was precipitate, before his confederates were ready to join him, he had been obliged to submit, and to receive such conditions as the French ministry were pleased to impose upon him. Actuated, however, by his ambition, and even by his fears, he soon retired out of France, and took shelter with the duke of Brittany, who was desirous of strengthening himself against the designs of the lady of Beaujeu, by the friendship and credit of the duke of Orleans. This latter prince also, perceiving the ascendancy which he soon acquired over the duke of Brittany, had engaged many of his partisans to join him at that court, and had formed the design of aggrandising himself by a marriage with Anne, the heir of that opulent duchy.

The barons of Brittany, who saw all favour engrossed by the duke of Orleans and his train, renewed a stricter correspondence with France, and even invited the French king to make an invasion on their country. Desirous, however, of preserving its independency, they had regulated the number of succours which France was to send them, and had stipulated that no fortified place in Brittany should remain in the possession of that monarchy: a vain precaution, where revolted subjects treat with a power so much superior. The French invaded Brittany with forces three times more numerous than those which they had promised to the barons; and advancing into the heart of the country, laid siege to Ploermel. To oppose them, the duke raised a numerous but ill-disciplined army, which he put under the command of the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, and others of the French nobility. The army, discontented with his choice, and jealous of their confederates, soon disbanded, and left their prince with too small a force to keep the field against his invaders. He retired to Vannes; but being hotly pursued by the French, who had now made themselves masters of Ploermel, he escaped to Nantz; and the enemy, having previously taken and garrisoned Vannes, Dinant, and other places, laid close siege to that city. The barons of Brittany, finding their country menaced with total subjection, began gradually to withdraw from the French army, and to make peace with their sovereign.

This desertion, however, of the Bretons discouraged not the court of France from pursuing her favourite project of reducing Brittany to subjection. The situation of Europe appeared favourable to the execution of this design. Maximilian was indeed engaged in close alliance with the duke of Brittany, and had even opened a treaty for marrying his daughter; but he was on all occasions so indigent, and at that time so disquieted by the mutinies of the Flemings, that little effectual assistance could be expected from him. Ferdinand was entirely occupied in the con-



quest of Granada; and it was also known, that if France would resign to him Rousillon and Cerdagne, to which he had pretensions, she could at any time engage him to abandon the interest of Brittany. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her interests, to support the independency of that duchy; and the most dangerous opposition was therefore, by Anne of Beaujeu, expected from that quarter. In order to cover her real designs, no sooner was she informed of Henry's success against Simnel and his partisans, than she despatched ambassadors to the court of London, and made professions of the greatest trust and confidence in that monarch.

The ambassadors, after congratulating Henry on his late victory, and communicating to him, in the most cordial manner, as to an intimate friend, some successes of their master against Maximilian, came in the progress of their discourse to mention the late transactions in Brittany. They told him that the duke having given protection to French fugitives and rebels, the king had been necessitated, contrary to his intention and inclination, to carry war into that duchy: that the honour of the crown was interested not to suffer a vassal so far to forget his duty to his liege lord; nor was the security of the government less concerned to prevent the consequences of this dangerous temerity: that the fugitives were no mean or obscure persons; but, among others, the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who finding himself obnoxious to justice for treasonable practices in France, had fled into Brittany, where he still persevered in laying schemes of rebellion against his sovereign: that the war being thus, on the part of the French monarch, entirely defensive, it would immediately cease, when the duke of Brittany, by returning to his duty, should remove the causes of it: that their master was sensible of the obligations which the duke in very critical times had conferred on Henry; but it was known also, that in times still more critical, he or his mercenary counsellors had deserted him, and put his life in the utmost hazard: that his sole refuge in these desperate extremities had been the court of France, which not only protected his person, but supplied him with men and money, with which, aided by his own valour and conduct, he had been enabled to mount the throne of England: that France in this transaction had, from friendship to Henry, acted contrary to what in a narrow view might be esteemed her own interest; since, instead of an odious tyrant, she had contributed to establish on a rival throne a prince endowed with such virtue and abilities: and that as both the justice of the cause, and the obligations conferred on Henry, thus preponderated on the side of France, she reasonably expected that, if the situation of his affairs did not permit him to give her assistance, he would at least preserve a neutrality between the contending parties.

This discourse of the French ambassadors was plausible; and, to give it greater weight, they communicated to Henry, as in confidence, their master's intention, after he should have settled the differences with Brittany, to lead an army into Italy, and make good his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples: a project which they knew would give no umbrage to the court of England. But all these artifices were in vain employed against the penetration of the king. He clearly saw that France had entertained the view of subduing Brittany; but he also perceived, that she would meet with great, and, as he thought, insuperable difficulties in the execution of

her project. The native force of that duchy, he knew, had always been considerable, and had often, without any foreign assistance, resisted the power of France; the natural temper of the French nation, he imagined, would make them easily abandon any enterprise which required perseverance; and as the heir of the crown was confederate with the duke of Brittany, the ministers would be still more remiss in prosecuting a scheme which must draw on them his resentment and displeasure. Should even these internal obstructions be removed, Maximilian, whose enmity to France was well known, and who now paid his addresses to the heiress of Brittany, would be able to make a diversion on the side of Flanders; nor could it be expected that France, if she prosecuted such ambitious projects, would be allowed to remain in tranquillity by Ferdinand and Isabella. Above all, he thought the French court could never expect that England, so deeply interested to preserve the independency of Brittany, so able by her power and situation to give effectual and prompt assistance, would permit such an accession of force to her rival. He imagined, therefore, that the ministers of France, convinced of the impracticability of their scheme, would at last embrace pacific views, and would abandon an enterprise so obnoxious to all the potentates of Europe.

This reasoning of Henry was solid, and might justly engage him in dilatory and cautious measures; but there entered into his conduct another motive, which was apt to draw him beyond the just bounds, because founded on a ruling passion. His frugality, which by degrees degenerated into avarice, made him averse to all warlike enterprises and distant expeditions, and engaged him previously to try the expedient of negotiation. He despatched Urswic his almoner, a man of address and abilities, to make offer of his mediation to the contending parties: an offer which he thought, if accepted by France, would soon lead to a composure of all differences; if refused or eluded, would at least discover the perseverance of that court in her ambitious projects. Urswic found the lady of Beaujeu, now duchess of Bourbon, engaged in the siege of Nantz, and had the satisfaction to find that his master's offer of mediation was readily embraced, and with many expressions of confidence and moderation. That able princess concluded, that the duke of Orleans, who governed the court of Brittany, foreseeing that every accommodation must be made at his expense, would use all his interest to have Henry's proposal rejected; and would by that means make an apology for the French measures, and draw on the Bretons the reproach of obstinacy and injustice. The event justified her prudence. When the English ambassador made the same offer to the duke of Brittany, he received for answer, in the name of that prince, that having so long acted the part of protector and guardian to Henry during his youth and adverse fortune, he had expected from a monarch of such virtue, more effectual assistance in his present distresses, than a barren offer of mediation, which suspended not the progress of the French arms: that if Henry's gratitude were not sufficient to engage him in such a measure, his prudence as king of England should discover to him the pernicious consequences attending the conquest of Brittany, and its annexation to the crown of France: that that kingdom, already too powerful, would be enabled, by so great an accession of force, to display, to the ruin of England, that hostile disposition which had always subsisted between those rival nations: that Brittany

so useful an ally, which, by its situation, gave the English an entrance into the heart of France, being annexed to that kingdom would be equally enabled, from its situation, to disturb, either by piracies or naval armaments, the commerce and peace of England; and that, if the duke rejected Henry's mediation, it proceeded neither from an inclination to a war, which he experienced to be ruinous to him, nor from a confidence in his own force, which he knew to be much inferior to that of the enemy; but, on the contrary, from a sense of his present necessities, which must engage the king to act the part of his confederate, not that of a mediator.

When this answer was reported to the king, he abandoned not the plan which he had formed; he only concluded, that some more time was requisite to quell the obstinacy of the Bretons, and make them submit to reason. And when he learned that the people of Brittany, anxious for their duke's safety, had formed a tumultuary army of 60,000 men, and had obliged the French to raise the siege of Nantz, he fortified himself the more in his opinion, that the court of France would at last be reduced, by multiplied obstacles and difficulties, to abandon the project of reducing Brittany to subjection. He continued therefore his scheme of negotiation, and thereby exposed himself to be deceived by the artifices of the French ministry; who, still pretending pacific intentions, sent lord Bernard Daubigny, a Scotchman of quality, to London, and pressed Henry not to be discouraged in offering his mediation to the court of Brittany. The king, on his part, dispatched another embassy, consisting of Urswic the abbot of Abingdon, and Sir Richard Tonstal, who carried new proposals for an amicable treaty. No effectual succours, meanwhile, were provided for the distressed Bretons. Lord Woodville, brother to the queen-dowager, having asked leave to raise underhand a body of volunteers, and to transport them into Brittany, met with a refusal from the king, who was desirous of preserving the appearance of a strict neutrality. That nobleman, however, still persisted in his purpose. He went over to the Isle of Wight, of which he was governor: levied a body of 400 men; and having at last obtained, as is supposed, the secret permission of Henry, sailed with them to Brittany. This enterprise proved fatal to the leader, and brought small relief to the unhappy duke. The Bretons rashly engaged in a general action with the French at St. Aubin, and were discomfited. Woodville and all the English were put to the sword; together with a body of Bretons, who had been accoutred in the garb of Englishmen, in order to strike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial prowess of that nation was always formidable. The duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and many other persons of rank, were taken prisoners: and the military force of Brittany was totally broken. The death of the duke, which followed soon after, threw affairs into still greater confusion, and seemed to threaten the state with a final subjection.

Though the king did not prepare against these events, so hurtful to the interests of England, with sufficient vigour and precaution, he had not altogether overlooked them. Determined to maintain a pacific conduct, as far as the situation of affairs would permit, he yet knew the warlike temper of his subjects, and observed, that their ancient and inveterate animosity to France was now revived by the prospect of this great accession to her power and grandeur. He resolved therefore to take advantage of this disposition, and draw some supplies from the

people, on pretence of giving assistance to the duke of Brittany. He had summoned a parliament at Westminster; and he soon persuaded them to grant him a considerable subsidy. But this supply, though voted by parliament, involved the king in unexpected difficulties. The counties of Durham and York, always discontented with Henry's government, and farther provoked by the late oppressions under which they had laboured after the suppression of Simnel's rebellion, resisted the commissioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The commissioners, terrified with this appearance of sedition, made application to the earl of Northumberland, and desired of him advice and assistance in the execution of their office. That nobleman thought the matter of importance enough to consult the king; who unwilling to yield to the humours of a discontented populace, and foreseeing the pernicious consequence of such a precedent, renewed his orders for strictly levying the imposition. Northumberland summoned together the justices and chief freeholders, and delivered the king's commands in the most imperious terms, which he thought would enforce obedience, but which tended only to provoke the people, and make them believe him the adviser of those orders which he delivered to them. They flew to arms, attacked Northumberland in his house, and put him to death. Having incurred such deep guilt, their mutinous humour prompted them to declare against the king himself; and being instigated by John Achamer, a seditious man of low birth, they chose Sir John Egremont their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. Henry was not dismayed with an insurrection so precipitate and ill-supported. He immediately levied a force, which he put under the command of the earl of Surrey, whom he had freed from confinement, and received into favour. His intention was to send down these troops, in order to check the progress of the rebels; while he himself should follow with a greater body, which would absolutely insure success. But Surrey thought himself strong enough to encounter alone a raw and unarmed multitude; and he succeeded in the attempt. The rebels were dissipated; John Achamer was taken prisoner, and afterwards executed with some of his accomplices; Sir John Egremont fled to the duchess of Burgundy, who gave him protection; the greater number of the rebels received a pardon.

Henry had probably expected, when he obtained this grant from parliament, that he should be able to terminate the affair of Brittany by negotiation, and that he might thereby fill his coffers with the money levied by the imposition. But as the distresses of the Bretons still multiplied, and became every day more urgent, he found himself under the necessity of taking more vigorous measures, in order to support them. On the death of the duke, the French had revived some antiquated claims to the dominion of the duchy; and as the duke of Orleans was now captive in France, their former pretence for hostilities could no longer serve as a cover to their ambition. The king resolved, therefore, to engage as auxiliary to Brittany; and to consult the interests as well as desires of his people, by opposing himself to the progress of the French power. Besides entering into a league with Maximilian, and another with Ferdinand, which were distant resources, he levied a body of troops to the number of 6000 men, with an intention of transporting them into Brittany. Still anxious, however, for the repayment of his expenses, he concluded a treaty with



the young duchess, by which she engaged to deliver into his hands two sea-port towns, there to remain till she should entirely refund the charges of the armament. Though he engaged for the service of these troops during the space of ten months only, yet was the duchess obliged, by the necessity of her affairs, to submit to such rigid conditions, imposed by an ally so much concerned in interest to protect her. The forces arrived under the command of Lord Willoughby, of Broke; and made the Bretons, during some time, masters of the field. The French retired into their garrisons; and expected, by dilatory measures, to waste the fire of the English, and disgust them with the enterprise. The scheme was well laid, and met with success. Lord Broke found such discord and confusion in the counsels of Brittany, that no measures could be concerted for any undertaking; no supply obtained; no provisions, carriages, artillery, or military stores procured. The whole court was rent into factions: no one minister had acquired the ascendant: and whatever project was formed by one was sure to be traversed by another. The English, disconcerted in every enterprise by these animosities and uncertain counsels, returned home as soon as the time of their service was elapsed; leaving only a small garrison in those towns which had been consigned into their hands. During their stay in Brittany, they had only contributed still farther to waste the country, and by their departure they left it entirely at the mercy of the enemy. So feeble was the succour which Henry, in this important conjuncture, afforded his ally, whom the invasion of a foreign enemy, concurring with domestic dissensions, had reduced to the utmost distress.

The great object of the domestic dissensions in Brittany was the disposal of the young duchess in marriage. The *mareschal Rieux*, favoured by Henry, seconded the suit of the Lord d'Albret, who led some forces to her assistance. The chancellor *Montauban*, observing the aversion of the duchess to this suitor, insisted that a petty prince, such as d'Albret, was unable to support Anne in her present extremities; and he recommended some more powerful alliance, particularly that of Maximilian, king of the Romans. This party at last prevailed; the marriage with Maximilian was celebrated by proxy; and the duchess thenceforth assumed the title of Queen of the Romans. But this magnificent appellation was all she gained by her marriage. Maximilian, destitute of troops and money, and embarrassed with the continual revolts of the Flemings, could send no succour to his distressed consort; while d'Albret, enraged at the preference given to his rival, deserted her cause, and received the French into Nantz, the most important place in the duchy, both for strength and riches.

The French court now began to change their scheme with regard to the subjection of Brittany. Charles had formerly been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian; who, though too young for the consummation of her marriage, had been sent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of Queen of France. Besides the rich dowry which she brought the king, she was, after her brother Philip, then in early youth, heir to all the dominions of the house of Burgundy, and seemed, in many respects, the most proper match that could be chosen for the young monarch. These circumstances had so blinded both Maximilian and Henry, that they never suspected any other intentions in the French court; nor were they able to discover

that engagements, seemingly so advantageous, and so solemnly entered into, could be infringed, and set aside. But Charles began to perceive that the conquest of Brittany, in opposition to the natives, and to all the great powers of Christendom, would prove a difficult enterprise; and that even if he should over-run the country, and make himself master of the fortresses, it would be impossible for him long to retain possession of them. The marriage alone of the duchess could fully re-annex that fief to the crown; and the present and certain enjoyment of so considerable a territory seemed preferable to the prospect of inheriting the dominions of the house of Burgundy; a prospect which became every day more distant and precarious. Above all, the marriage of Maximilian and Anne appeared destructive to the grandeur, and even security, of the French monarch; while that prince, possessing Flanders on the one hand, and Brittany on the other, might thus, from both quarters, make inroads into the heart of the country. The only remedy for these evils was therefore concluded to be the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated, but not consummated; and the espousal of the duchess of Brittany by the king of France.

It was necessary that this expedient, which had not been foreseen by any court in Europe, and which they were all so much interested to oppose, should be kept a profound secret, and should be discovered to the world only by the full execution of it. The measures of the French ministry in the conduct of this delicate enterprise were wise and political. While they pressed Brittany with all the rigours of war, they secretly gained the count of Dunois, who possessed great authority with the Bretons; and having also engaged in their interests the prince of Orange, cousin-german to the duchess, they gave him his liberty, and sent him into Brittany. These partisans, supported by other emissaries of France, prepared the minds of men for the great revolution projected, and displayed, though still with many precautions, all the advantages of a union with the French monarchy. They represented to the barons of Brittany, that their country, harassed during so many years with perpetual war, had need of some repose, and of a solid and lasting peace with the only power that was formidable to them: that their alliance with Maximilian was not able to afford them even present protection; and, by closely uniting them to a power which was rival to the greatness of France, fixed them in perpetual enmity with that potent monarchy; that their vicinity exposed them first to the inroads of the enemy; and the happiest event which, in such a situation, could befall them, would be to attain a peace, though by a final subjection to France, and by the loss of that liberty transmitted to them from their ancestors: and that any other expedient, compatible with the honour of the state, and their duty to their sovereign, was preferable to a scene of such disorder and devastation.

These suggestions had influence with the Bretons: but the chief difficulty lay in surmounting the prejudices of the young duchess herself. That princess had imbibed a strong prepossession against the French nation, particularly against Charles, the author of all the calamities which, from her earliest infancy, had befallen her family. She had also fixed her affections on Maximilian; and as she now deemed him her husband, she could not, she thought, without incurring the greatest guilt and violating the most solemn engagements, contract a marriage with any other person. In order to overcome her

obstinacy, Charles gave the duke of Orleans his liberty, who, though formerly a suitor to the duchess, was now contented to ingratiate himself with the king, by employing in his favour all the interest which he still possessed in Brittany. Mareschal Rieux and chancellor Montauban were reconciled by his mediation; and these rival ministers now concurred with the prince of Orange and the count of Dunois, in pressing the conclusion of a marriage with Charles. By their suggestion, Charles advanced with a powerful army, and invested Rennes, at that time the residence of the duchess; who, assailed on all hands, and finding none to support her in her inflexibility, at last opened the gates of the city, and agreed to espouse the king of France. She was married at Langey in Touraine; conducted to St. Dennis, where she was crowned; thence made her entry into Paris, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who regarded this marriage as the most prosperous event that could have befallen the monarchy.

The triumph and success of Charles was the most sensible mortification to the king of the Romans. He had lost a considerable territory, which he thought he had acquired, and an accomplished princess, whom he had espoused; he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him after she had been treated, during some years, as queen of France; he had reason to reproach himself with his own supine security, in neglecting the consummation of his marriage, which was easily practicable for him, and which would have rendered the tie indissoluble: these considerations threw him into the most violent rage, which he vented in very indecent expressions; and he threatened France with an invasion from the united arms of Austria, Spain, and England.

The king of England had also just reason to reproach himself with misconduct in this important transaction; and though the affair had terminated in a manner which he could not precisely foresee, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of a superior power, could not but appear, on reflection, the result of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgment, the ascendant acquired over him by a raw youth such as Charles could not but give him the highest displeasure, and prompt him to seek vengeance, after all remedy for his miscarriage was become absolutely impracticable. But he was farther actuated by avarice, a motive still more predominant with him than either pride or revenge; and he sought, even from his present disappointments, the gratification of this ruling passion. On pretence of a French war, he issued a commission for levying a benevolence on his people; a species of taxation which had been abolished by a recent law of Richard III. This violence (for such it really was) fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were possessed of the ready money. London alone contributed to the amount of near 10,000 pounds. Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, instructed the commissioners to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be comprehended: if the persons applied to lived frugally, they were told that their parsimony must necessarily have enriched them; if their method of living were splendid and hospitable, they were concluded to be opulent on account of their expenses. This device was by some called Chancellor Morton's fork, by others his crutch.

So little apprehensive was the king of a parliament on account of his levying this arbitrary imposition, that he soon after summoned that assembly to meet at Westminster; and he even expected to enrich himself farther by working on their passions and prejudices. He knew the displeasure which the English had conceived against France on account of the acquisition of Brittany; and he took care to insist on that topic, in the speech which he himself pronounced to the parliament. He told them that France, elated with her late successes, had even proceeded to a contempt of England, and had refused to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had stipulated to Edward IV.: that it became so warlike a nation as the English to be roused by this indignity, and not to limit their pretensions merely to repelling the present injury: that, for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown itself of France, and to maintain by force of arms so just a title, transmitted to him by his gallant ancestors: that Creci, Poitiers, and Azincour, were sufficient to instruct them in their superiority over the enemy; nor did he despair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue: that a king of France had been prisoner in London, and a king of England had been crowned at Paris; events which should animate them to an emulation of like glory with that which had been enjoyed by their forefathers: that the domestic dissensions of England had been the sole cause of her losing these foreign dominions; and her present internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them: that where such lasting honour was in view, and such an important acquisition, it became not brave men to repine at the advance of a little treasure: and that, for his part, he was determined to make the war maintain itself; and hoped, by the invasion of so opulent a kingdom as France, to increase, rather than diminish, the riches of the nation.

Notwithstanding these magnificent vaunts of the king, all men of penetration concluded, from the personal character of the man, and still more from the situation of affairs, that he had no serious intention of pushing the war to such extremities as he pretended. France was not now in the same condition as when such successful incursions had been made upon her by former kings of England. The great fiefs were united to the crown; the princes of the blood were desirous of tranquillity; the nation abounded with able captains and veteran soldiers; and the general aspect of her affairs seemed rather to threaten her neighbours, than to promise them any considerable advantages against her. The levity and vain-glory of Maximilian were supported by his pompous titles; but were ill seconded by military power, and still less by any revenue proportioned to them. The politic Ferdinand, while he made a show of war, was actually negotiating for peace; and, rather than expose himself to any hazard, would accept of very moderate concessions from France. Even England was not free from domestic discontents; and in Scotland, the death of Henry's friend and ally James III., who had been murdered by his rebellious subjects, had made way for the succession of his son, James IV., who was devoted to the French interest, and would surely be alarmed at any important progress of the English arms. But all these obvious considerations had no influence on the parliament. Inflamed by the ideas of subduing France, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of that kingdom, they gave into the snare prepared for them, and voted the supply which the king demanded. Two fifteenths were granted him; and the



better to enable his vassals and nobility to attend him, an act was passed, empowering them to sell their estates, without paying any fines for alienation.

The nobility were universally seized with a desire of military glory; and having credulously swallowed all the boasts of the king, they dreamed of no less than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of their sovereign. Many of them borrowed large sums, or sold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater splendour, and lead out their followers in more complete order. The king crossed the sea, and arrived at Calais on the sixth of October, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford: but as some inferred, from his opening the campaign in so late a season, that peace would soon be concluded between the crowns, he was desirous of suggesting a contrary inference.

"He had come over," he said, "to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer. It was therefore of no consequence at what season he began the invasion; especially as he had Calais ready for winter-quarters." As if he had seriously intended this enterprise, he instantly marched into the enemy's country, and laid siege to Boulogne: but notwithstanding this appearance of hostility, there had been secret advances made towards peace above three months before; and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The better to reconcile the minds of men to this unexpected measure, the king's ambassadors arrived in the camp from the Low Countries, and informed him that Maximilian was in no readiness to join him; nor was any assistance to be expected from that quarter. Soon after messengers came from Spain, and brought news of a peace concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had made a cession of the counties of Rousillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. Though these articles of intelligence were carefully dispersed throughout the army, the king was still apprehensive lest a sudden peace, after such magnificent promises and high expectations, might expose him to reproach. In order the more effectually to cover the intended measures, he secretly engaged the marquis of Dorset, together with twenty-three persons of distinction, to present him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late season of the year, the difficulty of supplying the army at Calais during winter, the obstacles which arose in the siege of Boulogne, the desertion of those allies whose assistance had been most relied on: events which might, all of them, have been foreseen before the embarkation of the forces.

In consequence of these preparatory steps, the bishop of Exeter and Lord Daubeney were sent to confer at Estaples with the *mareschal de Cordes*, and to put the last hand to the treaty. A few days sufficed for that purpose: the demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Brittany an equivalent for any sum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals made to him. He engaged to pay Henry by quarterly payments of 25,000 francs, the aggregate sum of 149,000*l.*; partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to Brittany, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. And he stipulated a yearly pension to Henry and his heirs of 20,000 crowns. Thus the king, as remarked by his

historian, made profit upon his subjects for the war; and upon his enemies for the peace. And the people agreed that he had fulfilled his promise, when he said to the parliament that he would make the war maintain itself. Maximilian was, if he pleased, comprehended in Henry's treaty; but he disdained to be in any respect beholden to an ally of whom he thought he had reason to complain: he made a separate peace with France, and obtained restitution of Artois, Franche-compte, and Charolois, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter when she was affianced to the king of France.

The peace concluded between England and France was the more likely to continue, because Charles, full of ambition and youthful hopes, bent all his attention to the side of Italy, and soon after undertook the conquest of Naples; an enterprise which Henry regarded with the greater indifference, as Naples lay remote from him, and France had never in any age been successful in that quarter. The king's authority was fully established at home; and every rebellion which had been attempted against him had hitherto tended only to confound his enemies, and consolidate his power and influence. His reputation for policy and conduct was daily augmenting; his treasures had increased even from the most unfavourable events; the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage as by the issue it had brought him. In this prosperous situation the king had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of durable peace and tranquillity. But his inveterate and indefatigable enemies, whom he had wantonly provoked, raised him an adversary, who long kept him in inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

The duchess of Burgundy, full of resentment for the depression of her family and its partisans—rather irritated than discouraged by the ill success of her past enterprises—was determined, at least, to disturb that government which she found it so difficult to subvert. By means of her emissaries she propagated a report that her nephew Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered, and that he still lay somewhere concealed: and finding this rumour, however improbable, to be greedily received by the people, she had been looking out for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince.

There was one Osbec, or Warbeck, a renegade Jew of Tournay, who had been carried by some business to London in the reign of Edward IV. and had there a son born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king, and obtaining his favour, he prevailed with that prince, whose manners were very affable, to stand godfather to his son, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by some believed that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a secret commerce with Warbeck's wife; and people thence accounted for that resemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch. Some years after the birth of this child, Warbeck returned to Tournay; where Perkin his son did not long remain, but by different accidents was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius, and he seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any

character. In this light he had been represented to the duchess of Burgundy, who, struck with the concurrence of so many circumstances suited to her purpose, desired to be made acquainted with the man on whom she already began to ground her hopes of success. She found him to exceed her most sanguine expectations; so comely did he appear in his person, so graceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full of docility and good sense in his behaviour and conversation. The lessons necessary to be taught him, in order to his personating the duke of York, were soon learned by a youth of such quick apprehension; but as the season seemed not then favourable for his enterprise, Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, sent him, under the care of lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all the world.

The war which was then ready to break out between France and England seemed to afford a proper opportunity for the discovery of this new phenomenon; and Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partisans among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Desmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party: he dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle Richard: and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general subject of their discourse, and even the object of their favour.

The news soon reached France: and Charles, prompted by the secret solicitations of the duchess of Burgundy, and the intrigues of one Frion, a secretary of Henry's, who had deserted his service, sent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; settled on him a handsome pension, assigned him magnificent lodgings, and in order to provide at once for his dignity and security, gave him a guard for his person, of which Lord Congresal accepted the office of captain. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their sovereign thought it his interest to adopt: Perkin, both by his deportment and personal qualities, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad of his royal pedigree; and the whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the singular adventures and misfortunes of the young Plantagenet. Wonders of this nature are commonly augmented at a distance. From France the admiration and credulity diffused themselves into England: Sir George Nevil, Sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, came to Paris, in order to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes: and the impostor had now the appearance of a court attending him, and began to entertain hopes of final success in his undertakings.

When peace was concluded between France and England at Estaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, resolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would agree only to dismiss him. The pretended Richard retired to the duchess of Burgundy, and craving her protection and assistance, offered to lay before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. The princess affected ignorance of his pretensions; even put on the appearance of distrust; and having, as she said, been already deceived by Simnel, she was determined never again to be seduced by an im-

postor. She desired before all the world to be instructed in his reasons for assuming the name which he bore; seemed to examine every circumstance with the most scrupulous nicety; put many particular questions to him; affected astonishment at his answers; and at last, after long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suited to his pretended birth; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; engaged every one to pay court to him; and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the "White Rose of England." The Flemings, moved by the authority which Margaret, both from her rank and personal character, enjoyed among them, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent: No surmise of his true birth was as yet heard of; little contradiction was made to the prevailing opinion: and the English, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favour of the impostor.

It was not the populace alone of England that gave credit to Perkin's pretensions. Men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at Henry's government, by which they found the nobility depressed, began to turn their eyes towards the new claimant; and some of them even entered into a correspondence with him. Lord Fitz-Water, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, betrayed their inclination towards him: Sir William Stanley himself, lord chamberlain, who had been so active in raising Henry to the throne, moved either by blind credulity or a restless ambition, entertained the project of a revolt in favour of his enemy. Sir Robert Clifford and William Barley were still more open in their measures: they went over to Flanders, were introduced by the duchess of Burgundy to the acquaintance of Perkin, and made him a tender of their services. Clifford wrote back to England, that he knew perfectly the person of Richard duke of York; that this young man was undoubtedly that prince himself, and that no circumstance of his story was exposed to the least difficulty. Such positive intelligence, conveyed by a person of rank and character, was sufficient, with many, to put the matter beyond question, and excited the attention and wonder even of the most indifferent. The whole nation was held in suspense; a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority; and a correspondence settled between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England.

The king was informed of all these particulars; but agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and resolute, he proceeded deliberately, though steadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Five persons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews, or could give evidence with regard to it; Sir James Tirrel, to whom he had committed the government of the Tower for that purpose, and who had seen the dead princes; Forrest, Dighton, and Slater, who perpetrated the crime; and the priest who buried the bodies. Tirrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the same story; but as the priest was dead, and as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders from the place where they were



first interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact, so much as he wished, beyond all doubt and controversy.

He met at first with more difficulty, but was in the end more successful in detecting who this wonderful person was that thus boldly advanced pretensions to his crown. He dispersed his spies all over Flanders and England; he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he directed them to insinuate themselves into the confidence of the young man's friends; in proportion as they conveyed intelligence of any conspirator, he bribed his retainers, his domestic servants, nay, sometimes his confessor, and by these means traced up some other confederate; Clifford himself he engaged, by the hope of rewards and pardon, to betray the secrets committed to him; the more trust he gave to any of his spies, the higher resentment did he feign against them; some of them he even caused to be publicly anathematised, in order the better to procure them the confidence of his enemies; and in the issue the whole plan of the conspiracy was clearly laid before him; and the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation of the pretended duke of York. This latter part of the story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation: the conspirators he reserved for a slower and surer vengeance.

Meanwhile he remonstrated with the archduke Philip, on account of the countenance and protection which was afforded in his dominions to so infamous an impostor; contrary to treaties subsisting between the sovereigns, and to the mutual amity which had so long been maintained by the subjects of both states. Margaret had interest enough to get his application rejected, on pretence that Philip had no authority over the demesnes of the duchess-dowager. And the king, in resentment of this injury, cut off all commerce with the Low Countries, banished the Flemings, and recalled his own subjects from these provinces. Philip retaliated by like edicts; but Henry knew that so mutinous a people as the Flemings would not long bear, in compliance with the humours of their prince, to be deprived of the beneficial branch of commerce which they carried on with England.

He had it in his power to inflict more effectual punishment on his domestic enemies; and when his projects were sufficiently matured, he failed not to make them feel the effects of his resentment. Almost in the same instant he arrested Fitzwater, Mountford, and Thwaites, together with William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Mountford, Ratcliff, and Daubeney, were immediately executed: Fitzwater was sent over to Calais, and detained in custody; but being detected in practising on his keeper for an escape, he soon after underwent the same fate. The rest were pardoned, together with William Worsley, dean of St. Paul's, and some others, who had been accused and examined, but not brought to public trial.

Greater and more solemn preparations were deemed requisite for the trial of Stanley, Lord Chamberlain, whose authority in the nation, whose domestic connexions with the king, as well as his former services, seemed to secure him against any accusation or punishment. Clifford was directed to ~~come over~~ privately to England, and to throw himself at the king's feet while he sat in council, craving

pardon for past offences, and offering to atone for them by any services which should be required of him. Henry then told him, that the best proof he could give of penitence, and the only service he could now render him, was the full confession of his guilt, and the discovery of all his accomplices, however distinguished by rank or character. Encouraged by this exhortation, Clifford accused Stanley, then present, as his chief abettor, and offered to lay before the council the full proof of his guilt. Stanley himself could not discover more surprise than was affected by Henry on the occasion. He received the intelligence as absolutely false and incredible; that a man, to whom he was in a great measure beholden for his crown, and even for his life; a man to whom by every honour and favour he had endeavoured to express his gratitude; whose brother, the earl of Derby, was his own father-in-law; to whom he had even committed the trust of his person, by creating him lord chamberlain: that this man, enjoying his full confidence and affection, not actuated by any motive of discontent or apprehension, should engage in a conspiracy against him. Clifford was therefore exhorted to weigh well the consequences of his accusation; but as he persisted in the same positive asseverations, Stanley was committed to custody, and was soon after examined before the council. He denied not the guilt imputed to him by Clifford; he did not even endeavour much to extenuate it; whether he thought that a frank and open confession would serve as an atonement, or trusted to his present connexions and his former services for pardon and security. But princes are often apt to regard great services as a ground of jealousy, especially if accompanied with a craving and restless disposition in the person who has performed them. The general discontent also, and mutinous humour of the people, seemed to require some great example of severity. And as Stanley was one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom, being possessed of above 3000*l.* a-year in land, and 40,000 marks in plate and money, besides other property of great value, the prospect of so rich a forfeiture was deemed no small motive for Henry's proceeding to extremities against him. After six weeks' delay, which was interposed in order to shew that the king was restrained by doubts and scruples, the prisoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and presently after beheaded. Historians are not agreed with regard to the crime which was proved against him. The general report is, that he should have said, in confidence to Clifford, that if he were sure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really son to King Edward, he never would bear arms against him. The sentiment might disgust Henry, as implying a preference of the house of York to that of Lancaster, but could scarcely be the ground, even in those arbitrary times, of a sentence of high treason against Stanley. It is more probable, therefore, as is asserted by some historians, that he had expressly engaged to assist Perkin, and had actually sent him some supply of money.

The fate of Stanley made great impression on the kingdom, and struck all the partisans of Perkin with the deepest dismay. From Clifford's desertion they found that all their secrets were betrayed; and as it appeared that Stanley, while he seemed to live in the greatest confidence with the king, had been continually surrounded by spies, who reported and registered every action in which he was engaged. nay, every word which fell from him, a general dis-

trust took place, and all mutual confidence was destroyed, even among intimate friends and acquaintance. The jealous and severe temper of the king, together with his great reputation for sagacity and penetration, kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of sedition but the very murmurs of faction. Libels, however, crept out against Henry's person and administration; and being greedily propagated by every secret art, shewed that there still remained among the people a considerable root of discontent, which wanted only a proper opportunity to discover itself.

But Henry continued more intent on increasing the terrors of his people, than on gaining their affections. Trusting to the great success which attended him in all his enterprises, he gave every day more and more a loose to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and justice, in order to exact fines and compositions from his people. Sir William Capel, alderman of London, was condemned on some penal statutes to pay the sum of 2743 pounds, and was obliged to compound for sixteen hundred and fifteen. This was the first noted case of the kind; but it became a precedent, which prepared the way for many others. The management, indeed, of these arts of chicanery was the great secret of the king's administration. While he depressed the nobility, he exalted and honoured and caressed the lawyers; and by that means both bestowed authority on the laws, and was enabled, whenever he pleased, to pervert them to his own advantage. His government was oppressive; but it was so much the less burthensome, as by his extending royal authority, and curbing the nobles, he became in reality the sole oppressor in his kingdom.

As Perkin found that the king's authority daily gained ground among the people, and that his own pretensions were becoming obsolete, he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partisans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons of all nations, to the number of 600 men, he put to sea, with a resolution of making a descent in England, and of exciting the common people to arms, since all his correspondence with the nobility was cut off by Henry's vigilance and severity. Information being brought him that the king had made a progress to the north, he cast anchor on the coast of Kent, and sent some of his retainers ashore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent assembled some troops to oppose him; but they purposed to do more essential service than by repelling the invasion: they carried the semblance of friendship to Perkin, and invited him to come himself ashore, in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be supposed in new-levied forces who had taken arms against established authority, refused to entrust himself into their hands; and the Kentish troops, despairing of success in their stratagem, fell upon such of his retainers as were already landed: and besides some whom they slew, they took a hundred and fifty prisoners. These were tried and condemned; and all of them executed by orders from the king, who was resolved to use no lenity towards men of such desperate fortunes.

This year a parliament was summoned in England, and another in Ireland; and some remarkable laws were passed in both countries. The English parliament enacted, that no person who should by arms or otherwise assist the king for the time being,

should ever afterwards, either by course of law or act of parliament, be attainted for such an instance of obedience. This statute might be exposed to some censure, as favourable to usurpers; were there any precise rule which always, even during the most factious times, could determine the true successor, and render every one inexcusable who did not submit to him. But as the titles of princes are then the great subject of dispute, and each party pleads topics in its own favour, it seems but equitable to secure those who act in support of public tranquillity—an object at all times of undoubted benefit and importance. Henry, conscious of his disputed title, promoted this law, in order to secure his partisans against all events; but as he had himself observed a contrary practice with regard to Richard's adherents, he had reason to apprehend, that during the violence which usually ensues on public convulsions, his example rather than his law would, in case of a new revolution, be followed by his enemies. And the attempt to bind the legislature itself, by prescribing rules to future parliaments, was contradictory to the plainest principles of political government.

This parliament also passed an act, empowering the king to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay by way of benevolence: a statute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authorised and justified.

The king's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrolled in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings had been sent over to that country, with an intention of quelling the partisans of the house of York, and of reducing the natives to subjection. He was not supported by forces sufficient for that enterprise: the Irish, by flying into their woods and morasses and mountains, for some time eluded his efforts; but Poynings summoned a parliament at Dublin, where he was more successful. He passed that memorable statute, which still bears his name, and which establishes the authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute all the former laws of England were made to be of force in Ireland; and no bill could be introduced into the Irish parliament, unless it previously received the sanction of the council of England. This latter clause seemed calculated for ensuring the dominion of the English; but was really granted at the desire of the Irish commons, who intended by that means to secure themselves from the tyranny of their lords, particularly of such lieutenants or deputies as were of Irish birth.

While Henry's authority was thus established throughout his dominions, and general tranquillity prevailed, the whole continent was thrown into combustion by the French invasion of Italy, and by the rapid success which attended Charles in that rash and ill-concerted enterprise. The Italians, who had entirely lost the use of arms, and who, in the midst of continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were astonished to meet an enemy, that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament, but a scene of blood, and sought, at the hazard of their own lives, the death of their enemy. Their effeminate troops were dispersed every where on the approach of the French army: their best fortified cities opened their gates: kingdoms and states were in an instant overturned: and through the whole length of Italy, which the French penetrated without resistance, they seemed rather to be taking quarters in their own country than making conquests over an enemy. The maxims which the Italians



during that age followed in negotiations, were as ill calculated to support their states as the habits to which they were addicted in war: a treacherous, deceitful, and inconsistent system of politics prevailed; and even those small remains of fidelity and honour which were preserved in the councils of the other European princes, were ridiculed in Italy as proofs of ignorance and rusticity. Ludovico, duke of Milan, who invited the French to invade Naples, had never desired or expected their success; and was the first that felt terror from the prosperous issue of those projects which he himself had concerted. By his intrigues a league was formed among several potentates to oppose the progress of Charles's conquests, and secure their own independency. This league was composed of Ludovico himself, the pope, Maximilian king of the Romans, Ferdinand of Spain, and the republic of Venice. Henry too entered into the confederacy; but was not put to any expense or trouble in consequence of his engagements. The king of France, terrified by so powerful a combination, retired from Naples with the greater part of his army, and returned to France. The forces which he left in his new conquest were, partly by the revolt of the inhabitants, partly by the invasion of the Spaniards, soon after subdued; and the whole kingdom of Naples suddenly returned to its allegiance under Ferdinand, son to Alphonso, who had been expelled by the irruption of the French. Ferdinand died soon after; and left his uncle Frederick in full possession of the throne.

## CHAP. XXX.

### HENRY VII.

*Perkin retires to Scotland—Insurrection in the West—Battle of Blackheath—Truce with Scotland—Perkin taken prisoner—Perkin executed—The earl of Warwick executed—Marriage of Prince Arthur with Catherine of Arragon—His death—Marriage of the Princess Margaret with the king of Scotland—Oppressions of the people—A parliament—Arrival of the king of Castile—Intrigues of the earl of Suffolk—Sickness of the king—His death—and character.*

AFTER Perkin was repulsed from the coast of Kent, he retired into Flanders; but as he found it impossible to procure subsistence for himself and his followers while he remained in tranquillity, he soon after made an attempt upon Ireland, which had always appeared forward to join every invader of Henry's authority. But Poynings had now put the affairs of that island in so good a posture, that Perkin met with little success; and being tired of the savage life which he was obliged to lead while skulking among the wild Irish, he bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV., who then governed that kingdom. He had been previously recommended to this prince by the king of France, who was disgusted at Henry for entering into the general league against him; and this recommendation was even seconded by Maximilian, who, though one of the confederates, was also displeased with the king on account of his prohibiting in England all commerce with the Low Countries. The countenance given to Perkin by these princes procured him a favourable reception with the king of Scotland, who assured him, that whatever he were, he never should repent putting himself in his hands: the insinuating address and plausible behaviour of

the youth himself seem to have gained him credit and authority. James, whom years had not yet taught distrust or caution, was seduced to believe the story of Perkin's birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence so far as to give him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntly, and related to himself; a young lady too, eminent for virtue as well as beauty.

There subsisted at that time a great jealousy between the courts of England and Scotland; and James was probably the more forward on that account to adopt any fiction which he thought might reduce his enemy to distress or difficulty. He suddenly resolved to make an inroad into England, attended by some of the borderers, and he carried Perkin along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. Perkin himself dispersed a manifesto, in which he set forth his own story, and craved the assistance of all his subjects in expelling the usurper, whose tyranny and mal-administration, whose depression of the nobility by the elevation of mean persons, whose oppression of the people by multiplied impositions and vexations, had justly, he said, rendered him odious to all men. But Perkin's pretensions, attended with repeated disappointments, were now become stale in the eyes even of the populace; and the hostile dispositions which subsisted between the kingdoms rendered a prince, supported by the Scots, but an unwelcome present to the English nation. The ravages also committed by the borderers, accustomed to licence and disorder, struck a terror into all men; and made the people prepare rather for repelling the invaders than for joining them. Perkin, that he might support his pretensions to royal birth, feigned great compassion for the misery of his plundered subjects; and publicly remonstrated with his ally against the depredations exercised by the Scottish army: but James told him, that he doubted his concern was employed only in behalf of an enemy, and that he was anxious to preserve what never should belong to him. That prince now began to perceive that his attempt would be fruitless; and hearing of an army which was on its march to attack him, he thought proper to retreat into his own country.

The king discovered little anxiety to procure either reparation or vengeance for this insult committed on him by the Scottish nation: his chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretence which it might afford him to levy impositions on his own subjects. He summoned a parliament, to whom he made bitter complaints of the irruption of the Scots, the absurd imposture countenanced by that nation, the cruel devastations committed in the northern counties, and the multiplied insults thus offered both to the king and kingdom of England. The parliament made the expected return to this discourse, by granting a subsidy to the amount of 120,000*l.*, together with two fifteenths. After making this grant, they were dismissed.

The vote of parliament for imposing the tax was without much difficulty procured by the authority of Henry; but he found it not so easy to levy the money upon his subjects. The people, who were acquainted with the immense treasures which he had amassed, could ill brook the new impositions raised on every slight occasion; and it is probable that the flaw which was universally known to be in his title made his reign the more subject to insurrections and rebellions. When the subsidy began to be levied in Cornwall, the inhabitants, no

merous and poor, robust and courageous, murmured against a tax occasioned by a sudden inroad of the Scots, from which they esteemed themselves entirely secure, and which had usually been repelled by the force of the northern counties. Their ill-humour was farther excited by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, a notable prating fellow, who, by thrusting himself forward on every occasion, and being loudest in every complaint against the government, had acquired an authority among those rude people. Thomas Flammoc too, a lawyer, who had become the oracle of the neighbourhood, encouraged the sedition, by informing them that the tax, though imposed by parliament, was entirely illegal; that the northern nobility were bound by their tenures to defend the nation against the Scots; and that if these new impositions were tamely submitted to, the avarice of Henry and of his ministers would soon render the burden intolerable to the nation. The Cornish, he said, must deliver to the king a petition, seconded by such a force as would give it authority; and, in order to procure the concurrence of the rest of the kingdom, care must be taken, by their orderly deportment, to show that they had nothing in view but the public good, and the redress of all those grievances under which the people had so long laboured.

Encouraged by these speeches, the multitude flocked together, and armed themselves with axes, bills, bows, and such weapons as country people are usually possessed of. Flammoc and Joseph were chosen their leaders. They soon conducted the Cornish men through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset. At Taunton the rebels killed, in their fury, an officious and eager commissioner of the subsidy, whom they called the provost of Perin. When they reached Wells, they were joined by Lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and restless in his temper. He had from the beginning maintained a secret correspondence with the first movers of the insurrection; and was now joyfully received by them as their leader. Proud of the countenance given them by so considerable a nobleman, they continued their march; breathing destruction to the king's ministers and favourites, particularly to Morton, now a cardinal, and Sir Reginald Bray, who were deemed the most active instruments in all his oppressions. Notwithstanding their rage against the administration, they carefully followed the directions given them by their leaders; and as they met with no resistance, they committed, during their march, no violence or disorder.

The rebels had been told by Flammoc, that the inhabitants of Kent, as they had ever, during all ages, remained unsubdued, and had even maintained their independence during the Norman conquest, would surely embrace their party, and declare themselves for a cause which was no other than that of public good and general liberty. But the Kentish people had very lately distinguished themselves by repelling Perkin's invasion; and as they had received from the king many gracious acknowledgments for this service, their affections were by that means much conciliated to his government. It was easy, therefore, for the earl of Kent, Lord Abergavenny, and Lord Cobham, who possessed great authority in those parts, to retain the people in obedience; and the Cornish rebels, though they pitched their camp near Eltham, at the very gates of London, and invited all the people to join them, got reinforcement from no quarter. There wanted not

discontents every where, but no one would take part in so rash and ill-concerted an enterprise; and besides, the situation in which the king's affairs then stood, discouraged even the boldest and most daring.

Henry, in order to oppose the Scots, had already levied an army, which he put under the command of Lord Daubeney the chamberlain; and as soon as he heard of the Cornish insurrection, he ordered it to march southwards, and suppress the rebels. Not to leave the northern frontier defenceless, he dispatched thither the earl of Surrey, who assembled the forces on the borders, and made head against the enemy. Henry found here the concurrence of the three most fatal incidents that can befall a monarchy; a foreign enemy, a domestic rebellion, and a pretender to his crown; but he enjoyed great resources in his army and treasure, and still more, in the intrepidity and courage of his own temper. He did not, however, immediately give full scope to his military spirit. On other occasions, he had always hastened to a decision; and it was a usual saying with him, "that he desired but to see his rebels:" but as the Cornish mutineers behaved in an inoffensive manner, and committed no spoil on the country; as they received no accession of force on their march or in their encampment; and as such hasty and popular tumults might be expected to diminish every moment by delay; he took post in London, and assiduously prepared the means of ensuring victory.

After all his forces were collected, he divided them into three bodies, and marched out to assail the enemy. The first body, commanded by the earl of Oxford, and under him by the earls of Essex and Suffolk, were appointed to place themselves behind the hill on which the rebels were encamped: the second and most considerable, Henry put under the command of Lord Daubeney, and ordered him to attack the enemy in front, and bring on the action. The third he kept as a body of reserve about his own person, and took post in St. George's fields; where he secured the city, and could easily, as occasion served, either restore the fight or finish the victory. To put the enemy off their guard, he had spread a report that he was not to attack them till some day after; and the better to confirm them in this opinion, he began not the action till nearly the evening. Daubeney beat a detachment of the rebels from Deptford bridge; and before the main body could be in order to receive him, he had gained the ascent of the hill, and placed himself in array before them. They were formidable from their numbers, being sixteen thousand strong, and were not defective in valour; but being tumultuary troops, ill armed and not provided with cavalry or artillery, they were but an unequal match for the king's forces. Daubeney began the attack with courage, and even with a contempt of the enemy which had almost proved fatal to him. He rushed into the midst of them, and was taken prisoner; but soon after was released by his own troops. After some resistance, the rebels were broken, and put to flight. Lord Audley, Flammoc, and Joseph, their leaders, were taken, and all three executed. The latter seemed even to exult in his end, and boasted with a preposterous ambition, that he should make a figure in history. The rebels being surrounded on every side by the king's troops were almost all made prisoners, and immediately dismissed without farther punishment: whether that Henry was satisfied with the victims who had fallen in the field, and who amounted to near two thousand, or that he pitied the ignorance and simplicity



of the multitude, or favoured them on account of their inoffensive behaviour, or was pleased that they had never, during their insurrection, disputed his title, and had shown no attachment to the house of York, the highest crime, of which, in his eyes, they could have been guilty.

The Scottish king was not idle during these commotions in England. He levied a considerable army, and sat down before the castle of Norham in Northumberland; but found that place, by the precaution of Fox bishop of Durham, so well provided both with men and ammunition, that he made little or no progress in the siege. Hearing that the earl of Surrey had collected some forces, and was advancing upon him, he retreated into his own country, and left the frontiers exposed to the inroads of the English general, who besieged and took Aiton, a small castle lying a few miles beyond Berwick. These unsuccessful or frivolous attempts on both sides prognosticated a speedy end to the war; and Henry, notwithstanding his superior force, was no less desirous than James of terminating the differences between the nations. Not to depart, however, from his dignity, by making the first advances, he employed in this friendly office Peter Hialas, a man of address and learning, who had come to him as ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella, and who was charged with a commission of negotiating the marriage of the infanta Catherine their daughter, with Arthur prince of Wales.

Hialas took a journey northwards, and offered his mediation between James and Henry as minister of a prince who was in alliance with both potentates. Commissioners were soon appointed to meet, and confer on terms of accommodation. The first demand of the English was, that Perkin should be put into their hands: James replied, that he himself was no judge of the young man's pretensions, but having received him as a supplicant, and promised him protection, he was determined not to betray a man who had trusted to his good faith and his generosity. The next demand of the English met with no better reception: they required reparation for the ravages committed by the late inroads into England: the Scottish commissioners replied, that the spoils were like water spilt upon the ground, which could never be recovered, and that Henry's subjects were better able to bear the loss than their master's to repair it. Henry's commissioners next proposed that the two kings should have an interview at Newcastle, in order to adjust all differences; but James said, that he meant to treat of a peace, not to go a begging for it. Last the conferences should break off altogether without effect, a truce was concluded for some months; and James, perceiving that, while Perkin remained in Scotland, he himself never should enjoy a solid peace with Henry, privately desired him to depart the kingdom.

Access was now barred Perkin into the Low Countries, his usual retreat in all his disappointments. The Flemish merchants, who severely felt the loss resulting from the interruption of commerce with England, had made such interest in the archduke's council, that commissioners were sent to London, in order to treat of an accommodation. The Flemish court agreed, that all English rebels should be excluded the Low Countries; and in this prohibition the domains of the duchess-dowager were expressly comprehended. When this principal article was agreed to, all the other terms were easily adjusted. A treaty of commerce was finished, which was favourable to the Flemings, and to which

they long gave the appellation of "Intercursum magnus," the great treaty. And when the English merchants returned to their usual abode at Antwerp, they were publicly received, as in procession, with joy and festivity.

Perkin was a Fleming by descent, though born in England; and it might therefore be doubted whether he were included in the treaty between the two nations: but as he must dismiss all his English retainers if he took shelter in the Low Countries, and as he was sure of a cold reception, if not bad usage, among people who were determined to keep on terms of friendship with the court of England; he thought fit rather to hide himself, during some time, in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient, however, of a retreat, which was both disagreeable and dangerous, he held consultations with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradesmen: by their advice, he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish, whose mutinous disposition, notwithstanding the king's lenity, still subsisted, after the suppression of their rebellion. No sooner did he appear at Bodmin in Cornwall, than the populace, to the number of three thousand, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard IV. king of England. Not to suffer the expectations of his followers to languish, he presented himself before Exeter; and, by many fair promises, invited that city to join him. Finding that the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid siege to the place; but being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the attempt, he made no progress in his undertaking. Messengers were sent to the king, informing him of his insurrection: the citizens of Exeter, meanwhile, were determined to hold out to the last extremity, in expectation of receiving succour from the well-known vigilance of that monarch.

When Henry was informed that Perkin was landed in England, he expressed great joy, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him, in hopes of being able, at length, to put a period to pretensions which had so long given him vexation and inquietude. All the courtiers, sensible that their activity on this occasion would be the most acceptable service which they could render the king, displayed their zeal for the enterprise, and forwarded his preparations. The Lords Daubeney and Broke, with Sir Rice ap Thomas, hastened forward with a small body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The earl of Devonshire and the most considerable gentlemen in the county of that name took arms of their own accord, and marched to join the king's generals. The duke of Buckingham put himself at the head of a troop, consisting of young nobility and gentry, who served as volunteers, and who longed for an opportunity of displaying their courage and loyalty. The king himself prepared to follow with a considerable army; and thus all England seemed united against a pretender who had at first engaged their attention, and divided their affections.

Perkin, informed of these great preparations, immediately raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of near seven thousand, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the new forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy, and found that it was not yet exhausted in their behalf. Except a few persons of desperate fortunes who were executed,

and some others who were severely fined, all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Lady Catherine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generosity which does him honour. He soothed her mind with many marks of regard, placed her in a reputable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed even under his successor.

Henry deliberated what course to take with Perkin himself. Some counselled him to make the privileges of the church yield to reasons of state, to take him by violence from the sanctuary, to inflict on him the punishment due to his temerity, and thus at once put an end to an imposture which had long disturbed the government, and which the credulity of the people and the artifices of malcontents were still capable of reviving. But the king deemed not the matter of such importance as to merit so violent a remedy. He employed some persons to deal with Perkin, and persuaded him, under promise of pardon, to deliver himself into the king's hands. The king conducted him, in a species of mock triumph, to London. As Perkin passed along the road, and through the streets of the city, men of all ranks flocked about him, and the populace treated with the highest derision his fallen fortunes. They seemed desirous of revenging themselves, by their insults, for the shame which their former belief of his impostures had thrown upon them. Though the eyes of the nation were generally opened with regard to Perkin's real parentage, Henry required of him a confession of his life and adventures; and he ordered the account of the whole to be dispersed, soon after, for the satisfaction of the public. But as his regard to decency made him entirely suppress the share which the duchess of Burgundy had in contriving and conducting the imposture, the people, who knew that she had been the chief instrument in the whole affair, were inclined, on account of the silence on that head, to pay the less credit to the authenticity of the narrative.

But Perkin, though his life was granted him, was still detained in custody; and keepers were appointed to guard him. Impatient of confinement, he broke from his keepers, and flying to the sanctuary of Shene, put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior had obtained great credit by his character for sanctity; and he prevailed on the king again to grant a pardon to Perkin. But in order to reduce him to still greater contempt, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and obliged in both places to read aloud to the people the confession which had formerly been published in his name. He was then confined to the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower; and, by their means, opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison. This unfortunate prince, who had from his earliest youth been shut up from the commerce of men, and who was ignorant even of the most common affairs of life, had fallen into a simplicity which made him susceptible of any impression. The continual dread also of the more violent effects of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his escape, by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterprise. The conspiracy escaped not the king's vigilance: it was even very generally believed that the scheme had been laid by

himself, in order to draw Warwick and Perkin into the snare; but the subsequent execution of two of Digby's servants for the contrivance seems to clear the king of that imputation, which was indeed founded more on the general idea entertained of his character, than on any positive evidence.

Perkin, by this new attempt, after so many enormities, had rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy; and he was accordingly arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn, persisting still in the confession of his imposture. It happened about that very time, that one Wilford, a cordwainer's son, encouraged by the surprising credit given to other impostures, had undertaken to personate the earl of Warwick, and a priest had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his cause to the people, who seemed still to retain a propensity to adopt it. This incident served Henry as a pretence for his severity against that prince. He was brought to trial and accused, not of contriving his escape (for as he was committed for no crime, the desire of liberty must have been regarded as natural and innocent), but of forming designs to disturb the government, and raise an insurrection among the people. Warwick confessed the indictment, and was condemned.

The foregoing account is taken from Stowe, Baker, Speed, Biondi, Holinshed, Bacon, &c. Some historians, particularly Mr. Carte, have doubted whether Perkin was an impostor, and have even asserted him to be the true Plantagenet. But to refute this opinion, we need only reflect on the following particulars: 1. Though the circumstances of the wars between the two roses be, in general, involved in great obscurity, yet there is a most luminous ray thrown on all the transactions during the usurpation of Richard, and the murder of the two young princes, by the narrative of Sir Thomas More, whose singular magnanimity, probity, and judgment, make him an evidence beyond all exception. No historian, either of ancient or modern times, can possibly have more weight: he may also be justly esteemed a contemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes: for though he was but five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the chief actors during the period of Richard: and it is plain, from his narrative itself, which is often extremely circumstantial, that he had the particulars from the eyewitnesses themselves: his authority, therefore, is irresistible; and sufficient to overbalance a hundred little doubts and scruples and objections. For in reality his narrative is liable to no solid objection, nor is there any mistake detected in it. He says, indeed, that the protector's partisans, particularly Dr. Shaw, spread abroad rumours of Edward IV.'s pre-contract with Elizabeth Lucy; whereas it now appears from record, that the parliament afterwards declared the king's children illegitimate, on pretence of his pre-contract with Lady Eleanor Talbot. But it must be remarked, that neither of these pre-contracts was ever so much as attempted to be proved: and why might not the protector's flatterers and partisans have made use sometimes of one false rumour, sometimes of another? Sir Thomas More mentions the one rumour as well as the other, and treats them both lightly, as they deserved. It is also thought incredible by Mr. Carte, that Dr. Shaw should have been encouraged by Richard to calumniate openly his mother the duchess of York, with whom that prince lived in good terms. But if there be any difficulty in this supposition, we need



only suppose that Dr. Shaw might have concerted, in general, his sermon with the protector or his ministers, and yet have chosen himself the particular topics, and chosen them very foolishly. This appears, indeed, to have been the case, by the disgrace into which he fell afterwards, and by the protector's neglect of him. 2. If Sir Thomas's quality of contemporary be disputed with regard to the duke of Gloucester's protectorate, it cannot possibly be disputed with regard to Perkin's imposture: he was then a man, and had a full opportunity of knowing and examining and judging of the truth. In asserting that the duke of York was murdered by his uncle, he certainly asserts, in the most express terms, that Perkin who personated him was an impostor. 3. There is another great genius who has carefully treated this point of history; so great a genius as to be esteemed with justice one of the chief ornaments of the nation, and indeed one of the most sublime writers that any age or nation has produced, namely, Lord Bacon, who has related at full length, and without the least doubt or hesitation, all the impostures of Perkin Warbeck. If it be objected, that Lord Bacon was no contemporary, and that we have the same materials as he upon which to form our judgment; it must be remarked, that Lord Bacon plainly composed his elaborate and exact history from many records and papers which are now lost, and that, consequently, he is always to be cited as an original historian. It were very strange, if Mr. Carte's opinion were just, that among all the papers which Lord Bacon perused, he never found any reason to suspect Perkin to be the true Plantagenet. There was at that time no interest in defaming Richard III. Bacon, besides, is a very unbiassed historian, nowise partial to Henry: we know the detail of that prince's oppressive government from him alone. It may only be thought that, in summing up his character, he has laid the colours of blame more faintly than the very facts he mentions seem to require. Let it be remarked, how much English history has been beholden to four great men, who have possessed the highest dignity in the law, More, Bacon, Clarendon, and Whitlocke. 4. But if contemporary evidence be so much sought after, there may in this case be produced the strongest and most undeniable in the world. The queen-dowager, her son the marquis of Dorset, a man of excellent understanding, Sir Edward Woodville her brother, Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married the king's sister, Sir John Bouchier, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir Thomas Arundel, the Courtneys, the Cheneys, the Talbots, the Stanleys, the men of chief dignity in the nation; all these great persons were so assured of the murder of the two princes, that they applied to the earl of Richmond, a comparative stranger; they projected to set him on the throne, which must have been utter ruin to them if the princes were alive; and they stipulated to marry him to the Princess Elizabeth, as heir to the crown, who in that case was no heir at all. Had each of these persons written the memoirs of his own times, would he not have said that Richard murdered his nephews? Or would their pen be a better declaration than their actions or their real sentiments? 5. But we have another contemporary authority still better than even these great persons, so much interested to know the truth: it is that of Richard himself: he projected to marry his niece, a very unusual alliance in England, in order to unite his title with his own. He knew, therefore, her title to be good: for as to

the declaration of her illegitimacy, as it went upon no proof, or even pretence of proof, it was always regarded with the utmost contempt by the nation, and was considered as one of those parliamentary transactions so frequent in that period, which were scandalous in themselves, and had no manner of authority. It was even so much despised as not to be reversed by parliament, after Henry and Elizabeth were on the throne. 6. We have also, as contemporary evidence, the universal established opinion of the age, both abroad and at home. This point was regarded as so uncontroverted, that when Richard notified his accession to the court of France, that court was struck with horror at his abominable parricide, in murdering both his nephews, as Philip de Comines tells us; and this sentiment went to such an unusual height, that, as we learn from the same author, the court would not make the least reply to him. 7. The same reasons which convinced that age of the parricide still subsist, and ought to carry the most undoubted evidence to us; namely, the very circumstance of the sudden disappearance of the princes from the Tower, and their appearance no where else. Every one said, "they have not escaped from their uncle, for he makes no search after them: he has not conveyed them elsewhere: for it is his business to declare so, in order to remove the imputation of murder from himself. He never would needlessly subject himself to the infamy and danger of being esteemed a parricide, without acquiring the security attending that crime. They were in his custody: he is answerable for them: if he gives no account of them, as he has a plain interest in their death, he must, by every rule of common sense, be regarded as the murderer. His flagrant usurpation, as well as his other treacherous and cruel actions, makes no better be expected from him. He could not say, with Cain, that he was not his nephew's keeper. This reasoning, which was irrefragable at the very first, became every day stronger, from Richard's continued silence, and the general and total ignorance of the place of these princes' abode. Richard's reign lasted about two years beyond this period; and surely he could not have found a better expedient for disappointing the earl of Richmond's projects, as well as justifying his own character, than the producing of his nephews. 8. If it were necessary, amidst this blaze of evidence, to produce proofs, which in any other case would be regarded as considerable, and would carry great validity with them, we might mention Dighton and Tirrel's account of the murder. This last gentleman especially was not likely to subject himself to the reproach of so great a crime, by an imposture which it appears did not acquire him the favour of Henry. 9. The duke of York, being a boy of nine years of age, could not have made his escape without the assistance of some elder persons. Would it not have been their chief concern instantly to convey intelligence of so great an event to his mother the queen-dowager, to his aunt the duchess of Burgundy, and to the other friends of the family? The duchess protected Simnel; a project which had it been successful, must have ended in the crowning of Warwick and the exclusion of the duke of York. This among many other proofs, evinces that she was ignorant of the escape of that prince, which is impossible had it been real. 10. The total silence with regard to the persons who aided him in his escape, as also with regard to the place of his abode during more than eight years, is a sufficient proof of the imposture. 11. Perkin's own account of his escape is

incredible and absurd. He said that murderers were employed by his uncle to kill him and his brother: they perpetrated the crime against his brother; but took compassion on him, and allowed him to escape. This account is contained in all the historians of that age. 12. Perkin himself made a full confession of his imposture no less than three times; once when he surrendered himself a prisoner, a second time when he was set in the stocks at Cheap-side and Westminster, and a third time, which carries undoubted evidence, at the foot of the gibbet on which he was hanged. Not the least surmise that the confession had ever been procured by torture; and surely the last time he had nothing farther to fear. 13. Had not Henry been assured that Perkin was a ridiculous impostor, disavowed by the whole nation, he never would have allowed him to live an hour after he came into his power; much less would he have twice pardoned him. His treatment of the innocent earl of Warwick, who in reality had no title to the crown, is a sufficient confirmation of this reasoning. 14. We know with certainty whence the whole imposture came—namely, from the intrigues of the duchess of Burgundy: she had before acknowledged and supported Lambert Simnel, an avowed impostor. It is remarkable, that Mr. Carte, in order to preserve the weight of the duchess's testimony in favour of Perkin, suppresses entirely this material fact: a strong effect of party prejudices, and this author's desire of blackening Henry VII. whose hereditary title to the crown was defective. 15. There never was at that time any evidence or shadow of evidence produced of Perkin's identity with Richard Plantagenet. Richard had disappeared when near nine years of age, and Perkin did not appear till he was a man. Could any one from his aspect pretend then to be sure of the identity? He had got some stories concerning Richard's childhood, and the court of England; but all that it was necessary for a boy of nine to remark or remember, was easily suggested to him by the duchess of Burgundy, or Frion, Henry's secretary, or by any body that had ever lived at court. It is true, many persons of note were at first received; but the discontents against Henry's government, and the general enthusiasm for the house of York, account sufficiently for this temporary delusion. Every body's eyes were opened long before Perkin's death. 16. The circumstance of finding the two dead bodies in the reign of Charles II. is not surely indifferent. They were found in the very place which More, Bacon, and other ancient authors, had assigned as the place of interment of the young princes: the bones corresponded by their size, to the age of the princes: the secret and irregular place of their interment, proves that the boys had been secretly murdered; and in the Tower no boys but those who were very nearly related to the crown can be exposed to a violent death: if we compare all these circumstances we shall find that the inference is just and strong, that they were the bodies of Edward V. and his brother; the very inference that was drawn at the time of the discovery.

Lingard, Mackintosh, and all the historians of note, agree with Hume's view of the case, and regard the arguments of Carte, Walpole and Laing as ingenious pieces of pleading, which could only be of service to those writers of fiction who have chosen to depict Warbeck as a wronged and unhappy prince. The following remarks are from Mackintosh:

"The only interesting circumstance in the true

story of Warbeck is, that he retained to the last the faithful attachment of Lady Catherine, 'the pale rose of England;' an appellation originally usurped by her husband, but transferred by the people to her, as emblematical of her drooping beauty and unsullied purity. Warbeck, when he advanced towards the east, had placed her in St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, where she was found by Henry's troops, after her husband had taken sanctuary at Beaulieu. Henry feared that she might be pregnant, and thus prolong the race of impostors. The beauty of the faithful and afflicted lady is, however, said to have touched his cold heart. He sent her to the queen, who placed Lady Catherine in an honorable station in the royal household. She ended her days, long after, as the wife of Sir Matthew Caradoc or Craddock, beside whose remains she was interred in the church of Swansea."

Of Warwick, he says, "Fifteen years of lonely imprisonment, chequered by the pernicious indulgence of one warder and the dark severity of another, had produced one of their most natural effects on this unhappy boy, deprived almost from infancy of light and air, sport and exercise, separated from companions and from kindred, without instruction or occupation. Our ancient historians describe him, in pithy though homely terms, as reduced to the most abject condition of idiocy. 'He was,' says Holinshed, 'a very innocent.' Another contemporary writer says, 'Being kept for fifteen years without company of men or sight of beasts, he could not discern a goose from a capon.' In this state of utter incapacity to commit a crime, or to defend himself against an accusation, he was convicted by a jury of peers, before the earl of Oxford, the lord high steward, of high treason, and immediately after put to death for an offence which his faculties did not enable him to comprehend. Thus perished the last male of the Plantagenets counts of Anjou, who had reigned over England for near four hundred years, with a general character of originality and boldness; but who, as Bacon owns, were a race often dipped in their own blood.

"The extinction of such a harmless and joyless life, in defiance of justice and in the face of mankind, is a deed which should seem to be incapable of aggravation; but the motives of this merciless murder, the base interests to which the victim was sacrificed, and the horrible coolness of the two veteran tyrants who devised the crime, are aggravations perhaps without parallel. Henry had been for some time engaged in a negotiation for the marriage of Arthur, his eldest son, with Catherine, infant of Spain. In the course of the personal correspondence between the two monarchs, 'these two kings understanding each other at half a word, there were letters shown out of Spain, whereby, in the passages concerning the treaty of marriage, Ferdinand had written to Henry in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of the succession as long as the earl of Warwick lived, and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers.'

"It was not till the murder of Warwick might have been foreseen, that the ill-omened nuptials between Arthur and Catherine were celebrated by proxy in Spain, of which the remembrance caused that princess, deeply imbued by the religion or superstition of her country, to exclaim long after, in the most melancholy moments of her life, 'The divorce is a judgment of God, for that my former marriage was made in blood!' The length of the proceedings preliminary to the matrimonial nego-



ciation suggests a suspicion that hard conditions were secretly sought by one of the parties. How came the espousal by proxy to occur only six months before the execution of Warwick, when it was easy to see that the disorders and revolts of the kingdom would afford a pretext for involving him in a charge of treason? The personal union was delayed till 1501. Will it be thought an over refinement to discover, in these dates, a delay till the removal of Warwick could be made sure, without bringing the marriage so near to the murder as still further to shock the feelings and to strengthen the unfavourable judgment of mankind? Lord Bacon, a witness against Henry above exception, positively affirms, that the flagitious correspondence had been seen in England, and that it was shown by the king to excuse his assent to a deed of blood.

"Letters of such murderous import allow very little interval between a breach of the intercourse and an acquiescence in its proposals; but when it terminates in the success of the negotiation, and the opportune removal of the only obstacle known to us which stood in its way, there seems little reason for doubting either the correspondence which Bacon expressly attributes to his hero, or the criminal agreement which is imputed to him, in language as clear, though not so directly expressed.\*

"The prevalent opinion that there was a secret correspondence with Spain relating to the removal of Warwick singularly corresponds with the intrinsic probability of such a design; both are corroborated by the otherwise inexplicable change of the king's dealing with the hitherto despised impostor; and they all concur in leading to the conclusion that the offences of the unhappy Warwick, if not altogether imaginary, were the result of a snare laid by Henry for the inoffensive simpleton."

But though discontent festered in the minds of men, it was so checked by Henry's watchful policy and steady severity, that it seemed not to weaken his government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now entirely secure, paid him rather the greatest deference and attention. The archduke Philip, in particular, desired an interview with him; and Henry, who had passed over to Calais, agreed to meet him in St. Peter's church near that city. The archduke, on his approaching the king, made haste to alight, and offered to hold Henry's stirrup: a mark of condescension which that prince would not admit of. He called the king "father, patron, protector;" and, by his whole behaviour, expressed a strong desire of conciliating the friendship of England. The duke of Orleans had succeeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Lewis XII. and having carried his arms into Italy, and subdued the duchy of Milan, his progress begat jealousy in Maximilian, Philip's father, as well as in Ferdinand, his father-in-law. By the counsel, therefore, of these monarchs, the young prince endeavoured by every art to acquire the amity of Henry, whom they regarded as the chief counterpoise to the greatness of France. No particular plan, however, of alliance seems to have been concerted between these two princes in their interview: all passed in general professions of affection and regard; at least, in remote projects of a closer union, by the future inter-

marriages of their children, who were then in a state of infancy.

The pope too, Alexander VI., neglected not the friendship of a monarch whose reputation was spread over Europe. He sent a nuncio into England, who exhorted the king to take part in the great alliance projected for the recovery of the Holy Land, and to lead in person his forces against the infidels. The general frenzy for crusades was now entirely exhausted in Europe; but it was still thought a necessary piece of decency to pretend zeal for those pious enterprises. Henry regretted to the nuncio the distance of his situation, which rendered it inconvenient for him to expose his person in the defence of the Christian cause. He promised, however, his utmost assistance by aids and contributions; and rather than the pope should go alone to the holy wars, unaccompanied by any monarch, he even promised to overlook all other considerations, and to attend him in person. He only required, as a necessary condition, that all differences should previously be adjusted among Christian princes, and that some sea-port towns in Italy should be assigned to him for his retreat and security. It was easy to conclude, that Henry had determined not to intermeddle in any war against the Turk: but as a great name, without any real assistance, is sometimes of service, the knights of Rhodes, who were at that time esteemed the bulwark of Christendom, chose the king protector of their order.

But the prince whose alliance Henry valued the most was Ferdinand of Arragon, whose vigorous and steady policy, always attended with success, had rendered him in many respects the most considerable monarch in Europe. There was also a remarkable similarity of character between these two princes: both were full of craft, intrigue, and design; and though a resemblance of this nature be a slender foundation for confidence and amity, where the interests of the parties in the least interfere; such was the situation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealousy ever on any occasion arose between them. The king had had the satisfaction of completing the marriage, which had been projected, as we have seen, during the course of seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales and the infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; he near sixteen years of age, she eighteen. But this marriage proved in the issue unprosperous. The young prince a few months after sickened and died, much regretted by the nation. Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also, unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his second son Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta. The prince made all the opposition of which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but as the king persisted in his resolution, the espousals were at length, by means of the pope's dispensation, contracted between the parties: an event which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences.

The same year another marriage was celebrated, which was also in the next age productive of great events: the marriage of Margaret, the king's eldest daughter, with James king of Scotland. This alliance had been negotiated during three years, though interrupted by several broils; and Henry hoped, from the completion of it, to remove all source of discord with that neighbouring kingdom, by whose animosity England had so often been infested. When this marriage was deliberated on in the Eng

\* "This marriage was almost seven years in treaty, which was, in part, caused by the tender years of the marriage couple, especially of the prince; but the true reason was, that those two princes, being princes of great policy and profound judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's fortunes how they would go."—Bacon, iii. 374. Mont. edit.

lish council, some objected that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No," replied Henry, "Scotland in that event will only become an accession to England." Amidst these prosperous incidents, the king met with a domestic calamity, which made not such impression on him as it merited: his queen died in child-bed; and the infant did not long survive her. This princess was deservedly a favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her increased, on account of the harsh treatment which it was thought she met with from her consort.

The situation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now in every respect very fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, both in war and negotiation, were turned to the side of Italy; and the various events which there arose made Henry's alliance be courted by every party, yet interested him so little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. His close connexions with Spain and Scotland insured his tranquillity; and his continued successes over domestic enemies, owing to the prudence and vigour of his conduct, had reduced the people to entire submission and obedience. Uncontrolled, therefore, by apprehension or opposition of any kind, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, being increased by age and encouraged by absolute authority, broke all restraints of shame or justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceless people. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the second better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjust, severe, and inflexible. By their knowledge in law these men were qualified to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king supported them in all their iniquities.

It was their usual practice at first to observe so far the appearance of law as to give indictments to those whom they intended to oppress: upon which the persons were committed to prison, but never brought to trial; and were at length obliged, in order to recover their liberty, to pay heavy fines and ransoms, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees the very appearance of law was neglected: the two ministers sent forth their precepts to attach men, and summon them before themselves and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission, where in a summary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were issued, both in pleas of the crown, and controversies between private parties. Juries themselves, when summoned, proved but small security to the subject; being brow-beaten by these oppressors; nay fined, imprisoned, and punished, if they gave sentence against the inclination of ministers. The whole system of the feudal law, which still prevailed, was turned into a scheme of oppression. Even the king's wards, after they came of age, were not suffered to enter into possession of their lands without paying exorbitant fines. Men were also harassed with informations of intrusion upon scarce colourable titles. When an outlawry in a personal action was issued against any man, he was not allowed to purchase his charter of pardon, except on the payment of a great sum; and if he refused the composition required of him, the strict law, which in such cases allows forfeiture of goods,

was rigorously insisted on. Nay, without any colour of law, the half of men's lands and rents were seized during two years, as a penalty in case of outlawry. But the chief means of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality, or services, were rigidly put in execution against all men: spies, informers, and inquisitors, were rewarded and encouraged in every quarter of the kingdom: and no difference was made whether the statute were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete, possible or impossible to be executed. The sole end of the king and his ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority.

In vain did the people look for protection from the parliament, which was pretty frequently summoned during this reign. That assembly was so overawed, that at this very time, during the greatest rage of Henry's oppressions, the commons chose Dudley their speaker, the very man who was the chief instrument of his iniquities. And though the king was known to be immensely opulent, and had no pretence of wars or expensive enterprises of any kind, they granted him the subsidy which he demanded. But so insatiable was his avarice, that next year he levied a new benevolence, and renewed that arbitrary and oppressive method of taxation. By all these arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality in his expense, he so filled his coffers, that he is said to have possessed in ready money the sum of 1,800,000 pounds: a treasure almost incredible, if we consider the scarcity of money in those times.

But while Henry was enriching himself by the spoils of his oppressed people, there happened an event abroad which engaged his attention, and was even the object of his anxiety and concern. Isabella, queen of Castile, died about this time; and it was foreseen, that by this incident the fortunes of Ferdinand her husband would be much affected. The king was not only attentive to the fate of his ally, and watchful lest the general system of Europe should be affected by so important an event: he also considered the similarity of his own situation with that of Ferdinand, and regarded the issue of these transactions as a precedent for himself. Juana, the daughter of Ferdinand by Isabella, was married to the archduke Philip, and being in right of her mother, heir of Castile, seemed entitled to dispute with Ferdinand the present possession of that kingdom. Henry knew, that notwithstanding his own pretensions by the house of Lancaster, the greater part of the nation was convinced of the superiority of his wife's title; and he dreaded lest the prince of Wales, who was daily advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by ambition to lay immediate claim to the crown. By his perpetual attention to depress the partisans of the York family, he had more closely united them into one party, and increased their desire of shaking off that yoke under which they had so long laboured, and of taking every advantage which his oppressive government should give his enemies against him. And as he possessed no independent force like Ferdinand, and governed a kingdom more turbulent and unruly, which he himself by his narrow politics had confirmed in factious prejudices, he apprehended that his situation would prove in the issue still more precarious.

Nothing at first could turn out more contrary to the king's wishes than the transactions in Spain. Ferdinand, as well as Henry, had become very unpopular, and from a like cause, his former exactions



and impositions; and the states of Castile discovered an evident resolution of preferring the title of Philip and Juana. In order to take advantage of these favourable dispositions, the archduke, now king of Castile, attended by his consort, embarked for Spain during the winter season; but meeting with a violent tempest in the channel, was obliged to take shelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in the county of Dorset, hearing of a fleet upon the coast, had assembled some forces; and being joined by Sir John Cary, who was also at the head of an armed body, he came to that town. Finding that Philip, in order to relieve his sickness and fatigue, was already come ashore, he invited him to his house, and immediately dispatched a messenger to inform the court of this important incident. The king sent in all haste the earl of Arundel to compliment Philip on his arrival in England, and to inform him that he intended to pay him a visit in person, and to give him a suitable reception in his dominions. Philip knew that he could not now depart without the king's consent; and therefore, for the sake of dispatch, he resolved to anticipate his visit, and to have an interview with him at Windsor. Henry received him with all the magnificence possible, and with all the seeming cordiality; but he resolved, notwithstanding, to draw some advantage from this involuntary visit paid him by his royal guest.

Edmond de la Pole earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV. and brother to the earl of Lincoln, slain in the battle of Stoke, had some years before killed a man in a sudden fit of passion, and had been obliged to apply to the king for a remission of the crime. The king had granted his request; but being little indulgent to all persons connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear openly in court and plead his pardon. Suffolk, more resenting the affront than grateful for the favour, had fled into Flanders, and taken shelter with his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy: but being promised forgiveness by the king, he returned to England, and obtained a new pardon. Actuated, however, by the natural inquietude of his temper, and uneasy from debts which he had contracted by his great expense at prince Arthur's wedding, he again made an elopement into Flanders. The king, well acquainted with the general discontent which prevailed against his administration, neglected not this incident, which might become of importance; and he employed his usual artifices to elude the efforts of his enemies. He directed Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, to desert his charge, and to insinuate himself into the confidence of Suffolk, by making him a tender of his services. Upon information secretly conveyed by Curson, the king seized William Courtney, eldest son to the earl of Devonshire, and married to the lady Catherine, sister of the queen; William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tirrel, and Sir James Windham, with some persons of inferior quality, and he committed them to custody. Lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green were also apprehended; but were soon after released from their confinement. William de la Pole was long detained in prison; Courtney was attainted, and though not executed, he recovered not his liberty during the king's life-time. But Henry's chief severity fell upon Sir James Windham and Sir James Tirrel, who were brought to their trial, condemned and executed: the fate of the latter gave general satisfaction, on account of his participation in the mur-

der of the young princes, sons of Edward IV. Notwithstanding these discoveries and executions, Curson was still able to maintain his credit with the earl of Suffolk: Henry, in order to remove all suspicion, had ordered him to be excommunicated, together with Suffolk himself, for his pretended rebellion. But after that traitor had performed all the services expected from him, he suddenly deserted the earl, and came over to England, where the king received him with unusual marks of favour and confidence. Suffolk, astonished at this instance of perfidy, finding that even the duchess of Burgundy, tired with so many fruitless attempts, had become indifferent to his cause, fled secretly into France, thence into Germany, and returned at last into the Low Countries; where he was protected, though not countenanced, by Philip, then in close alliance with the king.

Henry neglected not the present opportunity of complaining to his guest of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "I really thought," replied the king of Castile, "that your greatness and felicity had set you far above apprehensions from any person of so little consequence: but, to give you satisfaction, I shall banish him my state." "I expect that you will carry your complaisance farther," said the king; "I desire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend upon his submission and obedience." "That measure," said Philip, "will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself. You will be thought to have treated me as a prisoner." "Then the matter is at an end," replied the king, "for I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved." The king of Castile found himself under the necessity of complying; but he first exacted Henry's promise that he would spare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England by Philip; as if the king would grant him pardon, on the intercession of his friend and ally. Upon his appearance he was committed to the Tower; and the king of Castile, having fully satisfied Henry, as well by this concession as by signing a treaty of commerce between England and Castile, which was advantageous to the former kingdom, was at last allowed to depart, after a stay of three months. He landed in Spain, was joyfully received by the Castilians, and put in possession of the throne. He died soon after; and Juana his widow, falling into deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again enabled to reinstate himself in authority, and to govern till the day of his death the whole Spanish monarchy.

The king survived these transactions two years: but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part of his reign, except his affiancing his second daughter, Mary, to the young archduke, Charles, son of Philip of Castile. He entertained also some intentions of marriage for himself, first with the queen-dowager of Naples, relict of Ferdinand; afterwards with the duchess-dowager of Savoy, daughter of Maximilian, and sister of Philip. But the decline of his health put an end to all such thoughts; and he began to cast his eye towards that future existence, which the iniquities and severities of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by distributing alms, and founding religious houses, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase, by the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. Remorse even seized him, at intervals, for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley; but not sufficient to make him stop the rapacious hand of those of

pressors. Sir William Capel was again fined two thousand pounds, under some frivolous pretence, and was committed to the Tower for daring to murmur against the iniquity. Harris, an alderman in London, was indicted, and died of vexation before his trial came to an issue. Sir Laurence Ailmer, who had been mayor, and his two sheriffs, were condemned in heavy fines, and sent to prison till they made payment. The king gave countenance to all these oppressions; till death, by its nearer approaches, impressed new terrors upon him; and he then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption at his favourite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age.

The reign of Henry VII. was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with which the nation had long been harassed; he maintained peace and order in the state; he depressed the former exorbitant power of the nobility; and, together with the friendship of some foreign princes, he acquired the consideration and regard of all. He loved peace without fearing war: though agitated with continual suspicions of his servants and ministers, he discovered no timidity, either in the conduct of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and though often severe in his punishments, he was commonly less actuated by revenge than by maxims of policy. The services which he rendered the people were derived from his views of private advantage rather than the motives of public spirit: and where he deviated from interested regards, it was unknown to himself, and ever from the malignant prejudices of faction, or the mean projects of avarice; not from the sallies of passion, or allurements of pleasure; still less from the benign motives of friendship and generosity. His capacity was excellent, but somewhat contracted by the narrowness of his heart; he possessed insinuation and address, but never employed these talents except where some great point of interest was to be gained; and while he neglected to conciliate the affections of his people, he often felt the danger of resting his authority on their fear and reverence alone. He was always extremely attentive to his affairs; but possessed not the faculty of seeing far into futurity; and was more expert at providing a remedy for his mistakes, than judicious in avoiding them. Avarice was, on the whole, his ruling passion; and he remains an instance, almost singular, of a man placed in a high station, and possessed of talents for great affairs, in whom that passion predominated above ambition. Even among private persons, avarice is commonly nothing but a species of ambition, and is chiefly incited by the prospect of that regard, distinction, and consideration, which attend on riches.

As a proof of Henry's attention to the smallest profits, Bacon tells us, that he had seen a book of accounts kept by Empson, and subscribed in almost every leaf by the king's own hand. Among other articles was the following: "*Item*, Received of such a one five marks for a pardon, which if it do not pass, the money to be repayed, or the party otherwise satisfied." Opposite to the memorandum the king had writ with his own hand, "otherwise satisfied."

The power of the kings of England had always been somewhat irregular or discretionary; but was scarcely ever so absolute during any former reign, at least after the establishment of the great charter,

as during that of Henry. Besides the advantages derived from the personal character of the man, full of vigour, industry, and severity, deliberate in all projects, steady in every purpose, and attended with caution as well as good fortune in every enterprise; he came to the throne after long and bloody civil wars, which had destroyed all the great nobility, who alone could resist the encroachments of his authority: the people were tired with discord and intestine convulsions, and willing to submit to usurpations, and even to injuries, rather than plunge themselves anew into like miseries: the fruitless efforts made against him served always, as is usual, to confirm his authority: as he ruled by a faction, and the lesser faction, all those on whom he conferred offices, sensible that they owed every thing to his protection, were willing to support his power, though at the expense of justice and national privileges. These seem the chief causes which at this time bestowed on the crown so considerable an addition of prerogative, and rendered the present reign a kind of epoch in the English constitution.

This prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated by his historian for many good laws which he made be enacted for the government of his subjects. Several considerable regulations, indeed, are found among the statutes of this reign, both with regard to the police of the kingdom, and its commerce: but the former are generally contrived with much better judgment than the latter. The more simple ideas of order and equity are sufficient to guide a legislator in every thing that regards the internal administration of justice: but the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be well understood in any state. The real consequence of a law or practice is therefore often contrary to first appearances. No wonder that during the reign of Henry VII. these matters were frequently mistaken; and it may safely be affirmed, that even in the age of Lord Bacon very imperfect and erroneous ideas were formed on that subject.

Lingard concludes his account of this king's reign with the following remarks:—

"If we may credit a story related by Bacon, Henry was no less adroit, or less unfeeling, than his two ministers. Of the partisans of the house of Lancaster, there was no one whose exertions or sacrifices had been greater than those of the earl of Essex. That nobleman on one occasion had entertained the king at his castle of Henningham; and when Henry was ready to depart, a number of servants and retainers in the earl's livery was drawn up in two lines, to do honour to the sovereign. 'My lord,' said the king, 'I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than his speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen that I see on each side of me, are surely your menial servants.' The earl replied with a smile, 'That, may it please your grace, were not for mine ease. They are most of them my retainers, come to do me service at a time like this, and chiefly to see your grace.' Henry affected to start, and returned: 'By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you.' He alluded to the statute against retainers, which had been passed in his first parliament; and the earl for his misplaced generosity was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; an almost incredible sum, if we consider the relative value of money at that period.



"The king had for years been visited with regular fits of the gout. His strength visibly wasted away, and every spring the most serious apprehensions were entertained for his life. Whatever might be the hopes with which he flattered himself, his preachers did not allow him to be ignorant of his danger. From the pulpit they admonished him of the extortion of his officers, and exhorted him to prepare for death by making reparation to the innocent sufferers. Henry does not appear to have been displeased with their freedom. He forgave all offences against the crown, with the exception of felony and murder; satisfied the creditors of all persons confined for debts under the amount of forty shillings; and ordered strict justice to be done to all who had been injured by the tyranny of his ministers. The prosecutions, however, were soon revived: it was contended that no injustice could be committed, where the conviction was procured by due process of law; and several of the most respectable citizens in London were heavily amerced, and in default of payment, thrown into prison. Thus Empson and Dudley continued to pursue their iniquitous career till they were arrested by the death of the king, who in the spring of 1509 sank under the violence of his disease. The anxiety of his mind is strongly depicted in the provisions of his will: but he might easily have foreseen that his injunctions for the reparation of injuries would be despised or eluded by a young and thoughtless successor. He left three children—a son, Henry, who inherited his father's crown; and two daughters, Margaret, married to James, king of Scots, and Mary, afterwards the wife of Louis XII., king of France.

"To Henry by his contemporaries was allotted the praise of political wisdom. He seems indeed to have been formed by nature for the circumstances in which accident had placed him. With a mind dark and mistrustful, tenacious of its own secrets, and adroit in divining the secrets of others—capable of employing the most unprincipled agents, and of descending to the meanest artifices—he was able to unravel the plots, to detect the impostures, and to defeat the projects of all his opponents. But there was nothing open in his friendships or generous in his enmity. His suspicions kept him always on his guard: he watched with jealousy the conduct of his very ministers; and never unbosomed himself with freedom even to his consort or his mother. It was his delight to throw an air of mystery over the most ordinary transactions: nor would pride or policy allow him, even when it appeared essential to his interests, to explain away the doubts, or satisfy the curiosity of his subjects. The consequence was, that no one knew what to believe, what to expect. 'All things,' says Sir Thomas More, 'were so covertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another meant, that there was nothing so plain and openly proved, but that yet, for the common custom of close and covert dealing, men had it ever inwardly to suspect, as many well-counterfeited jewels make the true mistrusted.'

"He appears to have been the first of our kings since the accession of Henry III. who confined his expenses within the limits of his income. But the civil wars had swept away those crowds of annuitants and creditors that formerly used to besiege the doors of the exchequer: and the revenue of the crown came to him free from incumbrances, and augmented by forfeitures. Hence he was enabled to reign without the assistance of parliament; and if he occasionally summoned the two houses, it

was only when a decent pretext for demanding a supply offered to his avarice a bait which it could not refuse. He had, however, little to apprehend from the freedom or the remonstrances of these assemblies. That spirit of resistance to oppression, that ardour to claim and establish their liberties, which characterised the parliaments of former times, had been extinguished in the bloody feuds between the two roses. The temporal peers who had survived the storm, were few in number, and without the power of their ancestors: they feared by alarming the suspicions of the monarch to replunge themselves into the dangers from which they had so lately emerged; and the commons readily adopted the humble tone and submissive demeanour of the upper house. Henry—and the same may be observed of his two last predecessors—found them always the obsequious ministers of his pleasure.

"But if the king were economical in his expenses, and eager in the acquisition of wealth, it should also be added, that he often rewarded with generosity, and on occasions of ceremony displayed the magnificence of a great monarch. His charities were many and profuse. Of his buildings, his six convents of friars fell in the next reign: his chapel at Westminster still exists, a monument of his opulence and taste. He is said to have occasionally advanced loans of money to merchants engaged in profitable branches of trade; and not only gave the royal license to the attempt of the Venetian navigator Cabot, but fitted out a ship at his own expense to join the voyage."

## CHAP. XXXI.

### HENRY VIII.

*Popularity of the new king—his ministers—Punishment of Empson and Dudley—King's marriage—Foreign affairs—Julius II.—League of Cambray—War with France—Expedition to Fontenoy—Death of Ferdinand—Return of the English—Leo X.—A parliament—War with Scotland—Wolsey minister—His character—Invasion of France—Battle of Guinegate—Battle of Flodden—Peace with France—Marriage of Mary to Lewis—and afterwards to Suffolk.*

THE death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the accession and coronation of his son Henry VIII. spread universally a declared and unfeigned satisfaction. Instead of a monarch jealous, severe, and avaricious, who, in proportion as he advanced in years, was sinking still deeper in those unpopular vices, a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the throne, who, even in the eyes of men of sense, gave promising hopes of his future conduct—much more in those of the people, always pleased with novelty and youth, and especially when attached to the royal dignity. The beauty and vigour of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanour. His father, in order to remove him from the knowledge of public business, had hitherto occupied him entirely in the pursuits of literature; and the proficiency which he made gave no bad prognostic of his parts and capacity. Even the vices of vehemence, ardour, and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterwards



Hammer sculp.

H E N R Y V I I I .





degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as faults incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to greater moderation and maturity. And as the contending titles of York and Lancaster were now at last fully united in his person, men justly expected from a prince, obnoxious to no party, that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England.

These favourable prepossessions of the public were encouraged by the measures which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. His grandmother, the countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive; and as she was a woman much celebrated for prudence and virtue, he wisely shewed great deference to her opinion in the establishment of his new council. The members were, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; the earl of Shrewsbury, steward; Lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, afterwards Lord Marney; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards Lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyat. These men had long been accustomed to business under the late king, and were the least unpopular of all the ministers employed by that monarch.

But the chief competitors for favour and authority under the new king were the earl of Surrey, treasurer, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired such habits of caution and frugality as he could not easily lay aside; and he still opposed, by his remonstrances, those schemes of dissipation and expense which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dextrous courtier; and though few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himself to the humour of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence, which began to prevail under the young monarch. By this policy he ingratiated himself with Henry; he made advantage, as well as the other courtiers, of the lavish disposition of his master; and he engaged him in such a course of play and idleness as rendered him negligent of affairs, and willing to entrust the government of the state entirely into the hands of his ministers. The great treasures amassed by the late king were gradually dissipated in the giddy expenses of Henry. One party of pleasure succeeded to another: tilts, tournaments, and carousals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age: and as the present tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to. Or if the king intermitted the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed himself in an application to music and literature, which were his favourite pursuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. He had made such proficiency in the former art, as even to compose some pieces of church music which were sung in his chapel. He was initiated in the elegant learning of the ancients. And though he was so unfortunate as to be seduced into a study of the barren controversies of the schools, which were then fashionable, and had chosen Thomas Aquinas for his favourite author, he still discovered a capacity fitted for more useful and entertaining knowledge.

The frank and careless humour of the king, as it

led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. A proclamation being issued to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let loose on all informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation: they were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the populace. Empson and Dudley, who were most exposed to public hatred, were immediately summoned before the council, in order to answer for their conduct, which had rendered them so obnoxious. Empson made a shrewd apology for himself as well as for his associate. He told the council, that, so far from his being justly exposed to censure for his past conduct, his enemies themselves grounded their clamour on actions which seemed rather to merit reward and approbation: that a strict execution of law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accused; though that law had been established by general consent, and though they had acted in obedience to the king, to whom the administration of justice was entrusted by the constitution: that it belonged not to them, who were instruments in the hands of supreme power, to determine what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient or hurtful; since they were all alike valid, so long as they remained unrepealed by the legislature: that it was natural for a licentious populace to murmur against the restraints of authority; but all wise states had ever made their glory consist in the just distribution of rewards and punishments, and had annexed the former to the observance and enforcement of the laws, the latter to their violation and infraction; and that a sudden overthrow of all government might be expected, where the judges were committed to the mercy of the criminals, the rulers to that of the subjects.

Notwithstanding this defence, Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower; and soon after brought to their trial. The strict execution of laws, however obsolete, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of judicature; and it is likely that, even where they had exercised arbitrary power, the king, as they had acted by the secret commands of his father, was not willing that their conduct should undergo too severe a scrutiny. In order, therefore, to gratify the people with the punishment of these obnoxious ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them; that they had entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and had intended, on the death of the late king, to have seized by force the administration of government. The jury were so far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give a verdict against them; which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament, and at the earnest desire of the people was executed by warrant from the king. Thus, in those arbitrary times, justice was equally violated, whether the king sought power and riches, or courted popularity.

Henry, while he punished the instruments of past tyranny, had yet such deference to former engagements as to deliberate, immediately after his accession, concerning the celebration of his marriage with the infant Catherine, to whom he had been affianced during his father's lifetime. Her former marriage with his brother, and the inequality of their years, were the chief objections urged against his espousing her: but on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, modesty, and sweet-



ness of disposition, were insisted on; the affection which she bore to the king; the large dowry to which she was entitled as princess of Wales; the interest of cementing a close alliance with Spain; the necessity of finding some confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king: When these considerations were weighed, they determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to give Henry their advice for celebrating the marriage. The countess of Richmond, who had concurred in the same sentiments with the council, died soon after the marriage of her grandson.

The popularity of Henry's government, his undisputed title, his extensive authority, his large treasures, the tranquillity of his subjects, were circumstances which rendered his domestic administration easy and prosperous: the situation of foreign affairs was no less happy and desirable. Italy continued still, as during the late reign, to be the centre of all the wars and negotiations of the European princes, and Henry's alliance was courted by all parties; at the same time that he was not engaged by any immediate interest or necessity to take part with any. Lewis XII. of France, after his conquest of Milan, was the only great prince that possessed any territory in Italy; and could he have remained in tranquillity, he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and republics, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of making a conquest of Naples, to which he had the same title or pretensions with his predecessor, still engaged him in new enterprises; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand, who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederick of Naples, he endeavoured by the offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were ever open, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. He settled with him a plan for the partition of the kingdom of Naples, and the expulsion of Frederick: a plan which the politicians of that age regarded as the most egregious imprudence in the French monarch, and the greatest perfidy in the Spanish. Frederick, supported only by subjects who were either discontented with his government, or indifferent about his fortunes, was unable to resist so powerful a confederacy, and was deprived of his dominions: but he had the satisfaction to see Naples immediately prove the source of contention among his enemies. Ferdinand gave secret orders to his general, Gonsalvo, whom the Spaniards honour with the appellation of the "great captain," to attack the armies of France, and make himself master of all the dominions of Naples. Gonsalvo prevailed in every enterprise, defeated the French in two pitched battles, and ensured to his prince the entire possession of that kingdom. Lewis, unable to procure redress by force of arms, was obliged to enter into a fruitless negotiation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his share of the partition, and all Italy during some time was held in suspense between these two powerful monarchs.

There has scarcely been any period when the balance of power was better secured in Europe, and seemed more able to maintain itself without any anxious concern or attention of the princes. Several great monarchies were established; and no one so far surpassed the rest as to give any foundation or even pretence for jealousy. England was united in domestic peace, and by its situation happily secured from the invasion of foreigners. The coalition of the several kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand administered with

arts, fraudulent indeed and deceitful, but full of vigour and ability. Lewis XII. a gallant and generous prince, had, by espousing Anne of Brittany, widow to his predecessor, preserved the union with that principality, on which the safety of his kingdom so much depended. Maximilian the emperor, besides the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, maintained authority in the empire, and, notwithstanding the levity of his character, was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of interest, at least of defence. Charles prince of Castile, grandson to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already succeeded to the rich dominions of the house of Burgundy; and being as yet in early youth, the government was entrusted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princess endowed with signal prudence and virtue. The internal force of these several powerful states, by balancing each other, might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprising genius of Julius II. an ambitious pontiff, first excited the flames of war and discord among them. By his intrigues, a league had been formed at Cambray, 1508, between himself, Maximilian, Lewis, and Ferdinand; and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm, by their united arms, the commonwealth of Venice. Henry, without any motive from interest or passion, allowed his name to be inserted in the confederacy. This oppressive and iniquitous league was but too successful against the republic.

The great force and secure situation of the considerable monarchies prevented any one from aspiring to any conquest of moment; and though this consideration could not maintain general peace, or remedy the natural inquietude of men, it rendered the princes of this age more disposed to desert engagements, and change their alliances, in which they were retained by humour and caprice, rather than by any natural or durable interest. Julius had no sooner humbled the Venetian republic, than he was inspired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy, or, to speak in the style affected by the Italians of that age, the freeing of that country entirely from the dominion of barbarians. He was determined to make the tempest fall first upon Lewis; and, in order to pave the way for this great enterprise, he at once sought for a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis. He solicited the favour of England, by sending Henry a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism. He engaged in his interests Bambridge archbishop of York, and Henry's ambassador at Rome, whom he soon after created a cardinal. He drew over Ferdinand to his party, though that monarch at first made no declaration of his intentions. And what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiss cantons, who, enraged by some neglects put upon them by Lewis, accompanied with contumelious expressions, had quitted the alliance of France, and waited for an opportunity of revenging themselves on that nation.

While the French monarch repelled the attacks of his enemies, he thought it also requisite to make an attempt on the pope himself, and to despoil him as much as possible of that sacred character which chiefly rendered him formidable. He engaged some cardinals, disgusted with the violence of Julius, to desert him; and, by their authority, he was determined, in conjunction with Maximilian, who still adhered to his alliance, to call a general council,

which might reform the church, and check the exorbitances of the Roman pontiff. A council was summoned at Pisa, which from the beginning bore a very inauspicious aspect, and promised little success to its adherents. Except a few French bishops, who unwillingly obeyed their king's commands in attending the council, all the other prelates kept aloof from an assembly which they regarded as the offspring of faction, intrigue, and worldly politics. Even Pisa, the place of their residence, showed them signs of contempt; which engaged them to transfer their session to Milan, a city under the dominion of the French monarch. Notwithstanding this advantage, they did not experience much more respectful treatment from the inhabitants of Milan; and found it necessary to make another remove to Lyons. Lewis himself fortified these violent prejudices in favour of papal authority, by the symptoms which he discovered, of regard, deference, and submission to Julius, whom he always spared, even when fortune had thrown into his hands the most inviting opportunities of humbling him. And as it was known that his consort, who had great influence over him, was extremely disquieted in mind on account of his dissensions with the holy father, all men prognosticated to Julius final success in this unequal contest.

The enterprising pontiff knew his advantages, and availed himself of them with the utmost temerity and insolence. So much had he neglected his sacerdotal character, that he acted in person at the siege of Mirandola, visited the trenches, saw some of his attendants killed at his side, and, like a young soldier, cheerfully bore all the rigours of winter and a severe season, in pursuit of military glory: yet was he still able to throw, even on his most moderate opponents, the charge of impiety and profaneness. He summoned a council at the Lateran: he put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places which gave shelter to the schismatical council: he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it: he even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it: he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them.

Ferdinand of Arragon, who had acquired the surname of Catholic, regarded the cause of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his ambition and selfish politics: Henry, naturally sincere and sanguine in his temper, and the more so on account of his youth and inexperience, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from the oppression to which he believed him exposed from the ambitious enterprises of Lewis. Hopes had been given him by Julius, that the title of "Most Christian King," which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, and which was regarded as its most precious ornament, should, in reward for his services, be transferred to that of England. Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidst the noise of arms; and the natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join that alliance which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed against the French monarch. A herald was sent to Paris, to exhort Lewis not to wage impious war against the sovereign pontiff, and when he returned without success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This message

was understood to be a declaration of war; and a parliament being summoned, readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the English nation.

Buonavisio, an agent of the pope's at London, had been corrupted by the court of France, and had previously revealed to Lewis all the measures which Henry was concerting against him. But this infidelity did the king inconsiderable prejudice, in comparison of the treachery which he experienced from the selfish purposes of the ally on whom he chiefly relied for assistance. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had so long persevered in a course of crooked politics, that he began even to value himself on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boast of those shameful successes. Being told one day, that Lewis, a prince of a very indifferent character, had complained of his having once cheated him: "he lies, the drunkard!" said he, "I have cheated him above twenty times." This prince considered his close connexions with Henry only as the means which enabled him the better to take advantage of his want of experience. He advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army. And so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England, in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The marquis of Dorset commanded this armament, which consisted of ten thousand men, mostly infantry; Lord Howard son of the earl of Surrey, Lord Broke, Lord Ferrars, and many others of the young gentry and nobility, accompanied him in this service. All were on fire to distinguish themselves by military achievements, and to make a conquest of importance for their master. The secret purpose of Ferdinand, in this unexampled generosity, was suspected by nobody.

The small kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and as John d'Albret the sovereign was connected by friendship and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity seemed favourable to Ferdinand, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Pisa lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions. No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipiscoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make with united arms an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne: but he remarked to the English general, how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in close alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against so dangerous an event, he required, that John should stipulate a neutrality in the present war; and when that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpose, he also required, that security should be given for the strict observance of it. John having likewise agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded, that he should deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places of his dominions, together with his eldest son as an hostage. These were not terms to be proposed to a sovereign; and as the Spanish monarch expected a



refusal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invasion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva soon made himself master of all the smaller towns; and being ready to form the siege of Pampeluna, the capital, he summoned the marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army, and concert together all their operations.

Dorset began to suspect, that the interests of his master were very little regarded in all these transactions; and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, or make war any where but in France, he refused to take any part in the enterprise. He remained therefore in his quarters at Fontarabia: but so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the English army lay in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the siege, made himself master of Pampeluna, and obliged John to seek for shelter in France. The Spanish general applied again to Dorset, and proposed to conduct with united counsels the operations of the "holy league," so it was called, against Lewis: but as he still declined forming the siege of Bayonne, and rather insisted on the invasion of the principality of Bearne, a part of the king of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French side of the Pyrennees, Dorset, justly suspicious of his sinister intentions, represented that, without new orders from his master, he could not concur in such an undertaking. In order to procure these orders, Ferdinand dispatched Martin de Ampios to London; and persuaded Henry that, by the refractory and scrupulous humour of the English general, the most favourable opportunities were lost, and that it was necessary he should, on all occasions, act in concert with the Spanish commander, who was best acquainted with the situation of the country, and the reasons of every operation. But before orders to this purpose had reached Spain, Dorset had become extremely impatient; and observing that his farther stay served not to promote the main undertaking, and that his army was daily perishing by want and sickness, he demanded shipping from Ferdinand to transport them back into England. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furnish him with this supply, whenever demanded, was at length, after many delays, obliged to yield to his importunity; and Dorset, embarking his troops, prepared himself for the voyage. Meanwhile, the messenger arrived with orders from Henry, that the troops should remain in Spain; but the soldiers were so discontented with the treatment which they had met with, that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to set sail for England. Henry was much displeased with the ill success of his enterprise; and it was with difficulty that Dorset, by explaining the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, was at last able to appease him.

There happened this summer an action at sea, which brought not any more decisive advantage to the English. Sir Thomas Knevet, master of horse, was sent to the coast of Brittany with a fleet of forty-five sail; and he carried with him Sir Charles Brandon, Sir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of displaying their valour. After they had committed some depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine sail issued from Brest, under the command of Primauguet, and began an engagement with the English. Five

seized the ship of Primauguet, who, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair which came from the miserable combatants. At last, the French vessel blew up, and at the same time destroyed the English. The rest of the French fleet made their escape into different harbours.

The war which England waged against France, though it brought no advantage to the former kingdom, was of great prejudice to the latter, and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces for the defence of his own dominions, lost him that superiority which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had attained in Italy. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, had been entrusted with the command of the French forces, and in a few months performed such feats of military art and prowess, as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest captain. His career finished with the great battle of Ravenna, which, after the most obstinate conflict, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished the very moment his victory was complete; and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who had rendered themselves extremely formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the Milanese with a numerous army, and raised up that inconstant people to a revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of the duchy; and thus Lewis, in a few weeks, entirely lost his Italian conquests, except some garrisons; and Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovic, was reinstated in possession of Milan.

Julius discovered extreme joy on the discomfiture of the French; and the more so, as he had been beholden for it to the Swiss, a people whose councils he hoped he should always be able to influence and govern. The pontiff survived this success a very little time; and in his place was chosen John de Medicis, who took the appellation of Leo X., and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, beneficent, generous, affable; the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue; he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful in employing means for the execution of them. The sole defect, indeed, of his character was too great finesse and artifice—a fault which, both as a priest and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid. By the negotiations of Leo, the Emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry, notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis.

Henry had summoned a new session of parliament, and obtained a supply for his enterprise.

The clergy granted him two-tenths, the laity a tenth, a fifteenth and a capitation tax. The tax was fixed at the following rates:

	£.	s.	d.
A duke.....	6	13	4
Marquess or earl.....	4	0	0
Wives of ditto.....	4	0	0
Baron, baronet, and baroness.....	2	0	0
Other knights not lords of parliament.....	1	10	0
Proprietors of lands above 40 <i>l.</i> yearly value	1	0	0

From 20 <i>l</i> . to 40 <i>l</i> .....	£0 10 0
10 <i>l</i> . to 20 <i>l</i> .....	0 5 0
2 <i>l</i> . to 10 <i>l</i> .....	0 2 0
Below 2 <i>l</i> .....	0 1 0
The possessors of personal property, value 800 <i>l</i> .....	} 2 13 4
From 400 <i>l</i> . to 800 <i>l</i> .....	
200 <i>l</i> . to 400 <i>l</i> .....	1 6 8
100 <i>l</i> . to 200 <i>l</i> .....	0 13 4
40 <i>l</i> . to 100 <i>l</i> .....	0 6 8
20 <i>l</i> . to 40 <i>l</i> .....	0 3 4
10 <i>l</i> . to 20 <i>l</i> .....	0 1 8
2 <i>l</i> . to 10 <i>l</i> .....	0 1 0
Labourers and servants with wages of 2 <i>l</i> . yearly.....	} 0 1 0
From 1 <i>l</i> . to 2 <i>l</i> .....	
All other persons.....	0 0 6
	0 0 4

Lingard remarks (from whom this statement is taken) "that, from these rates, it appears that the old distinction between greater and lesser barons was not yet abolished. They are called barons and baronets, and are considered equally as lords of parliament."

By the supplies thus raised, joined to the treasure which had been left by his father, and which was not yet entirely dissipated, he was enabled to levy a great army, and render himself formidable to his enemy. The English are said to have been much encouraged in this enterprise, by the arrival of a vessel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried presents of wine and hams to the king and the more eminent courtiers; and such fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that these trivial presents were every where received with the greatest triumph and exultation.

In order to prevent all disturbances from Scotland while Henry's arms should be employed on the continent, Dr. West, dean of Windsor, was dispatched on an embassy to James, the king's brother-in-law; and instructions were given him to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to discover the intentions of the court of Scotland. Some complaints had already been made on both sides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having suffered injuries from the Portuguese, for which he could obtain no redress, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but he had no sooner put to sea, than he was guilty of the grossest abuses, committed depredations upon the English, and much infested the narrow seas. Lord Howard and Sir Edward Howard, admirals, and sons of the earl of Surrey, sailing out against him, fought him in a desperate action, where the pirate was killed; and they brought his ships into the Thames. As Henry refused all satisfaction for this act of justice, some of the borderers, who wanted but a pretence for depredations, entered England under the command of Lord Hume, warden of the marches, and committed great ravages on the kingdom. Notwithstanding these mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, matters might easily have been accommodated, had it not been for Henry's intended invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league which subsisted between France and Scotland, was conceived to be the strongest band of connexion; and the Scots universally believed that, were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able so long to maintain their independence against a people so much superior. James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by

the invitations of Anne, queen of France, whose knight he had ever in all tournaments professed himself, and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and prove himself her true and valorous champion. The remonstrances of his consort and of his wisest counsellors were in vain opposed to the martial ardour of this prince. He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France; the only fleet which Scotland seems ever to have possessed. And though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily foresaw, that a war would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the earl of Surrey to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected invasion of the enemy.

Henry, all on fire for military fame, was little discouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north; and so much the less, as he flattered himself with the assistance of all the considerable potentates of Europe in his invasion of France. The pope still continued to thunder out his excommunications against Lewis, and all the adherents of the schismatical council: the Swiss cantons made professions of violent animosity against France: the ambassadors of Ferdinand and Maximilian had signed with those of Henry a treaty of alliance against that power, and had stipulated the time and place of their intended invasion: and though Ferdinand disavowed his ambassador, and even signed a truce for a twelvemonth with the common enemy; Henry was not yet fully convinced of his selfish and sinister intentions, and still hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king, surpassed in favour all his ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was said to be the son of a butcher at Ipswich. Lingard says, it is not probable that his father was a butcher, as his will proves him to have been a very opulent burgess of that city; perhaps he might have been a large dealer in cattle. Having had a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the friendship and countenance of his patron. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII., and being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation, with regard to his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct. That prince, having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided at Brussels, was surprised in less than three days after, to see Wolsey present himself before him; and supposing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. Wolsey informed him, that he had just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. "But on second thoughts," said the king, "I found that somewhat was omitted in your orders; and have sent a messenger after you with fuller instructions." "I met the messenger," replied Wolsey, "on my return: but as I had reflected on that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what, I knew must be



your majesty's intentions." The death of Henry VII., soon after this incident, retarded the advancement of Wolsey, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion which that monarch had entertained of him: but thenceforwards he was looked on at court as a rising man; and Fox, bishop of Winchester, cast his eye upon him as one who might be serviceable to him in his present situation. This prelate, observing that the earl of Surrey had totally eclipsed him in favour, resolved to introduce Wolsey to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival Surrey in his insinuating arts, and yet be contented to act in the cabinet a part subordinate to Fox himself, who had promoted him. In a little time Wolsey gained so much on the king, that he supplanted both Surrey in his favour, and Fox in his trust and confidence. Being admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, he took the lead in conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or engaged him to check, by any useless severity, the gaiety, in which Henry, who had small propension to debauchery, passed his careless hours. During the intervals of amusement he introduced business, and insinuated those maxims of conduct which he was desirous his master should adopt. He observed to him that, while he entrusted his affairs into the hands of his father's counsellors, he had the advantage indeed of employing men of wisdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who scarcely thought themselves accountable to him for the exercise of their authority: that by the factions, and cabals, and jealousies, which had long prevailed among them, they more obstructed the advancement of his affairs, than they promoted it by the knowledge which age and practice had conferred upon them: that while he thought proper to pass his time in those pleasures, to which his age and royal fortune had invited him, and in those studies, which would in time enable him to sway the sceptre with absolute authority, his best system of government would be to entrust his authority into the hands of some one person, who was the creature of his will, and who could entertain no view but that of promoting his service: and that if this minister had also the same relish for pleasure with himself, and the same taste for science, he could more easily, at intervals, account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his master gradually into the knowledge of public business; and thus, without tedious constraint or application, initiate him in the science of government.

Henry entered into all the views of Wolsey; and finding no one so capable of executing this plan of administration as the person who proposed it, he soon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his pleasures, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority, the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense: of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise: ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory: insinuating, engaging, persuasive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding: haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less

moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of nature with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the original inferiority, or rather meanness of his fortune.

Lingard softens this character of Wolsey, and observes, "We are not, however, obliged to believe the tale so often repeated, that he owed his elevation to the address with which he insinuated himself into the royal favour, by promising to take all the labour on himself, that his master might have more leisure to indulge in pleasure and dissipation. The multitude of letters still extant, all written by Henry, or to Henry, demonstratively shew, that the king himself devoted a considerable portion of his time and attention to the cares of government." Hallam says, "If we justly regard with detestation the memory of those ministers who have aimed at subverting the liberties of their country, we shall scarcely approve the partiality of some modern historians towards Cardinal Wolsey; a partiality too that contradicts the general opinion of his contemporaries. Haughty beyond comparison, negligent of the duties and decorums of his station, profuse as well as rapacious, obnoxious alike to his own order and to the laity, his fall had long been secretly desired by the nation, and contrived by his adversaries. His generosity and magnificence seem rather to have dazzled succeeding ages than his own. But in fact his best apology is the disposition of his master."

The branch of administration in which Henry most exerted himself, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolsey, was the military, which, as it suited the natural gallantry and bravery of his temper, as well as the ardour of his youth, was the principal object of his attention. Finding that Lewis had made great preparations both by sea and land to resist him, he was no less careful to levy a formidable army, and equip a considerable fleet, for the invasion of France. The command of the fleet was entrusted to Sir Edward Howard; who, after scouring the channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy then lay; and he challenged them to a combat. The French admiral, who expected from the Mediterranean a reinforcement of some galleys under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, kept within the harbour, and saw with patience the English burn and destroy the country in the neighbourhood. At last Prejeant arrived with six galleys, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of Brest; where he secured himself behind some batteries, which he had planted on rocks that lay on each side of him. Howard was, notwithstanding, determined to make an attack upon him; and as he had but two galleys, he took himself the command of one, and gave the other to Lord Ferrars. He was followed by some row-barges and some crayers under the command of Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir William Sidney, and other officers of distinction. He immediately fastened on Prejeant's ship, and leaped on board of her, attended by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened his ship to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and as he still continued the combat with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes. Lord Ferrars, seeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other small vessels; and the whole fleet was so discouraged by the loss of their commander, that they retired from before Brest. The French navy

came out of harbour, and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex. They were repulsed, and Prejeant, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow. Lord Howard, brother to the deceased admiral, succeeded to the command of the English fleet; and little memorable passed at sea during this summer.

Great preparations had been making at land, during the whole winter, for an invasion on France by the way of Calais; but the summer was well advanced before every thing was in sufficient readiness for the intended enterprise. The long peace which the kingdom had enjoyed, had somewhat unfitted the English for military expeditions; and the great change which had lately been introduced in the art of war, had rendered it still more difficult to inure them to the use of the weapons now employed in action. The Swiss, and after them the Spaniards, had shown the advantage of a firm infantry, who fought with pike and sword, and were able to repulse even the heavy-armed cavalry, in which the great force of the armies formerly consisted. The practice of fire-arms was become common; though the caliver, which was the weapon now in use, was so inconvenient, and attended with so many disadvantages, that it had not entirely discredited the bow, a weapon in which the English excelled all European nations. A considerable part of the forces which Henry levied for the invasion of France consisted of archers; and as soon as affairs were in readiness, the vanguard of the army, amounting to 8000 men, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, sailed over to Calais. Shrewsbury was accompanied by the earl of Derby, the Lords Fitzwater, Hastings, Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse. Another body of 6000 men soon after followed under the command of Lord Herbert the chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the Lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curson, and other gentlemen.

The king himself seemed to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his absence. That he might secure her administration from all disturbance, he ordered Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the Tower, the nobleman who had been attainted and imprisoned during the late reign. Henry was led to commit this act of violence by the dying commands, as is imagined, of his father, who told him, that he never would be free from danger, while a man of so turbulent a disposition as Suffolk was alive. And as Richard de la Pole, brother of Suffolk, had accepted of a command in the French service, and foolishly attempted to revive the York faction, and to instigate them against the present government, he probably, by that means, drew more suddenly the king's vengeance on this unhappy nobleman.

At last Henry, attended by the duke of Buckingham and many others of the nobility, arrived at Calais, and entered upon his French expedition, from which he fondly expected so much success and glory. Of all those allies on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a sum of money sent them by Henry, and incited by their victories obtained in Italy, and by their animosity against France, they were preparing to enter that kingdom with an army of twenty-five thousand men; and no equal force could be opposed to their incursion. Maximilian had received an advance of 120,000

crowns from Henry, and had promised to reinforce the Swiss with 8000 men; but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the king, he himself appeared in the Low Countries, and joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied forces. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he enlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns a-day, as one of his subjects and captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the camp, the earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert had formed the siege of Teroüane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy; and they began to attack the place with vigour. Teligni and Cregui commanded in the town, and had a garrison not exceeding two thousand men; yet made they such stout resistance as protracted the siege a month; and they at last found themselves more in danger from want of provisions and ammunition, than from the assaults of the besiegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their situation to Lewis, who had advanced to Amiens with his army, that prince gave orders to throw relief into the place. Fonttrailles appeared at the head of 800 horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. With this small force he made a sudden and unexpected irruption into the English camp, and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the fosse of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss in this dangerous attempt.

But the English had, soon after, full revenge for the insult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect another incursion of Fonttrailles: and he ordered some troops to pass the Lis, in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Bussi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners. This action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the "Battle of Spurs, because the French, that day, made more use of their spurs than of their swords or military weapons.

After so considerable an advantage, the king, who was at the head of a complete army of above 50,000 men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris, and spread confusion and desolation every where. It gave Lewis great joy, when he heard that the English, instead of pushing their victory, and attacking the dismayed troops of France, returned to the seige of so inconsiderable a place as Teroüane. The governors were obliged, soon after, to capitulate; and Henry found his acquisition of so little moment, though gained at the expense of some blood, and what, in his present circumstances,



was more important, of much valuable time, that he immediately demolished the fortifications. The anxieties of the French were again revived with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss, at the same time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army, and laid siege to Dijon, which was in no condition to resist them. Ferdinand himself, though he made a truce with Lewis, seemed disposed to lay hold of every advantage which fortune should present to him. Scarcely ever was the French monarchy in greater danger, or less in a condition to defend itself against those powerful armies which on every side assailed or threatened it. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themselves exposed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to dislodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater security.

But Lewis was extricated from his present difficulties by the manifold blunders of his enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be seduced into a negotiation by Tremoille, governor of Burgundy; and, without making enquiry whether that nobleman had any powers to treat, they accepted of the conditions which he offered them. Tremoille, who knew that he should be disavowed by his master, stipulated whatever they were pleased to demand; and thought himself happy, at the expense of some payments and very large promises, to get rid of so formidable an enemy.

The measures of Henry showed equal ignorance in the art of war with that of the Swiss in negotiation. Tournay was a great and rich city, which, though it lay within the frontiers of Flanders, belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Maximilian, who was desirous of freeing his grandson from so troublesome a neighbour, advised Henry to lay siege to the place; and the English monarch, not considering that such an acquisition nowise advanced his conquests in France, was so imprudent as to follow this interested counsel. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garrison, the burghers, against the remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously insisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege: and they engaged, by themselves, to make a vigorous defence against the enemy. Their courage failed them when matters came to a trial; and, after a few days siege, the place was surrendered to the English. The bishop of Tournay was lately dead: and, as a new bishop was already elected by the chapter, but not installed in his office, the king bestowed the administration of the see on his favourite, Wolsey, and put him in immediate possession of the revenues, which were considerable. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss, and observing the season to be far advanced, he thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him. Success had attended him in every enterprise; and his youthful mind was much elated with this seeming prosperity; but all men of judgment, comparing the advantages of his situation with his progress, his expense with his acquisitions, were convinced that this campaign, so much vaunted, was in reality both ruinous and inglorious to him.

The success which, during this summer, had attended Henry's arms in the north, was much more decisive. The king of Scotland had assembled the whole force of his kingdom; and, having passed the Tweed with a brave, though a tumultuary army of above 50,000 men, he ravaged those parts of North-

umberland which lay nearest that river, and he employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of small importance. Lady Ford, being taken prisoner in her castle, was presented to James, and so gained on the affections of the prince, that he wasted in pleasure the critical time which, during the absence of his enemy, he should have employed in pushing his conquests. His troops, lying in a barren country, where they soon consumed all the provisions, began to be pinched with hunger; and, as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military discipline, during that age, extremely relaxed, many of them had stolen from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of 26,000 men, of which 5000 had been sent over from the king's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who lay on some high ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the armies, and prevented an engagement: Surrey, therefore, sent a herald to the Scottish camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain of Milfield, which lay towards the south; and there appoint a day for the combat, to try their valour on equal ground. As he received no satisfactory answer, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick; as if he intended to enter Scotland, to lay waste the borders, and cut off the provisions of the enemy. The Scottish army, in order to prevent his purpose, put themselves in motion; and having set fire to the huts in which they had quartered, they descended from the hills. Surrey, taking advantage of the smoke, which was blown towards him, and which concealed his movements, passed the Till with his artillery and vanguard at the bridge of Twissel, and sent the rest of his army to seek a ford higher up the river.

An engagement was now become inevitable, and both sides prepared for it with tranquillity and order. The English divided their army into two lines: Lord Howard led the main body of the first line, Sir Edmond Howard the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Constable the left. The earl of Surrey himself commanded the main body of the second line, Lord Dacres the right wing, Sir Edward Stanley the left. The front of the Scots presented three divisions to the enemy: the middle was led by the king himself: the right by the earl of Huntly, assisted by Lord Hume: the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. A fourth division, under the earl of Bothwell, made a body of reserve. Huntly began the battle, and, after a sharp conflict, put to flight the left wing of the English, and chased them off the field: but, on returning from the pursuit, he found the whole Scottish army in great disorder. The division under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the success of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong upon the enemy. Not only Sir Edmond Howard, at the head of his division, received them with great valour; but Dacres, who commanded in the second line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the sword without resistance. The division under James, and that under Bothwell, animated by the valour of their leaders, still made head against the English, and, throwing themselves into a circle, protracted the action, till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each side were nearly equal, amounting to above 5000 men: but the

morning discovered where the advantage lay. The English had lost only persons of small note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent enquiry, could no where be found. In searching the field, the English met with a dead body which resembled him, and was arrayed in a similar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin and sent it to London. During some time it was kept unburied; because James died under sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his opposition to the holy see: but, upon Henry's application, who pretended that this prince had, in the instant before his death, discovered signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, however, still asserted, that it was not James's body which was found on the field of battle, but that of one Elphinston, who had been arrayed in arms resembling their king's, in order to divide the attention of the English, and share the danger with his master. It was believed that James had been seen crossing the Tweed at Kelso; and some imagined that he had been killed by the vassals of Lord Hume, whom that nobleman had instigated to commit so enormous a crime. But the populace entertained the opinion that he was still alive, and, having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would soon return and take possession of the throne. The fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots. This victory is known by the name of the battle of Flodden, having been fought near the hill of Flodden, or Flouden, the last of the Cheviot hills, which border on the vale of Tweed.

The earl of Surrey, who had gained Henry so great a victory, was restored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the side of Richard III. Lord Howard was honoured with the title of earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, the king's favourite, whom he had before created Viscount Lisle, was now raised to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolsey, who was both his favourite and his minister, was created bishop of Lincoln. Lord Herbert obtained the title of earl of Worcester; Sir Edward Stanley that of Lord Montague.

Hume praises Henry's magnanimity and forbearance, in not entirely subjecting Scotland; and says that peace was readily granted to Margaret, the widow of the Scottish king, who was appointed regent, but later historians have been able to trace, and willing to expose, the real facts and motives; and, to use the words of Lingard, "By degrees, the Scottish spirit recovered from its depression: the call for revenge was echoed through the nation: several chieftains gathered their retainers; and the devastation of one inroad was repaid by the devastation of another. The queen had been permitted, in conformity with the will of her husband, to assume the regency as guardian to her son James V., an infant, not a year and a half old: but, when it was discovered that her relationship to the king of England did not restrain the hostility of that monarch, the partisans of France proposed to entrust the reins of government to the hands of John, duke of Albany, the son of that Alexander who had been banished by his brother, James III. Six months had not elapsed from the death of her husband, when Margaret was safely delivered of a second son, Alexander, duke of Ross; but, in less than three months afterwards, she displeased both the nation and her brother, by marrying the young earl of Angus, a nobleman who

might indeed boast of a handsome person, but who possessed neither knowledge nor experience, and united with an insatiate ambition the most headstrong passions. This hasty and unequal union deprived her of her most powerful adherents; and a national deputation invited the duke of Albany to assume the government of the kingdom. That prince was a foreigner as well by affection as birth: the whole of his property lay in the kingdom of France; and he stood high in the confidence of the French monarch. His appointment naturally alarmed the king of England, whose interest it was to sever, if it were possible, the ancient connexion between Scotland and France. With this view he exacted both from Lewis, who was at that time employed in soliciting the treaty of alliance, and afterwards from his successor, when he renewed it, a solemn promise that Albany should never be permitted to leave the shores of France. Each of these monarchs complied: and yet the Scots had no sooner accepted the article by which they were comprehended in the treaty, than Albany appeared among them, took on himself the supreme authority, and openly avowed his determined hostility to the queen and her partisans. Henry had already tampered with that princess to bring her children to England, and entrusted them to the care of their uncle: but Albany besieged the castle of Stirling, compelled the queen to surrender the two princes, and placed them under the custody of three lords appointed by parliament."

The French king, fully sensible of the dangerous situation to which his kingdom had been reduced during the former campaign, was resolved, by every expedient, to prevent the return of like perils, and to break the confederacy of his enemies. The pope was nowise disposed to push the French to extremity; and, provided they did not return to take possession of Milan, his interests rather led him to preserve the balance among the contending parties. He accepted, therefore, of Lewis's offer to renounce the council of Lyons; and he took off the excommunication which his predecessor and himself had fulminated against that king and his kingdom. Ferdinand was now fast declining in years; and as he entertained no farther ambition than that of keeping possession of Navarre, which he had subdued by his arms and policy, he readily hearkened to the proposals of Lewis for prolonging the truce another year; and he even shewed an inclination of forming a more intimate connexion with that monarch. Lewis had dropped hints of his intention to marry his second daughter Renée, either to Charles, prince of Spain, or his brother Ferdinand, both of them grandsons of the Spanish monarch; and he declared his resolution of bestowing on her, as her portion, his claim to the duchy of Milan. Ferdinand not only embraced these proposals with joy; but also engaged the emperor, Maximilian, in the same views, and procured his accession to a treaty, which opened so inviting a prospect of aggrandising their common grandchildren.

When Henry was informed of Ferdinand's renewal of the truce with Lewis, he fell into a violent rage, and loudly complained, that his father-in-law had first, by high promises and professions, engaged him in enmity with France, and afterwards, without giving him the least warning, had now again sacrificed his interests to his own selfish purposes, and had left him exposed alone to all the danger and expense of the war. In proportion to his easy credulity, and his unsuspecting reliance on Ferdinand, was



the vehemence with which he exclaimed against the treatment which he met with; and he threatened revenge for this egregious treachery and breach of faith. But he lost all patience when informed of the other negotiation by which Maximilian was also seduced from his alliance, and in which proposals had been agreed to, for the marriage of the prince of Spain with the daughter of France. Charles, during the lifetime of the late king, had been affianced to Mary, Henry's younger sister; and, as the prince now approached the age of puberty, the king had expected the immediate completion of the marriage, and the honourable settlement of a sister, for whom he had entertained a tender affection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries, gave him the highest displeasure, and inspired him with a desire of expressing his disdain towards those who had imposed on his youth and inexperience, and had abused his too great facility.

The duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who was still detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all these dispositions of Henry, in order to procure a peace, and even an alliance, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. He represented to the king that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, a door was thereby opened for an affinity which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, and which would serve to terminate honourably all the differences between them: that she had left Lewis no male children; and as he had ever entertained a strong desire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage seemed more suitable to him than that with the princess of England, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular: that, though the marriage of a princess of sixteen with a king of fifty-three might seem unsuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than a sufficient compensation for this inequality: and that Henry, in loosening his connexions with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a close affinity with Lewis, a prince who, through his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honour.

As Henry seemed to hearken to this discourse with willing ears, Longueville informed his master of the probability which he discovered of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion; and he received full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Richard de la Pole should be banished to Metz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Lewis; that Henry should receive payment of a million crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that the princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France—even the former, who was heiress of Brittany. The two princes also agreed on the succours with which they should mutually supply each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy.

"Mary had already," says Lingard, "by a public instrument renounced the contract made with Charles of Spain in her nuptials: she was now solemnly married to Lewis at Greenwich, where the duke of Longueville personated his sovereign, and soon afterwards at Paris, where the earl of Worcester appeared as her proxy. When the necessary preparations were completed, the duke of Norfolk

conducted her to Lewis at Abbeville; and the parties in person renewed the matrimonial contract in the cathedral. But the next day, to the surprise and disappointment of the new queen, the Lady Guilford, whom she loved as a mother, and her English attendants, with the exception of Anne Boleyn and two others, were ordered to return home. It was in vain that Mary complained to her brother of the unfeeling conduct of Lewis, and of the timid acquiescence of the duke. Henry refused to interfere; and Lewis conducted her to St. Dennis, where she was crowned, and to Paris, where she was received with processions and rejoicings. Though the king had married through policy, he deoted on the beauty of his youthful bride. But his constitution had been enfeebled by hardships and indulgence: his physicians long before his marriage had warned him of his danger; and within three months the amorous monarch sank into the grave. The widow, instead of mourning her loss, sought and obtained a second husband, her former lover the duke of Suffolk, whom Henry had sent to France, to offer his condolence and to bring back his sister to her native country.

"As Lewis died without male issue, Francis count of Angouleme, the next heir, had ascended the throne. At the first audience which he gave to the ambassador, he told Suffolk in private that he was no stranger to the queen's sentiments in his favour; advised him to marry her at Paris; and undertook that his presumption should go unpunished. It is not difficult to discover why Francis should wish Mary to be married immediately, and to a subject. She might perhaps bear a child to dispute his right to the succession: or she might give her hand hereafter to the archduke Charles, and thus add to the power of a prince who already threatened to become a most formidable rival. Suffolk wrote to Wolsey, and sought through that favourite to sound the real disposition, or secure the consent of his sovereign. Mary informed her brother in plain terms, that she had married once to please him, and would either marry now to please herself, or take the religious vows in a convent. With the king's answer we are not acquainted: but she fixed a short term, within which Suffolk was assured he must either take her, or abandon her for ever: on the last day he consented, and privately celebrated the marriage; and the event was communicated to Henry by Francis, who pleaded warmly in favour of the lovers, and by Mary, who, to exonerate her husband, took the whole blame upon herself. To obtain their pardon was not in reality a difficult task. It is certain that Wolsey, and therefore probable that Henry, was in the secret from the beginning: but it had been deemed less reprehensible in the king to forgive afterwards, than to consent beforehand. For some time he kept the lovers in suspense: after a decent interval, affecting to acquiesce, through necessity, in that which he could not prevent, he sealed their pardon, and ordered them to be publicly married before him at Greenwich."

## CHAP. XXXII.

*Wolsey's administration—Progress of Francis I.—Jealousy of Henry—Tournay delivered to France—Wolsey appointed legate—His manner of exercising that office—Death of the emperor Maximilian—Charles king of Spain chosen emperor—Interview between Henry and Francis near Calais—The emperor Charles arrives in England—Mediation of Henry—Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.*

THE numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence, who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people, or to the discontents of the great. That artful prelate likewise, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his master. By entering into the king's pleasures, he preserved his affection; by conducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaisance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealousy to which his exorbitant acquisitions, and his splendid ostentatious train of life, should naturally have given birth. The archbishopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolsey was promoted to that see, and resigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on easy leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a considerable share of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues: the pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, the lustre of his apparel. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trappings of his horses. He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank; and

when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on whose top was placed a cross: but not satisfied with this parade, to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury, contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of these rival sees. The people made merry with the cardinal's ostentation; and said they were now sensible, that one crucifix alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins and offences.

Warham, chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment, than to maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor, and the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.

The duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almost entirely exhausted by projects and pleasures, while his inclination for expense still continued, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox, bishop of Winchester, reaped no advantage from his absence, but, partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly disgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolsey, withdrew himself wholly to the care of his diocese. The duke of Suffolk had also taken offence that the king, by the cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt which he had contracted during his residence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king "not to suffer the servant to be greater than his master:" Henry replied, that "he well knew how to retain all his subjects in obedience;" but he continued still an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counsels of the cardinal.

The public tranquillity was so well established in England, the obedience of the people so entire, the general administration of justice by the cardinal's means so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened considerable enough to disturb the repose of the king and his minister: they might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs, were it possible for men to enjoy any situation in absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprises, however fruitless and unnecessary.

It was foreseen, that a young active prince like Francis, and of so martial a disposition, would soon employ the great preparations which his predecessor before his death had made for the conquest of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaston de Foix; and these tears of emulation were held to be sure presages of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and having left every thing secure behind him, he marched his armies towards the south of France; pretending that his



sole purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. This formidable people still retained their animosity against France; and having taken Maximilian duke of Milan under their protection, and in reality reduced him to absolute dependence, they were determined from views both of honour and of interest, to defend him against the invader. They fortified themselves in all those valleys of the Alps through which they thought the French must necessarily pass; and when Francis, with great secrecy, industry, and perseverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another passage, they were not dismayed, but descended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignano, near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the most furious and best contested battles that is to be met with in the history of these later ages: and it required all the heroic valour of this prince to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the desperate assault of those mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardour; and it was not till they had lost all their bravest troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was strowed with twenty thousand slain on both sides; and the Mareschal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement which he had yet seen was only the play of children; the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes. After this great victory, the conquest of the Milanese was easy and open to Francis.

The success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in Henry; and his rapid progress, though in so distant a country, was not regarded without apprehensions by the English ministry. Italy was, during that age, the seat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it possessed alone that lustre which has since been shared out among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe, and every acquisition which was made there appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power was, strictly speaking, entitled to. Henry also thought that he had reason to complain of Francis for sending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his sister the queen dowager. The repairing of the fortifications of Teroüenne was likewise regarded as a breach of treaty. But above all, what tended to alienate the court of England, was the disgust which Wolsey had entertained against the French monarch.

Henry, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop elect, to the possession of the temporalities, because that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new sovereign; and Wolsey was appointed, as above related, administrator of the bishopric. As the cardinal wished to obtain the free and undisturbed enjoyment of his revenue, he applied to Francis, and desired him to bestow on Gaillart some see of equal value in France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay. Francis, who still hoped to recover possession of that city, and who feared that the full establishment of Wolsey in the bishopric would prove an obstacle to his purpose, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his settlement in the see. Wolsey, who expected to be indulged in every request, and who exacted respect from the greatest princes, resented the slight

put upon him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek an occasion of quarrel with that monarch.

Maximilian the emperor was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterprise; especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly secretary to Cardinal Bamberge, and now secretary of state, was dispatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commission to propose some considerable payments to Maximilian: he thence made a journey into Switzerland, and by like motives engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a considerable army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself in some measure from all future access into Italy. And Henry found, that after expending five or six hundred thousand ducats in order to gratify his own and the cardinal's humour, he had only weakened his alliance with Francis, without diminishing the power of that prince.

There were many reasons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at present in his enmity against France: he could hope for assistance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a speedy period was looked for to the long and prosperous reign of that great monarch. Charles prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries, desired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy. Henry, therefore, was constrained to remain in tranquillity during some time; and seemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into some expense, by offering to make a resignation of the imperial crown in his favour. The artifice was too gross to succeed, even with a prince so little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the sole view of that prince, in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

While an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had been so long looked for, and from which such important consequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions. The more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis sensible of the necessity he himself lay under of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry; and he took at last the only method by which he could obtain success, the paying of court by presents and flattery to the haughty cardinal.

Bonnivet, admiral of France, was dispatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his insinuation and address, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himself a place in Wolsey's good graces. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master's regret, that by mistakes and misapprehensions he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so much valued as that of his eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honourable advances from so great a monarch: and he was thenceforth

observed to express himself on all occasions in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his interests, Francis entered into such confidence with him, that he asked his advice even in his most secret affairs; and had recourse to him in all difficult emergencies as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no secret to the king of this private correspondence; and Henry was so prepossessed in favour of the great capacity of his minister, that he said he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself.

When matters seemed sufficiently prepared, Bonivet opened to the cardinal his master's desire of recovering Tournay; and Wolsey immediately, without hesitation, engaged to effect his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to the king and council, that Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places: that as it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these countries, and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: that even in time of peace it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government: and that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

These reasons were of themselves convincing, and were sure of meeting with no opposition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at a considerable expense in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article: and lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay.

The French monarch having succeeded so well in this negotiation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more considerable advantages, by practising on the vanity and self-conceit of the favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter "father, tutor, governor," and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All these caresses were preparatives to a negotiation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it: and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolsey, on account of his being dispossessed of his employment, and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: he was content to sound privately the

opinion of the other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burthen to the kingdom: but when he found that all men were strongly rivetted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and as he fell soon after into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

The pride of Wolsey was now farther increased by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks, a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interested projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legatine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with suspending all the laws of the church during a twelve-month. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast days he was not content without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: not only he had bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to that which had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the primate, having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself "your loving brother," Wolsey complained of his presumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. "Know ye not," said he, "that this man is drunk with too much prosperity?"

Hume proceeds to charge Wolsey with gross corruption in the discharge of this office; but confesses, again, that his statements are extracted from Polydore Virgil, who had fallen under his displeasure, and had been imprisoned by him; and whose whole history manifests great acrimony against the cardinal. Mackintosh says, "His administration of justice as chancellor has been celebrated by those who forget how simple the functions of that office probably then were; and his rigid enforcement of criminal justice appears only to have been a part of that harsh, but, perhaps, needful process, by which the Tudor princes rather extirpated, than punished, criminals, in order to reclaim the people from the long license of civil wars." Other historians have said, perhaps with more justice, to maintain the dominion of an imperious family over a turbulent aristocracy and a bold people.

While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, entrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died; a man who, of himself, was indeed of little consequence; but, as his death left vacant the first station among Christian princes, it set the passions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of æra in the general system of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promised them success in so great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to advance



his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was dispatched to the electors, found that he began to solicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on one side or the other.

Francis and Charles made profession from the beginning of carrying on this rivalry with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, suitors to the same mistress: the more fortunate, added he, will carry her; the other must rest contented. But all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reasonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to sharpen the minds of the candidates against each other. It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great disgust of the French monarch, who still continued to the last in the belief that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And as he was some years superior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan and conquest of the Milanese, much superior in renown, he could not suppress his indignation at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, disappointed in so important a pretension. From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs which, while it kept their whole age in movement, sets them in so remarkable a contrast to each other: both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring, active, warlike: beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negotiations, especially the latter. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch. The king, from his oversights and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himself from them with honour: the emperor, by his designing interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rouse up a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had subdued. And as the personal qualities of these princes thus counterpoised each other, so did the advantages and disadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a sudden, so great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands: he inherited the conquest of Naples, of Grenada: election entitled him to the empire: even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unruined, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

Henry possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and

had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though he exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

Francis was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He solicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendour, and his influence over both monarchs. And as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expense: many of them involved themselves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain splendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, threw out some expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that measure: an imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister.

While Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, in order to give a suitable reception to his royal guest. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and was resolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king still a higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove, by every testimony of friendship, by flattery, protestations, promises, and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He here instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the sole point of elevation beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardour as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her presents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promises, because Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely that, for many years, he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry easily observed this courtship paid to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a subject of vanity; and believed that, as his favour was Wolsey's sole support, the obedience of such mighty monarchs to his servant, was in reality a more conspicuous homage to his own grandeur.

The day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and

thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale: for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had entrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance, in order to do honour to his master. The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense, as procured to the place of interview the name of "the field of the cloth of gold."

The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpose, and there held a secret conference together. Henry here proposed to make some amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, "I Henry King:" these were the first words; and he stopped a moment. He subjoined only the words "of England," without adding "France," the usual style of the English monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed by a smile his approbation of it.

He took an opportunity soon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himself, and incapable of distrusting others, was shocked at all the precautions which were observed, whenever he had an interview with the English monarch: the number of their guards and attendants were carefully reckoned on both sides: every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted: and if the two kings intended to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their respective quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained so many dishonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guisnes. The guards were surprised at the presence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, "you are all my prisoners: carry me to your master." Henry was equally astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," said he, "you have here played me the most agreeable trick in the world, and have showed me the full confidence I may place in you: I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth 15,000 angels\*; and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar. The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and apparent confidence being now established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time in tournaments and festivals.

A defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt,

\* An angel was then estimated at seven shillings, or near twelve of our present money.

tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback, Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the encounter whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feasted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it, *Cui adhæro præest; He prevails whom I favour*: expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments, more than in any serious business, did the two kings pass their time till their departure.

Henry paid then a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pass some days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impression, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which Francis had given birth. As the house of Austria began sensibly to take the ascendancy over the French monarchy, the interests of England required, that some support should be given to the latter, and, above all, that any important wars should be prevented, which might bestow on either of them a decisive superiority over the other. But the jealousy of the English against France has usually prevented a cordial union between these nations: and Charles, sensible of this hereditary animosity, and desirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur), that he should be entirely arbiter in any dispute or difference that might arise between the monarchs. But the masterpiece of Charles's politics was the securing of Wolsey in his interests, by very important services, and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajoz and Placencia in Castile. The acquisitions of Wolsey were now become so exorbitant, that, joined to the pensions from foreign powers which Henry allowed him to possess, his revenues were computed nearly equal to those which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them with a magnificence, or rather an ostentation, which gave general offence to the people, and even lessened his master in the eyes of all foreign nations.

The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king soon broke out in hostilities. But while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprised of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unrea-



sonable, as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom: and he demanded to be freed from the homage which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated, that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

Speaking of the trial of the duke of Buckingham, which took place about this time, Hallam remarks, "Hume, who is favourable to Wolsey, says, 'There is no reason to think the sentence against Buckingham unjust.' But no one who reads the trial will find any evidence to satisfy a reasonable mind; and Hume himself soon after adds, that his crime proceeded more from indiscretion than deliberate malice. In fact, the condemnation of this great noble was owing to Wolsey's resentment acting on the savage temper of Henry."

The following particulars are from Mackintosh, whose opinion is particularly valuable on points connected with law. "Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was the fifth in descent from Anne Plantagenet, daughter and heiress of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of King Edward III. The line of his pedigree is marked in civil blood. His father was beheaded by Richard III.; his grandfather was killed at the battle of St. Alban's; his great grandfather at the battle of Northampton; and the father of this last at the battle of Shrewsbury. More than a century had elapsed since any chief of this great family had fallen by a natural death,—a pedigree which may be sufficient to characterise an age. Edward was doomed to no milder fate than his forefathers. Knivett, a discarded officer of Buckingham's household, furnished information to Wolsey, which led to the apprehension of his late master. As those who are perfidious must submit to the suspicion that they may likewise be false, it may be safely assumed that Knivett gave the darkest colour to whatever unguarded language might have fallen from his ill-fated lord. The most serious charges against that nobleman were, that he had consulted a monk about future events; that he had declared all the acts of Henry VII. to be wrongfully done; that he had told Knivett, that if he had been sent to the Tower when he was in danger of being committed, he would have played the part which his father had intended to perform at Salisbury; where, if he could have obtained an audience, he would have stabbed Richard III. with a knife; and that he had told Lord Abergavenny, if the king died he would have the rule of the land. All these supposed offences, if they could be blended together, did not amount

to an overt act of high treason; even if we suppose the consultation of the soothsayer to relate to the time of the king's death. The only serious imputation on his prudence rests on the testimony of the spy. Buckingham confessed the real amount of his absurd enquiries from the friar. He defended himself with eloquence. He was tried in the court of the lord high steward, by a jury of peers, consisting of one duke, one marquess, seven earls, and twelve barons, who convicted him; although the facts, if true, amounted to no more than proofs of indiscretion and symptoms of discontent. The duke of Norfolk, lord steward for the occasion, shed tears on pronouncing sentence. The prisoner said, 'May the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do!' The only favour which he could obtain was, that the ignominious part of a traitor's death should be remitted. He was accordingly beheaded on the 17th of May, 1521; while the surrounding people vented their indignation against Wolsey by loud cries of 'The butcher's son!'

## CHAP. XXXIII.

### HENRY VIII.

*Rise and progress of the reformation—Martin Luther—Henry receives the title of defender of the faith—War with France—Invasion of France—War with Scotland—A parliament—Invasion of France—Italian wars—The king of France invades Italy—Battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis—Francis recovers his liberty—Sack of Rome—League with France.*

THE following account of the "Rise and Progress of the Reformation" is taken from Mackintosh, as he, of all our historians, appears to have given the most luminous and most just narration of that important event.

"The reformation of religion in the sixteenth century, when regarded only from a civil point of view, is doubtless one of the most memorable transactions in the history of the civilised and christian world. For a century and a half almost all the important wars of Europe originated in the mutual animosity of the christian parties.

"All the inventions and discoveries of man are only various exertions of his mental powers; they depend solely upon the improvement of his reason. With the vigour of reason must keep pace the probability of adding new discoveries to our stock of truth, and of applying some of them to the enjoyment and ornament, as well as to the more serious and exalted uses of human life. By a parity of reasoning we perceive, that those who remove impediments on the road to truth as certainly contribute to advance its general progress, as if they were directly employing the same degree of sagacity in the pursuit of a particular discovery. The contrary may be affirmed of all those who create hindrances to free, fearless, calm, unprejudiced, and dispassionate enquiry: they lessen the stores of knowledge; they relax the vigour of every intellectual effort; they abate the chances of future discovery.

"Every impediment to the utmost liberty of enquiry or discussion, whether it consists in the fear of punishment, in bodily restraint, in dread of the mischievous effects of new truth, or in the submission of reason to beings of the like frailties with ourselves, always, in proportion to its magnitude, robs a man of some share of his rational and moral nature.

" Truth is not often dug up with ease: when it is a general object of aversion,—when it is represented as an immoral or even impious search,—the difficulties that impede our labours are increased; the most irresistible passions of our nature, and the most lasting interests of society, conspire against improvement of mind; and it is thought a crime to ascertain what is generally advantageous, though thereby only can be learned the arduous art of doing good with the least alloy of evil.

" The reformation of 1517 was the first successful example of resistance to human authority. The reformers discovered the free use of reason; the principle came forth with the Lutheran revolution, but it was so confused and obscured by prejudice, by habit, by sophistry, by inhuman hatred, and by slavish prostration of mind, to say nothing of the capricious singularities and fantastic conceits which spring up so plentifully in ages of reformation, that its chiefs were long unconscious of the potent spirit which they had set free. It is not yet wholly extricated from the impurities which followed it into the world. Every reformer has erected, all his followers have laboured to support, a little papacy in their own community. The founders of each sect owned, indeed, that they had themselves revolted against the most ancient and universal authorities of the world; but they, happy men! had learnt all truth, they therefore forbade all attempts to enlarge her stores, and drew the line beyond which human reason must no longer be allowed to cast a glance.

" The popish authority claimed by Lutherans and Calvinists was indeed more odious and more unreasonable, because more self-contradictory, than that which the ancient church inherited through a long line of ages; inasmuch as the reformers did not pretend to infallibility, perhaps the only advantage, if it were real, which might in some degree compensate for the blessings of an independent mind; and they now punished with death those dissenters who had only followed the examples of the most renowned of protestant reformers, by a rebellion against authority for the sake of maintaining the paramount sovereignty of reason.

" The flagrant inconsistency of all protestant intolerance is a poison in its veins which must destroy it. The clerical despotism was directly applicable only to works on theology; but, as religion is the standard of morality, all great subjects were interdicted, and the human mind, enfeebled and degraded by this interdict, was left with its cramped and palsied faculties to deal with inferior questions, on condition even then of keeping out of view every truth capable of being represented as dangerous to any dogma of the established system. The sufferings of the Wickliffites, the Vaudois, and the Bohemians, seemed indeed to have fully proved the impossibility of extinguishing opinion by any persecution in which a large body of men can long concur. But the two centuries which followed the preaching of Luther, taught us, by one of the most sanguinary and terrific lessons of human experience, that in the case of assaults on mental liberty, providence has guarded that paramount privilege of intelligent beings, by confining the crimes of mankind, as it has seen fit for a season to allow that their virtues should be circumscribed. Extirpation is the only persecution which can be successful, or even not destructive of its own object. Extirpation is conceivable; but the extirpation of a numerous sect is not the work of a moment. The perseverance of great bodies in such a process, for a sufficient time, and with the neces-

sary fierceness, is happily impracticable. Rulers are mortal: shades of difference in capacity, character, opinion, arise among their successors. Aristocracies themselves, the steadiest adherents to established maxims and revered principles of rule, are exposed to the contagion of the times. Julius aimed at Italian conquest; Leo thought only of art and pleasure: Adrian burned alike with zeal for reforming the clergy and for maintaining the faith. Higher causes are in action for the same purpose. If pity could be utterly rooted out, and conscience struck dumb; if mercy were banished, and fellow feeling with our brethren were extinguished; if religion could be transformed into bigotry, and justice had relapsed into barbarous revenge, even in that direful state, the infirmities, nay, the vices, of men, indolence, vanity, weariness, inconstancy, distrust, suspicion, fear, anger, mutual hatred, and hostile contest, would do some part of the work of the exiled virtues, and dissolve the league of persecution long before they could exterminate the conscientious.

" Many causes had combined to prepare the soil for the reformation. Even the subtleties of the schools, and their appeal to the authority of a pagan reasoner, raised up against the papacy and the priests a rivalry, which was followed, in the first instance, by the masters of the Roman law, and afterwards by the revivers of ancient literature. The council of Constance, though cruel persecutors of those who outran their own dissent, yet asserted the jurisdiction of councils over popes, even so far as to maintain not only their power to condemn the errors of pontiffs, but even their authority to depose, elect, or otherwise chastise the sovereign pontiffs. A predisposition against the ecclesiastical claims had prevailed so generally and reached so high, that the emperor Maximilian himself was not indisposed to the new opinions. The kindness and patronage immediately granted to the great heresiarch by the excellent elector of Saxony, seems either to indicate some previous concert, or to evince so extensive an alienation from the clergy, that express words were not needful.

" The letters of Erasmus, the prince of the restorers of literature, who gave too much proof of preferring peace to truth, bear the weightiest testimony to the joy and thanks of European scholars at the hopes of deliverance held out by the Saxon reformation, during its earliest and most pacific period. At the same time, with an excess of wariness not suited to the temperament of his correspondent, he exhorts Luther to observe more moderate and temperate language, and to attack the papal agents more than the holy see itself. In the first negotiations of the papal agents with the heretical chiefs, it was insinuated by the former, that their opponents might maintain their doctrines in the private disputations of the learned, if they would only desist from the mischievous practice of inflaming the ignorant by preaching or writing on such subjects. These suggestions were natural to the statesmen, the courtiers, and the semi-pagan scholars of the court of Leo, at a time when a double doctrine and a system of secret opinions had rendered the well-educated among the Italians unbelievers, who regarded the ignorant as doomed to be their dupes, and thought the art of deluding the multitude beneficial to most men, as well as easy and agreeable to their rulers.

" But Martin Luther was of a character thoroughly exempt from falsehood, duplicity, and hypocrisy.



Educated in the subtleties of schools and the severities of cloisters, he annexed an undue importance to his own controversies, and was too little acquainted with the affairs of the world, to see the manner in which they might be disturbed by such disputes. It is very probable, that, if he had perceived it, his logical obstinacy would unwillingly, if at all, have sacrificed a syllogism to a public interest. Two extraordinary circumstances appeared a little before this time, so opportunely, that they might be said to be presented to him as instruments for the accomplishment of his purpose: these were, the invention of the art of printing, and the use of the German tongue in addresses to the people. His ordinary duties led him to make weekly addresses to all classes. The use of the vernacular language rendered him as easily understood by the low as by the high; and printing had so lessened the cost of copying, that the poorest man, or club, or society, could buy a copy of his sermons and tracts, which were written with clearness and brevity, as well as with such a mastery over his language, as to have raised the spoken dialect of his own province into the literary language of Germany, and to rank him as the first of the writers who have disclosed the treasures of that copious and nervous tongue. These distinctions he doubtless owed partly to the veneration entertained for his translation of the Scriptures, and partly to popular tracts, which were not only most skilfully adapted to the capacity of the multitude, but perhaps too much accommodated to their taste by a plentiful seasoning of those personalities and scurrilities, which, though they promoted his purpose for the time, cannot be perused without displeasure by his warmest admirers in succeeding ages.

"This great reformer of mankind was born at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeldt, in the year 1483, about thirty years after the invention of printing, and about twelve before the discoveries of America and of a maritime road to India; a time when the papacy had not recovered the blow struck against it by the council of Constance; and sufficiently late to draw help from the revival of ancient literature, which the writings of Erasmus show to have been spread beyond the Alps, and even beyond the Rhine. The ardour of his mind, the elevation of his genius, and the meditative character of his country, early led him to that contemplation of the vast and the invisible, to that aspiring pursuit of the perfect and the boundless, which lift the soul of man above the vulgar objects of sense and appetite, of fear and ambition.

"The fate of a comrade, who was struck dead by lightning while walking in the fields with Luther,

at the eccentricities of genius, provided mirroring hearers and

"In 1510 he visited a monastery, where he was sincere and fervent at with wonder at brethren, who hurried. It was not, however, any public opposition by the church. The issue and sale of money adequate to church at Rome. They had been granted in earlier times and the only efficacy was grounded on the instead of the offer of ecclesiastical law in a moral punishment council taught that for future offences, in addition to those punishments may finally empty the moral world. While, however, and within the community, they saw the unseen world, by the to a part, or to the minds of imperfect produce of the individual destined for pious: they were apparent consideration be deemed favourable caution and decorum the distributors of the professed principles threw off all the reverence of former times practice safe, or in

"The execution many was intrusted abuses to which the conspicuous. Tet distributors, vend exaggeration and Wittemberg was on his journey. A the integrity, the of Luther. A great his dwelling, with could receive from country remote, and

which is the basis of all ethical judgment, and by the power of which he struck a mortal blow at superstition: "Men are not made truly righteous by performing certain actions which are externally good; but men must have righteous principles in the first place, and then they will not fail to perform virtuous actions." Whether Luther rightly understood the passages of the New Testament on which he founded the peculiar doctrines for the sake of which he advanced this comprehensive principle, is a question of pure theology, not in the province of history to answer. But the general terms which are here used enunciate a proposition equally certain and sublime; the basis of all pure ethics, the cement of eternal alliance between morality and religion, and the badge of the independence of both on the low motives and dim insight of human laws. Luther, in a more specific application of his principle, used it to convey his doctrine of justification by faith; but the very generality of his own terms proves the applicability of the principle to be far more extensive.

"He saw the pure moral principle in its religious form; but his words enounce it as it exists in itself, independent of all application. He did not perceive that this doctrine rendered the use of fear and force to make men more virtuous and religious, the most absurd of all impossible attempts; since virtue and religion have their seats in an inviolable sanctuary, which neither force nor fear can approach; and that it placed in the clearest light the natural unfitness of law, which seeks only to restrain outward acts, and which has, indeed, no means of going farther, for a coalition with those purer and more elevated principles which regard human actions as only valuable when they are the outward and visible signs of inward and mental excellence.

"But it is evident that a mind engrossed by considerations of this nature was not in a mood to endure with patience the monstrous language of Tetzels. Luther had not travelled in search of grievances; he had even buried in respectful silence the result of his observation on the immorality and irreligion of Rome. He was assailed at home by representations, which, if our accounts be accurate, were little less than dissuaves from the cultivation of virtuous dispositions. It is now no longer contended that he was instigated by resentment at a supposed transfer of the distribution of indulgences to the Dominicans, from his own order the Augustinians, who, in truth, had very seldom enjoyed that privilege. It had been chiefly in the hands of the Dominicans for two hundred years, and only bestowed on one Augustinian for more than half a century before Luther.

"He published in 1517 ninety-five theses, in the usual form of themes for disputation, in which he impugned the abuse of indulgences, and denied the

into the enemy's country. No other effecting the most temperate amendment in his possession; his option lay between Rome, and the destruction of Rome. Fortunately for the success of his mission, the reformer, penetrating, inventive, so brave as he was, had little of the timidity of intellectual adventurers who, often at the cost of truth, and almost always at the cost of usefulness, affect singularity in all their more solicitous to appear original, than certain additions to the stock of knowledge and well-being. In the gradual progress of the Reformation, thus naturally arose, the variations in the deeds at different stages of it are no proof, but rather, by being gradual, afford that they were considerate; and they still inspire suspicion of insincerity against one of the boldest of men. Nothing can be a stronger proof of his honesty than the language many years after spoke of his own or 'I allow these propositions still to stand, though it may appear how weak I was, fluctuating a state of mind I was when I began this business. I was then a monk and ready to murder any person who denied the pope.' For about three years after the publication of Luther's theses, the controversy did not proceed to extremities again; Luther originally smiled at the little squabble, and was wont to say, 'Brother Martin is a fine genius; but these are only the seeds of controversy.' He despised this controversy so long that it was too late either for timely concession, or for directly destroying the heresy, which might have strangled if he had seized it in its cradle. At last he was persuaded by the probably by the politicians, of his court, of which the example might become dangerous.

"On the 15th of June, 1520, he issued a papal bull, in which forty-five propositions from the writings of Luther, were declared heretical; and if he himself did not retract within sixty days, he was pronounced to be a heretic, was excommunicated, and was declared Satan for the destruction of his flesh; princes were required, under pain of the same penalties, with the forfeiture of their estates, to seize his person, that he might be executed as he deserved.

"To follow Luther through the perils he braved, and the sufferings which he endured, would lead us too far from our proper province of justice to him, the civil historian should show the benefits which accrued to the moral state of society, from the principle on which, he founded his doctrine—that all men are



passionate and conscientious frame of mind. Where these are wanting, outward acts can make no compensation for their absence; because the mental qualities themselves are the sole objects of moral approbation. When the whole moral value of outward acts is ascribed to the dispositions and intentions, which, in the case of our fellows, we can understand only from the language of their habitual conduct, it becomes impossible for any reasonable being to harbour so vain a conceit, as that he can compromise with his conscience for deficiency in one duty by practising more of another. From the promulgation of this principle, therefore, may be dated the downfall of superstition, which is founded on commutations, compromises, exchanges, substitutes for a pure mind, fatal to morality; and upon the exaggerated estimate of practices, more or less useful, but never beneficial otherwise than as means.

“Ulrich Zuinglius, a Swiss priest, preached against indulgences about the same time with Luther himself. He inculcated milder doctrines, and was distinguished by a more charitable spirit, than any other reformer; but though some of his opinions have been adopted by many protestants, his premature death prevented him from establishing an ascendancy even in his own country. The sceptre of the reformation in Switzerland fell into the powerful hands of John Calvin, or Jean Chauvin, a native of Noyon, in Picardy, who, in 1534, established the protestant religion and a democratical form of government in the city of Geneva. The second of the German reformers was Melancthon, or Schwarzerde, one of the restorers of ancient learning, who did much to recover Grecian philosophy from the mountainous masses under which it lay buried among the schoolmen, but who would have been of too gentle a spirit for an age of reformation, if that very gentleness had not disposed him to seek steadiness in submission to the commanding and energetic genius of Luther. After the death of his master, he, like Zuinglius, rejected the stern dogma of absolute predestination, in which he has been followed by the Lutheran body, leaving it to become, in after ages, the distinction of the followers of Calvin, and still more of his successor Beza, or Théodore de Bèze, a Burgundian.

“At a somewhat later moment, the whole body of dissenters from the Roman Catholic church received the name of protestants, from their common protest against an intolerant edict of the imperial diet held at Spire.

“The Lutherans called themselves evangelical christians, from their profession of drawing their doctrines from the scriptures alone. They were called followers of the confession of Augsburg, from a confession of their faith delivered to the diet in that city by Melancthon. The followers of Calvin assumed the designation of the reformed church, perhaps with the intention of marking more strongly that they had made more changes in church government than their protestant brethren. A Calvinist and a presbyterian became in England synonymous terms. The word Calvinist now denotes all who, in any protestant communion, embrace the doctrine of absolute predestination. It is synonymous with predestinarian. Many episcopalians are now Calvinists; many presbyterians are anti-Calvinists.

“The subject of fiercest controversy among protestants was the nature of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. A rejection by all protestants of the ancient doctrine or language, which represented the bread and wine to be, in that sacred rite, tran-

substantiated into the body and blood of Christ, was, of all protestant deviations, that which most excited the dread and horror of pious catholics, who considered the heretics as thus cutting asunder the closest ties which bound the devout heart to the Deity. Yet Luther only substituted one unintelligible term, ‘consubstantiation,’ for the more ancient but equally unintelligible term, ‘transubstantiation.’ Even Calvin paid so much regard to ancient dogmas, as to maintain the ‘real’ though not ‘bodily’ presence of the ‘body’ of Christ in the sacrament; and the church of England, in her solicitude to avoid extreme opinions, and to reject no language associated with devotion, has not altogether avoided the same incomprehensible and seemingly contradictory forms of speech. Zuinglius, and some of the Lutherans, who openly declared their conviction that this venerable rite was merely a commemoration of the death of Christ, were the only reformers who made a substantial alteration in the old creed, and expressed themselves, on this subject at least, with perfect perspicuity.

“Erasmus, the prince of European scholars, was in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the full maturity of his fame, when Luther began to preach the reformation at Wittenberg. No man had more severely lashed the superstitions which were misallied acts of piety, or scourged the frauds and debaucheries of the priesthood with a more vigorous arm. The ridicule which he so plentifully poured on the monks during his residence in England doubtless contributed to their easy overthrow in this country. He was pleased with Luther as long as the reformer confined himself to the amendment of faults, without impugning the authority, or assailing the constitution of the church. Erasmus, however, as early as 1520, informed Luther that he did not court martyrdom, for which he felt himself to be unfit; that he would rather be mistaken in some points, than fight for truth at the expense of division and disturbance; that he should not separate from the church of Rome, though he was very desirous that her errors should be amended by her own established authorities. Nor was the demeanour of the Saxon reformer towards this illustrious scholar, in the beginning, worthy of much censure. Erasmus was not required to commit any absolute breach of the neutrality which his age and character seemed to impose on him. But, when all differences had been widened by the excesses of the German boors and of the Dutch anabaptists, Erasmus recoiled more violently from approaches to the Lutherans. Though the monks abated nought of their hatred, the Roman politicians felt the necessity of courting the dictator of literature; they appealed to former good offices; they held out the hope of further favours. Their displeasure was still formidable, and Erasmus, it must be owned with regret, made too large sacrifices to his poverty and his fears. On the other hand, every concession or approach to the ancient church was treated as an act not only of insincerity, but an example of apostasy and desertion; charge which, as he never enlisted in the Lutheran army, he did not strictly deserve. He was incensed at their invectives; yet even then he deplored the dreadful bloodshed which attended the suppression of the boors' revolt, in which a hundred thousand persons were put to death. In his latter years, a cardinal's hat was offered to him: he declined it; but it is not to be denied that, if the convulsions of the age did not make him a true papist, at least they rendered him a member of the papal faction.

haps he did not dare to form decisive opinions concerning fiercely controverted dogmas in theology. He was accused, but without proof, of unbelief in the Trinity. The creed which he had brought his mind to embrace distinctly seems to have been short and simple; and that of which he would have desired a profession from others would probably have comprehended the greater part of Christian communities. He died in 1536 in the sixty-ninth year of his age—certainly not reconciled to Luther by the cruel murder of his illustrious friend Sir Thomas More, the last and most mournful event of which he lived to be a witness. It may be said of him, without the suspicions of exaggeration, that his learning, his powers of reason, imagination, and wit, were in his own age unmatched, that his attainments were stupendous, and that, if his lot had fallen on happier times, his faults and infirmities would have been lost in the mild lustre of the neighbouring and kindred virtues.

"The Calvinists adopted a democratic constitution for their church, in which all the ministers were of equal rank and power. The Lutherans retained bishops, but very limited in jurisdiction, and much lowered in revenue. The church of England, generally but prudently and moderately inclining to an agreement with Calvin in doctrine, retained the same ranks of secular clergy, and much of the same forms of public worship, which prevailed in the ancient church: while she, in some respects, enlarged episcopal authority by releasing it from the supreme jurisdiction of the see of Rome.

"It is unfit to continue these sketches of ecclesiastical history, brief as they must needs be. It will, however, be necessary to return to them when their influence on the affairs of England becomes more conspicuous. The civil history of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the prevalent opinions of the eighteenth, and the revived activity of principles of reformation in the nineteenth, are all of them unintelligible without reference to the opinions and disputes of religious parties.

"A revolt of the boors of Suabia in the year 1525, spread alarm through Germany, and was triumphantly appealed to by the antagonists of the reformation as a decisive proof of the fatal tendency of its anarchical principles. These unhappy peasants were in a state of villanage; the grievances from which they prayed for deliverance were real and great. Among the most conspicuous of their demands were, emancipation from personal bondage, the right of electing their religious teachers, that of killing untamed animals without the restraint of game laws, and a participation of the people with the clergy in tithes which they desired to limit to corn alone. These demands were in themselves not unreasonable, though urged by armed revolvers. The conduct of Luther at this trying moment was unexceptionable; he condemned altogether the insurgents, and earnestly exhorted their lords to humanity and forbearance. If he departed somewhat from 'fair equality, fraternal law,' it was in favour of the hard masters; to which extreme he was driven by his solicitude to rescue the reformation from the charge of fomenting rebellion. His policy, however, was vain; his antagonists were not to be conciliated. If he was silent or cool he was said to connive at the rebellion; if it continued to rage in spite of his warmest censures, he was said to show that the principles of anarchy inherent in revolt against religion rendered the protestant boors ungovernable by their own favourite leaders. The lords subdued the re-

billion; and, according to the usage in like cases, disregarded the grievances, while they drowned the revolt in a deluge of blood.

"Such disorders are incident to the greatest and most beneficial movements of the human mind; because such movements awaken the strongest interests and excite the deepest passions of multitudes; and are often as much perverted by the expectations and the violences of ignorant and impatient supporters as they are by the systematical resistance or avowed enemies. It sometimes happens, that the very grievousness of the evils unfits the sufferers for the perilous remedies which are alone efficacious; because, as in the case of the German boors, it disables them from applying these ambiguous agents with the moderation and caution which are seldom joined to the spirit of political enterprise. Poisons are often efficacious remedies; but their powers of destruction are quickly restored by a slight excess in their use.

"While the enemies of the reformation were exulting over the violence of the oppressed boors, the better and more natural fruits of it sprang up in all those situations where the soil was well prepared to receive it. The greatest of the imperial cities which, from Strasburgh and Cologne to Hamburg, preserved a republican constitution, adopted the Lutheran protest against the papacy. The Low Countries, containing the most industrious and opulent communities to the northward of the Alps, showed, like the German towns, that the disposition to religious liberty, which began to steal unperceived on the partisans of the reformation, was best received, and most heartily welcomed, by the commercial interest—that new and rising portion of the community, the mere fact of whose growth indicated the advances of civilization. Of the two monarchies of the North, then among the most free governments of Europe, Denmark was the first to embrace the Lutheran doctrine (1522); and in Sweden (1526) Gustavus Vasa, who delivered his country from a foreign yoke, and bestowed on it the blessings of civil liberty, paved the way for religious freedom by the introduction of the protestant religion."

It may not, on so important a subject as the reformation, be improper to slightly notice a few of the opinions of our other historians, as to what were the main causes of that event. Lingard urges the schisms of the Augustine and Dominican friars, the last of whom were confided with the profitable agency or the indulgences, to the great anger of the former. Luther was of the Augustine brotherhood, and is represented as the disciple if not at first the tool of Staupitz, the vicar of that order, who felt aggrieved that the lucrative office of collecting the contributions had been bestowed on Tetzel, vicar of the Dominican order. The following are the principal circumstances which this catholic historian dwells on:

"1. There existed in Germany a very prevalent feeling of disaffection to the see of Rome. The violent contests between the popes and the emperors in former times had left a germ of discontent, which required but little aid to shoot into open hostility: and the minds of men had of late years been embittered by frequent but useless complaints of the expedients devised by the papal court to fill its treasury at the expense of the natives.

"2. The chief of the German prelates were at the same time secular princes: and, as they had been promoted more on account of their birth than their merit, they frequently seemed to merge their spiritual in their temporal character. Hence the



neglected the episcopal functions; the clergy, almost free from restraint, became illiterate and immoral; and the people ceasing to respect those whom they could not esteem, inveighed against the riches of the church, complained of the severity with which the clerical dues were exacted in the spiritual courts, and loudly called for the removal of many real or imaginary grievances, which arose from the demands of the popes and the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction, and which for years had been the subject of consultations, of remonstrances, and even menaces. These attempts had indeed failed: but the success of Luther revived the hopes of the discontented; and thousands ranged themselves under the banner of the innovators without any idea of trenching on the ancient faith, and led solely by the hope of reforming abuses.

"3. The recent invention of printing, by multiplying the copies of books and the number of readers, had given a new and extraordinary impulse to the powers and passions of men, who began to conceive that their ancestors had been kept not only in intellectual but also in civil thralldom. Works descriptive of their rights were circulated and read with avidity: the oppression exercised by their rulers, and the redress of their grievances, became the ordinary topics of conversation: and the inferior nobles in each state laboured to emancipate themselves from the control of their princes, and to establish their dependence on the empire alone. All Germany was in a ferment: and Luther converted the general feeling to his own purpose with admirable address. They contended for civil, he for religious liberty. Both had a similar object in view; both ought to support each other. The titles which he gave to his works aided his purpose. He wrote of "Christian freedom," and against the "Bondage of Babylon;" liberty was constantly in his mouth and in his writings: and he solemnly protested, that his only object was to free mankind from the intolerable despotism of the church of Rome. These acts wrought the desired effect: and though at first few of the princes became proselytes, the great body of the German nobles applauded and seconded his attempts.

"4. Since the revival of letters, there had arisen in Germany a numerous body of scholars, called humanists, who devoted themselves to the study of the classics, and exercised an extensive sway over the public mind. The bitterest enmity had for some years existed between them and the theologians: and the opprobrious terms of "barbarian and infidel," were the appellations by which the combatants usually distinguished each other. But of all the theologians, the Dominican friars were peculiar objects of hatred and ridicule to the humanists, because the former, as censors of books, frequently suppressed or corrected the works of the latter. Hence these almost without exception, professed themselves the admirers of Luther, and enjoyed the distress to which the new preacher often reduced his antagonists. As the humanists alone possessed the charms of style, their works in his favour were generally read: while the writings of the theologians, composed in the uninviting language of the schools, were seldom perused, and still more seldom understood. Moreover the press was entirely at their command; and we are assured that it was with difficulty the opponents of Luther could find a printer to publish their works. Even the great scholars who were cherished by the patronage of Leo remained for years indifferent spectators of the dispute: nor was it till ex-

perience had convinced them of their own imprudence, that they condescended to engage in the contest when it was too late to arrest the progress of their adversary."

Hallam confines himself chiefly to its progress in England, and in accordance with most other writers, attributes its success to the remains of Lollardism and the refusal of the church of Rome to sanction the divorce of Catherine. Hume proceeds as follows:

As there still subsisted in England great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who in his writings spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author: he opposed himself, therefore, to the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him: he even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs, especially those in the flower of their age and force of their passions. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard; and conferred on him the title of "defender of the faith;" an appellation still retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controversy, soon published an answer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of style to which in the course of his polemics he had so long been accustomed. The king by this ill-usages was still more prejudiced against the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the dispute. And as the controversy became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists, it drew still more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

The quick and surprising progress of this bold sect, may justly in part be ascribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: not that reason bore any considerable share in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish church: for of all branches of literature philosophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the most inconsiderable progress; neither is there any instance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of absurdity with which superstition has every where overwhelmed them: not to mention, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, prove sufficiently that it owed not its success to reason and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art the books of Luther and his sectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, somewhat awakened from a profound sleep of so many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path which was opened to them. And as copies of the scriptures and other ancient monuments of the Christian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were

introduced after the first centuries; and though argument and reasoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well supported, was able to make impression on their understandings. Many of the powers, indeed, assumed by the church of Rome, were very ancient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe: but as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they could, without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity.

In order to bestow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not satisfied with opposing the pretended divinity of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniences of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their ancestors as abominable, detestable, damnable; foretold by sacred writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They denominated the pope antichrist, called his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions which, however applied, were to be found in scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid arguments. Excited by contest and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremity their opposition to the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, inward vision, rapture, and ecstasy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable in some respect to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and they exhorted princes to reinstate themselves in those powers of which the encroaching spirit of the ecclesiastics, especially of the sovereign pontiff, had so long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chastity, or disgusted with the license in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the excessive riches, the idleness, the libertinism of the clergy; and pointed out their treasures and revenues as lawful spoil to the first invader. And as the ecclesiastics had hitherto conducted a willing and a stupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controversy, much more with every species of true literature, they were unable to defend themselves against men armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romish hierarchy; and such were the causes of their rapid and astonishing success.

Leo X., whose oversights and too supine trust in the profound ignorance of the people had given rise to this sect, but whose sound judgment, moderation,

and temper, were well qualified to retard its progress, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book against Luther; and he was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the Emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and simplicity of manners which distinguished his character; but so violent were their prejudices against the church, he rather hurt the cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues. He frankly confessed, that many abominable and detestable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this sincere avowal he gave occasion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff also, whose penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was seduced to concur in that league which Charles and Henry had formed against France, and he thereby augmented the scandal occasioned by the practice of so many preceding popes, who still made their spiritual arms subservient to political purposes.

The emperor, who knew that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid another visit to England; and besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises which he had made him, of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. Wolsey, sensible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, dissembled his resentment, and was willing to hope for a more prosperous issue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which some articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolsey for the revenue which they should lose by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. After a stay of six weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he soon pacified the tumults which had arisen in his absence.

The king declared war against France; and this measure was founded on so little reason, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his sending Albany into Scotland. This last step had not been taken by the French king, till he was quite assured of Henry's resolution to attack him. Surrey landed some troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying waste the country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Brittany, which he took and plundered. The English merchants had great property in that place, which was no more spared by the soldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral; and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army destined for the invasion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to 18,000 men.

The French had made it a maxim in almost all their wars with the English since the reign of Charles V. never without great necessity to hazard a general engagement. And the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the towns most ex-



posed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Teroüenne, Hedin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions: he himself took post at Abbeville, with some Swiss and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: the count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion; to throw supply into any town that was threatened; and to harass the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, first divided his troops for the convenience of subsisting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid siege to Hedin. But neither did he succeed in this enterprise. The garrison made vigorous sallies upon his army: the French forces assaulted him from without: great rains fell: fatigue and bad weather threw the soldiers into dysenteries: and Surrey was obliged to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear-guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and five or six hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him master of one place within the French frontier.

The allies were more successful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, lost a great battle at Bicocca, near Milan, and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supplying Lautrec with money, was followed by the loss of Genoa. The castle of Cremona was the sole fortress in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

Europe was now in such a situation, and so connected by different alliances and interests, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuse itself throughout the whole: but of all the leagues among kingdoms, the closest was that which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmolested on the northern frontier. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took measures for kindling a war with England; and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rosline. He thence conducted the army southwards into Annandale, and prepared to pass the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were disgusted with the regent's administration; and, observing that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in comparison of those which he maintained with France, they murmured that, for the sake of foreign interests, their peace should so often be disturbed, and war during their king's minority be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, so much superior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refused to advance any farther; and Albany, observing a general discontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with Lord Dacres, warden of the English west marches. Soon after he departed for France; and, lest the opposite faction should gather force in his absence, he sent thither before him the earl of Angus, husband to the queen-dowager.

Next year, Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's absence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale without opposition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them: the two Howes had been put to death: Angus was in a

manner banished: no nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to assume the government: and the English monarch, who knew the distressed situation of the country, determined to push them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the sense of their present weakness, to make a solemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heiress of England, and their young monarch—an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms: and the queen-dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They said that the interests of Scotland had too long been sacrificed to those of the French nation, who, whenever they found themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the assistance of their allies, but were ready to abandon them as soon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: that where a small state entered into so close a confederacy with a greater, it must always expect this treatment, as a consequence of the unequal alliance; but there were peculiar circumstances in the situation of the kingdoms which in the present case rendered it inevitable: that France was so distant and so divided from them by sea, that she scarcely could by any means, and never could in time, send succours to the Scots, sufficient to protect them against ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: that nature had in a manner formed an alliance between the two British nations, having inclosed them in the same island; given them the same manners, language, laws, and form of government, and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: and that if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be the effect of peace, these two kingdoms, secured by the ocean and by their domestic force, could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever safe and unmolested.

The partisans of the French alliance, on the other hand, said, that the very reasons which were urged in favour of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its superior force, were the real causes why a sincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hostile nation: that among neighbouring states occasions of quarrel were frequent, and the more powerful would be sure to seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing it to subjection: that, as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the Scots, if they wished to maintain their independence, to preserve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: that if they deserted that old and salutary alliance on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, stimulated both by interest and by passion, would soon invade them with superior force, and bereave them of all their liberties: or if they delayed the attack, the insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a slavery more certain and more irremediable.

The arguments employed by the French party, being seconded by the natural prejudices of the people, seemed most prevalent: and when the regent himself, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the English fleet, at last appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that side. By autho-

rity of the convention of states he assembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them southwards towards the borders. But when they were passing the Tweed at the bridge of Melross, the English party raised again such opposition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp opposite to Werk castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He sent over some troops to besiege this fortress, who made a breach in it, and stormed some of the outworks; but the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and discouraged by the advanced season, thought proper to disband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not during several years in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

The reason why the war against France proceeded so slowly on the part of England, was the want of money. All the treasures of Henry VII. were long ago dissipated; the king's habits of expense still remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterprises. He had last year caused a general survey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years, profession, stock, revenue; and expressed great satisfaction on finding the nation so opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums: this act of power, though somewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practised by kings of England; and the people were now familiarised to it. But Henry this year carried his authority much farther. He published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, two shillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people, and was a precedent for the king's imposing taxes without consent of parliament.

Henry soon after summoned a parliament, together with a convocation, and found neither of them in a disposition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolsey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation, in hopes that their example would influence the parliament to grant a large supply. He demanded a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues to be levied in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that time; and though he met with opposition, he reprimanded the refractory members in such severe terms, that his request was at last complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by several of the nobility and prelates, came to the house of commons, and in a long and elaborate speech laid before them the public necessities, the danger of an invasion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of 800,000*l.* divided into four yearly payments—a sum computed, from the late survey or valuation, to be equal to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one shilling in the pound yearly, according to the divi-

sion proposed.\* So large a grant was unusual from the commons; and though the cardinal's demand was seconded by Sir Thomas More, the speaker, and several other members attached to the court, the house could not be prevailed with to comply. They only voted two shillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a-year and upwards; one shilling on all who possessed between twenty pounds and forty shillings a-year; and on the other subjects above sixteen years of age, a groat a-head. This last sum was divided into two yearly payments; the former into four; and was not therefore, at the utmost, above sixpence in the pound.

Mackintosh says, "We have an account of their temper and deportment from an eye-witness, which is not a little remarkable:—'There has been the greatest and sorest hold in the lower house for the payment of the subsidy that was seen in any parliament. It has been debated sixteen days together; the resistance was so great, that the house was like to have been dissevered.† The king's knights and servants being of one party, it may fortune contrary to their heart, will, and conscience. Thus hanging the matter yesterday, the more part being for the king, his demand was granted to be paid in two years. Never was one half given to any former at once: I beseech the Almighty it may be peaceably levied, without losing the good will and true hearts of the king's subjects, which I reckon a far greater treasure than gold and silver.' This instance of a grant of money so obstinately contested, and the example of a party of placemen and courtiers, who are represented as its sole supporters, shows clearly enough that the spirit of the house of commons was not abated, nor its importance lessened, by Tudor rule, at least on those matters which were justly considered as most exclusively within its province. Sir Thomas More, the first Englishman known to history as a public speaker, who had distinguished himself by opposition to former grants, was now speaker of the house of commons, and supported the measures of the court. Neither his eloquence nor his virtue could gain more than a temporary advantage. Wolsey is said to have gone into the house of commons with a train of retainers, and to have expressed his wonder at the profound silence that followed his entrance. The speaker, whatever might be his coalition with the court, did not forget the duty and dignity of his office, but 'protested that, according to the ancient liberties of the house, they were not bound to make an answer, and that he, as speaker, could make no reply till he had received their instructions'—an answer which was perhaps the pattern of that made by a successor to the chair at one of the most critical moments of English history."

It is said, that when Henry heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the required supply, he was so provoked, that he sent for Edward Montague, one of the members who had a considerable influence on the house; and he being introduced to his majesty, had the mortification to hear him speak in these words: "Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?" And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees

\* This survey or valuation is liable to much suspicion, as fixing the rents a great deal too high; unless the sum comprehend the revenues of all kinds, industry as well as land and money.

† Probably this means, come to a division, then a very rare occurrence



before him, "Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off." This cavalier manner of Henry's succeeded; for next day the bill passed. We are told by Hall, that Cardinal Wolsey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that "it were better that some should suffer indigence than that the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some people their heads." Such was the style employed by this king and his ministers.

The proceedings of this house of commons evidently discover the humour of the times: they were extremely tenacious of their money, and refused a demand of the crown, which was far from being unreasonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to pass uncensured, though its direct tendency was to subvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the commons, that as he had not called a parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another: and on pretence of necessity he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years—a new invasion of national privileges. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to the cardinal's counsels, who, trusting to the protection afforded him by his ecclesiastical character, was the less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

On these exactions Hallam makes the following remarks. "No very material attempt had been made since the reign of Edward III. to levy a general imposition without consent of parliament, and in the most remote and irregular times it would be difficult to find a precedent for so universal and enormous an exaction: since tallages, however arbitrary, were never paid by the barons or freeholders, nor by their tenants: and the aids to which they were liable were restricted to particular cases. If Wolsey, therefore, could have procured the acquiescence of the nation under this yoke, there would probably have been an end of parliaments for all ordinary purposes; though, like the states-general of France, they might still be convoked to give weight and security to great innovations. We cannot, indeed, doubt that the unshackled condition of his friend, though rival, Francis I., afforded a mortifying contrast to Henry. Even under his tyrannical administration there was enough to distinguish the king of a people who submitted in murmuring to violations of their known rights, from one whose subjects had almost forgotten that they ever possessed any. But the courage and love of freedom natural to the English commons, speaking in the hoarse voice of tumult, though very ill supported by their superiors, preserved us in so great a peril."

Wolsey received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The pope Adrian VI. died; and Clement VII., of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolsey could now perceive the insincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never second his pretensions to the papal chair. As he highly resented this injury, he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his master and the French king. Meanwhile he concealed his disgust, and, after congratulating the new pope on his promotion applied for a

continuation of the legatine powers which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendship, granted him a commission for life; and, by this unusual concession, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In some particulars Wolsey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity: he sought all over Europe for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges: and, in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some smaller monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the less difficult for him, because the Romish church began to perceive that she overabounded in monks, and that she wanted some supply of learning, in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative humour of the reformers.

The confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to desert the French alliance, and to form engagements for securing Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in possession of the Milanese. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy, combined in the same measure. The emperor, in person, menaced France with a powerful invasion on the side of Guienne: the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy: a numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: but all these perils from foreign enemies were less threatening than a domestic conspiracy which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, against the French monarch.

Charles duke of Bourbon, constable of France, was a prince of great ability; and, besides distinguishing himself in many military enterprises, he was adorned with every accomplishment which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him proposals of marriage; and, meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of unrelenting vengeance against him. She was a woman false, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was considerable, acquired an absolute ascendancy over her son. By her instigation Francis put many affronts on the constable, which it was difficult for a gallant spirit to endure; and at last, he permitted Louise to prosecute a lawsuit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

Bourbon, provoked at all these indignities, and thinking that if any injuries could justify a man in rebelling against his prince and country, he must stand acquitted, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England. Francis, pertinacious in his purpose of recovering the Milanese, had intended to lead his army in person into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned sickness, in order to have a pretence for staying behind, purposed, as soon as the king should have passed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of

his design; but as he was not expeditious enough in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape; and, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country.

The king of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the Lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen. The English army, reinforced by some troops drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about 12,000 men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprise appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreuil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter-quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and success: and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation; till the duke of Vendome hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being surrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during so advanced a season, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned: and the English and Flemings, without effecting any thing, retired into their respective countries.

France defended herself from the other invasions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furstenberg. The count of Guise, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppose to them but some militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garrison towns; and with his cavalry he kept the field, and so harassed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guise attacked them as they passed the Meuse, put them into disorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

The emperor made great preparations on the side of Navarre; and though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it seemed now exposed to danger from the powerful invasion which threatened it. Charles besieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he of a sudden raised the siege, and sat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made

a sudden march, and threw himself into Bayonne, which he defended with such vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were constrained to raise the siege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this side, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, sitten down in the winter season before that city, well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The cowardice or misconduct of the governor saved him from the shame of a new disappointment. The place was surrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprise, put his troops into winter quarters.

So obstinate was Francis in prosecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithstanding these numerous invasions with which his kingdom was menaced on every side, he had determined to lead in person a powerful army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conspiracy and escape stopped him at Lyons; and, fearing some insurrection in the kingdom, from the intrigues of a man so powerful and so much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to send forward his army under the command of Admiral Bonnavet. The duchy of Milan had been purposely left in a condition somewhat defenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprises of Bourbon; and no sooner had Bonnavet passed the Tesin, than the army of the league, and even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. It is agreed, that if Bonnavet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole duchy depends, would have opened its gates without resistance: but as he wasted his time in frivolous enterprises, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garrison, and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnavet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took possession of all the posts which commanded the passages to it. But the army of the league, meanwhile, was not inactive; and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of the French, that it seemed more likely the latter should themselves perish by famine, than reduce the city to that extremity. Sickness and fatigue and want had wasted them to such a degree, that they were ready to raise the blockade; and their only hopes consisted in a great body of Swiss, which was levied for the service of the French king, and whose arrival was every day expected. But these mountaineers no sooner came within sight of the French camp, than they stopped from a sudden caprice and resentment; and, instead of joining Bonnavet, they sent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then served under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company. After this desertion of the Swiss, Bonnavet had no other choice but that of making his retreat as fast as possible into France.

The French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines, were satisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were resolved to prosecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealousy of the emperor's ambition; and their suspicions were extremely augmented when they saw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and whose defence he had embraced. They all concluded that he intended to put himself in possession of that important duchy, and reduce



Italy to subjection : Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor, that he sent orders to his nuncio at London, to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain-glory, was determined that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration ; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny : Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month ; after which he might either choose to continue the same monthly payment, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of king ; but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The duchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles : the rest of the kingdom to Henry.

This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was most easily performed : Bourbon refused to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprise, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of imperialists invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Pescara. They laid siege to Marseilles, which, being weakly garrisoned, they expected to reduce in a little time : but the citizens defended themselves with such valour and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege ; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom ; but, as he received intelligence that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprises, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardour seized him for the conquest of Milan ; and, notwithstanding the advanced season, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, to lead his army into Italy.

He passed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no sooner appeared in Piedmont, than he threw the whole Milanese into consternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi ; and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally dispersed : but his ill fate led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place proved fruitless. He battered the walls, and made breaches ; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new intrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches : he attempted to divert the course of the Tesin, which ran by one side of the city, and defended it ; but an inundation of the river destroyed in one night all the mounds which the soldiers, during a long time and with infinite labour, had been erecting. Fatigue, and the bad season (for it was the depth of winter), had wasted the French army. The imperial generals, meanwhile, were not inactive. Pescara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, assembled forces from all quar-

ters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his personal interest, levied a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets, with which he joined the imperialists. This whole army advanced to raise the siege of Pavia ; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

The state of Europe was such, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and industry every where, except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the extensive privileges still possessed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the small armies which they kept on foot could not be regularly paid by them. The imperial forces commanded by Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, exceeded not twenty thousand men ; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invasion of France, either on the side of Spain or Flanders) : yet, so poor was that mighty monarch, that he could transmit no money for the payment of this army ; and it was chiefly the hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp which had made them advance, and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raised the siege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must immediately have disbanded ; and he had obtained a complete victory without danger or bloodshed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered ; and having once said, that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution.

The imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva sallied from the town, and increased the confusion among the besiegers. The Swiss infantry, contrary to their usual practice, behaved in a dastardly manner, and deserted their post. Francis's forces were put to rout ; and he himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing seven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

The emperor received this news by Pennalosa, who passed through France by means of a safe-conduct granted him by the captive king. The moderation which he displayed on this occasion, had it been sincere, would have done him honour. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and discovered his sense of those calamities to which the greatest monarchs are exposed. He refused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expressions of triumph ; and said that he reserved all his exultation till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reasonable terms. But all this seeming moderation was only hypocrisy, so much the more dangerous as it was profound. And he was wholly occupied in forming schemes how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions, he was ever governed.

The same Pennalosa, in passing through France,

carried also a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then resided at Lyons. It contained only these few words, "Madam, all is lost, except our honour." The princess was struck with the greatness of the calamity. She saw the kingdom without a sovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; surrounded on every side by implacable and victorious enemies; and her chief resource, in her present distresses, were the hopes she entertained of peace, and even of assistance from the king of England.

Had the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, it is evident that the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis were the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his schemes effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any decisive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier town, or perhaps of a small territory, of which he could not have kept possession without expending much more than its value. By some signal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of considerable provinces, or dismember that great monarchy, so affectionate to its own government and its own sovereigns. But it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far; he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance in his present calamities: and, as the glory of generosity in raising a fallen enemy, concurred with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

Some disgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and, instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself "your affectionate son and cousin;" he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself "Charles." Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and professions with which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of success, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interests than the other.

Henry, though immediately determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publicly dismissed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside in London: but, upon the regent of France's submissive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and, besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she never would consent to the dismembering of any province from the monarchy for her son's ransom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour

and enterprise; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he dispatched Tonsal, bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required that Charles should immediately enter Guienne, at the head of a great army, in order to put him in possession of that province; and he demanded the payment of large sums of money which that prince had borrowed from him in his last visit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him master of such considerable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

Tonsal, likewise, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his master that Charles, on his part, urged several complaints against England; and, in particular, was displeased with Henry, because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his stipulations. Tonsal added, that instead of expressing an intention to espouse Mary when she should be of age, the emperor had hearkened to proposals for marrying his niece Isabella, princess of Portugal; and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, and seemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the success with which fortune had crowned his arms.

The king, influenced by all these motives, concluded at Moore, his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions: the regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns: after which Henry was to receive during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tourna.

Meanwhile, Henry, foreseeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was also determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects; and as the parliament had discovered some reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counsel of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, three shillings and fourpence upon the laity; and so uncontrollable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction even under the slender pretence of a loan. But he soon found that he had presumed too far on the passive submission of his subjects. The people, displeased with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, and farther disgusted with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, opposition to the commissioners; and their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. Henry had the prudence to stop short in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He sent letters to all the counties, declaring that he meant no force by this last imposition, and that he would take nothing from his subjects but by way of benevolence. He flattered himself that his condescension in employing that disguise would satisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himself obnoxious to royal authority, by refusing any payment required of him in this manner. But



the spirit of opposition, once roused, could not so easily be quieted at pleasure. A lawyer in the city, objecting the statute of Richard III., by which benevolences were for ever abolished, it was replied by the court, that Richard being an usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, his statutes could not bind a lawful and absolute monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace. The judges even went so far as to affirm positively, that the king might exact, by commission, any sum he pleased; and the privy council gave a ready assent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with such formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolsey sent for the mayor of London, and desired to know what he was willing to give for the supply of his majesty's necessities. The mayor seemed desirous, before he should declare himself, to consult the common council: but the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen should separately confer with himself about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matters, however, went not so smoothly in the country. An insurrection was begun in some places; but as the people were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the star-chamber, where, after a severe charge brought against them by the king's council, the cardinal said, "That, notwithstanding their grievous offence, the king, in consideration of their necessities, had granted them his gracious pardon upon condition that they would find sureties for their good behaviour." But they replying they had no sureties, the cardinal first, and after him the duke of Norfolk said, that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were dismissed.

These arbitrary impositions being imputed to the counsels of the cardinal, increased the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon being ascribed to the king, was considered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the measure. But Wolsey, supported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without scruple, to violate all ecclesiastical privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and, having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe, and exercised over them an arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission as legate, he was empowered to visit them, and reform them, and chastise their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large sums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppression was carried so far that it reached at last the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. Wolsey had built a splendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Westminster for his own residence; but fearing the increase

of envy on account of this magnificence, and desirous to appease the king, he made him a present of the building, and told him that, from the first, he had erected it for his use.

The absolute authority possessed by the king, rendered his domestic government, both over his people and his ministers, easy and expeditious: the conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to such a situation, that it was no longer safe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of short duration; and it was soon obvious to all the world, that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extensive. The terms which he demanded of his prisoner were such as must for ever have annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis soon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the emperor's generosity, the disappointment excited in his breast the most lively indignation. He said that he would rather live and die a prisoner than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that even were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

Francis was encouraged to persist in demanding more moderate terms, by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's dispositions towards him, and of the alarm which had seized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor, with whom he must treat; and he expressed his desire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. Partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness; which begat apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages which he purposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed on which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him, "You come, sir, to visit your prisoner." "No," replied the emperor, "I come to visit my brother and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his afflictions with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the king daily recovered; and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

At last the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was signed, by which it was hoped an end would be finally put to the differences between these great monarchs. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy. If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated, that in six weeks' time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles

in this famous convention, all of them extremely severe upon the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to subjection and dependence.

Many of Charles's ministers foresaw that Francis, how solemn soever the oaths, promises, and protestations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty so disadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: by sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of foreign assistance; and arming his oppressor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him absolutely irresistible. To these great views of interest, were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment, while Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the severe terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was also foreseen, that the emulation and rivalry which had so long subsisted between these two monarchs, would make him feel the strongest reluctance on yielding the superiority to an antagonist, who by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had shown himself so little worthy of that advantage which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies, would be sure with one voice to inculcate on him, that the first object of a prince was the preservation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which with a private man ought to be absolutely supreme, and superior to all interests, were, with a sovereign, subordinate to the great duty of ensuring the safety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be so romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a casuistry which was so plausible in itself, and which so much flattered all the passions by which either as a prince or a man he was strongly actuated.

Francis, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldest sons as hostages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkish horse, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, "I am yet a king." He soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his counsels in all transactions with the emperor. When the Spanish envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the proposal, under colour that it was previously necessary to assemble he states both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their consent. The states of Burgundy soon met; and declaring against the clause which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The imperial minister then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should now return to his prison; but the French monarch, instead of complying, made public the treaty which a little before he had secretly concluded at Cognac, against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the emperor.

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested in these events, had

been held in the most anxious suspense with regard to the resolutions which Francis should take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who suspected that this prince would never execute a treaty so hurtful to his interests, and even destructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in suspense, but entered immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reasonable sum of money; and to restore Milan to Sforza, without farther condition or encumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the "holy league," so it was called: and if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, in prosecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats: and that Cardinal Wolsey, in consideration of the services which he had rendered to Christendom, should also, in such an event, be put in possession of a revenue of 10,000 ducats.

Francis was desirous that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcement to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so because Charles, destitute as usual of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valour, and entering the city sword in hand, exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the least ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed. Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Daughters suffered outrage in the arms of their parents, and women were violated upon those very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with death, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken captive; and found



that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the German, who being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff. Lingard says, "The Spaniards and Italians chiefly confined themselves to the plunder of the houses and palaces: the Germans, who had embraced the doctrines of Luther, ransacked the churches and convents."

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms: he put himself and all his court in mourning: he stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip: and knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers during several months to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty; which all men knew a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was most sincere. These two monarchs, a few days before the sack of Rome, had concluded a treaty at Westminster, in which, beside renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in case of refusal the ambassadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him. This war it was agreed to prosecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred men at arms, two thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by Henry. And in order to strengthen the alliance between the princes, it was stipulated that either Francis, or his son the duke of Orleans, as should afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No sooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprise, than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther stimulated to undertake the war with vigour for restoring him to liberty. Wolsey himself crossed the sea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert measures for that purpose; and he displayed all the grandeur and magnificence with which he was so much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thousand horse. The cardinal of Lorraine and the Chancellor Alençon met him at Boulogne: Francis himself, besides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place where he came liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced some miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the Princess Mary; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but during the interval of the pope's captivity to govern the churches in their respective dominions by their own authority. Wolsey made some attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitless, he was obliged, though with great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprises.

The more to cement the union between these princes a new treaty was some time after concluded

at London; in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France—claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for exciting the unvary English to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a-year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The mareschal Montmorency, accompanied by many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty, and was received at London with all the parade which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

This cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to submit entirely to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required, previously to their liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held by him in Italy: and he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the duchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French he reproached his master with breach of faith, reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove, by single combat, that he had acted dishonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge, by giving Charles the lie: and, after demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards, during that age, zealously disputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, and that the prince, the more candid, generous, and sincere, should by unhappy incidents have been reduced to so cruel a situation, that nothing but his violation of treaty could preserve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promise by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and in virtue.

But though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate consequence with regard to these monarchs themselves, it produced a considerable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on very solemn occasions, and which was sometimes countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the most trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating their right in single combat. These absurd, though generous maxims, shed much of the

best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries; and notwithstanding the severity of law and authority of reason, such is the prevailing force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

### CHAP. XXXIV.

*Scruples concerning the king's marriage—The king adopts them—Anne Boleyn—Henry applies to the pope for a divorce—The pope favourable—The emperor threatens him—The pope's ambiguous conduct—The cause evoked to Rome—Wolsey's fall—Commencement of the reformation in England—Foreign affairs—Wolsey's death—A parliament—Progress of the reformation—A parliament—King's final breach with Rome—A parliament.*

THE history of the divorce of Catherine has been made, from the extensive political effects which it produced, so much a matter of party statement, that it is difficult to get at the real circumstances. Those authors who lean towards the catholic party have cast many unjust aspersions on Anne Boleyn, and the friends of the reformation; and those authors who have been admirers of that great event have attributed too much sincerity to Henry's convenient scruples as to his marriage with his brother's widow. Through the whole of Hume's narration there is such an authoritative statement of motives and causes, that the very manner in which they are given would raise doubts as to their correctness, if subsequent and more industrious historians had not proved, as they have, that it is very difficult to develop the springs of all the various causes which were combined to produce such extensive consequences. Of these conflicting accounts, the most impartial and the best informed appears to be that by Mackintosh, which is therefore given.

"There is no doubt, from succeeding events, that the seed sown by Wickliffe in England was never destroyed. Wolsey paid his court at Rome by burning some obscure Lollards, who were lured from their darkness by Luther's light. Sir Thomas More, though a reformer of criminal law, deviated so far from his principles, when he entered the world of ambition and compliance, as to be present at the torture of heretics. Henry, as a disciple of Aquinas, took up the pen against the Lutheran heresy, and on that account received from Rome the title of defender of the faith, which has been retained for three centuries by sovereigns of whom some might be more fitly called the chiefs of protestant Europe. There was no country on whose fidelity the papal see might seem entitled to rely with more confidence than on that of England. A single circumstance shook the apparently solid connexion, and in the end detached Henry from communion with the Roman church. Whether he really felt any scruples respecting the validity of his marriage during the first eighteen years of his reign may be reasonably doubted. No trace of such doubts can be discovered in his public conduct till the year 1527. Catherine had then past the middle age: personal infirmities are mentioned which might have widened the alienation. About the same time, Anne Boleyn, a damsel of the court, at the age of twenty-two, in the flower of youthful beauty, and full of graces and accomplishments, touched the fierce but not unsusceptible heart of the king. One of her ancestors had been lord mayor of London in the reign of Henry VI.; her family had since been connected

with the noblest houses of the kingdom; her mother was the sister of the duke of Norfolk. At the age of eight, she attended the princess Mary into France as a maid of honour, during that lady's short-lived union with Louis XII. On the death of that monarch, she was taken into the household of Claude, queen of France, for her girlish or childish attractions: and on the approach of the rupture between the two countries in 1522, Henry required her being returned to England before he declared war; because, being a lady of the royal household, she could not with propriety quit France without the king's permission. That her eldest sister, and even her mother, preceded her in the favour of her royal lover, are assertions made by her enemies with a boldness equal to the total absence of every proof of their truth. There is nothing in the known conduct of Henry himself which warrants the imputation of so ostentatious a dissolution of manners, even to him. Anne appears to have entered into a precontract, or given some promise of marriage to one of the sons of the earl of Northumberland; but whether serious or frivolous, and how far binding in honour or in law, are questions which we are unable to answer. The terms used in that age to describe such engagements are so loose, that it is unsafe to make any important inference from them; but as this supposed precontract was afterwards considered as a sufficient ground for the sentence which declared the marriage of Henry and Anne to be null, it may be regarded as some presumption that a family, with whom one of the noblest houses in England negotiated a matrimonial union, was at least exempt from notorious and disgraceful profligacy. The antagonists of her memory load her with the inconsistent charges of yielding to the king's licentious passions, and of having affected austere purity to reduce him to the necessity of marriage; but the peculiar character of Henry rendered him often a scrupulous observer of rules without much regard to their principles. The forms of law stood higher in his eye than the substance of justice: this peculiarity affords the best key to his proceedings relating to the divorce of which he was so desirous. A legal divorce, however cruel and even substantially unjust satisfied his coarse and shallow morality. Catherine was then in her forty-sixth year; Anne Boleyn, as has been already said, was in her twenty-second; Henry was in his thirty-eighth. Sir Godfrey Boleyn, lord mayor of London in 1458, married the daughter of Lord Hastings, by whom he had one son, the husband of Lady Margaret Butler, co-heiress of the earl of Ormonde, and the issue of this alliance was Sir Thomas Boleyn, created Lord Rochford, who served the king with distinction in some diplomatic missions, and especially in the important embassy to Paris.

"The light which shone from Anne Boleyn's eyes might have awakened or revived Henry's doubts of the legitimacy of his long union with the faithful and blameless Catherine. His licentious passions, by a singular operation, recalled his mind to his theological studies, and especially to the question relating to the papal power of dispensing with the Levitical law, which must have been the subject of conversation at the time of his unusual, if not unprecedented, espousal of his brother's widow. Scruples, at which he had once cursorily glanced as themes of discussion, now borrowed life and warmth from his passions. In the course of examining the question, his assent was likely at last to be allured into the service of desire. The question was, in



itself, easily disputable: it was one on which honest and skilful men differed; and it presented, to say the least, ample scope for self-delusion. His nature was more depraved than lawless (if that word may be so used); and it is possible that his passion might have yielded to other obstacles, if he had not at length persuaded himself that by the means of a divorce his gratification might be reconciled with the letter of the law. His conduct has the marks of that union of confidence and formality often observed in men whose immorality receives treacherous aid from a mistaken conscience.

"It was about this period, that, on occasion of a project for the marriage of the princess Mary Tudor, now in her eleventh year, to Francis I., a hint is said to have been thrown out by the bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador in London, that the young princess might be illegitimate, being the issue of a marriage of doubtful validity. If we believe this fact, it affords some ground for a conjecture, that a suggestion, which must have been shunned as offensive, if it had not been known to be acceptable, was procured from the ambassador by Henry or by Wolsey. But such an anecdote, reported by no impartial writer, without any account of the preceding or consequent facts, is hardly admissible, except as a proof of the suspicion of the experienced negotiator, that doubts of the validity of the king's marriage would not be regarded at court as an unpardonable offence. The king now treated his scruples as at least specious enough to make a favourable impression on a pope to whom he had just rendered the most momentous services.

"The French embassy, of whom Grammont bishop of Tarbes was one, appears to have arrived in England in March, 1527. In May, Henry gave a magnificent entertainment at Greenwich, at which Anne was his partner in the dance. In July of the same year, Knight, then a secretary of state, was dispatched to Rome to obtain a divorce; and, on the 1st of August, Wolsey informed Henry, in a despatch from France addressed to that prince, that his project of seeking a divorce from Catherine was already rumoured at Madrid. Whether Anne Boleyn made any visits to England while her residence was in Paris; whether her final return to England took place on the death of Claude, queen of France, in 1522, or on that of Margaret, duchess of Alençon, to whose household she is said by some to have been transferred, after the two remaining years of that princess's life; or, finally, whether she was detained in France till the return of her father from his last embassy to Paris in 1527; are questions of fact on which our knowledge is hitherto incomplete.

"During the early part of these transactions, the situation of Wolsey induced him to play a perilous game. On the one hand, he is said to have disengaged Anne from Percy, and appears through his agent Pace to have secretly procured aid to the king's suit from the venal pen of Wakefield, Hebrew professor at Oxford, who had before declared for the validity of the marriage with Catherine. But, on the other hand, he was really desirous of wedding his master to a French princess, to forward his own designs on the papacy, and to cover by the popularity of a valuable and illustrious alliance the odium which he must have foreseen to be a consequence of a justly obnoxious divorce. It is probable, also, that Wolsey was apprehensive of the power which the Boleyns and their connections would acquire by the elevation of their young and beautiful relation. He threw himself, we are told, on his

knees before the king, and earnestly entreated him to desist from a purpose unworthy of his birth. It need scarcely be added, that the minister who made up by pliancy to an impetuous master for his insufferable arrogance towards herds of dependents, made haste to atone for the indiscreet zeal which, on this single occasion, he presumed to oppose to the royal desires. He redoubled his activity and apparent zeal to promote the marriage with Anne Boleyn, so as to draw from that lady a letter to him overflowing with gratitude.

"Sir Thomas More, the most illustrious Englishman of his time, not being convinced by the king's reasons, declined the support of his divorce. Fisher bishop of Rochester acted with the like hazardous integrity. No name is preserved of any other divine or lawyer who gave the same pledge of courageous honesty. The people, ignorant of law, but moved by generous feeling, saw nothing in the transaction but the sacrifice of an innocent woman to the passions of a dissolute monarch, which was in truth its most important and essential character."

Henry, that he might not shock the haughty claims of the pontiff, resolved not to found his application on any general doubts concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of consanguinity; but only to insist on particular grounds of nullity in the bull which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that if the pope be surprised into any concession, or grant any indulgence upon false suggestions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence has usually been employed wherever one pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his predecessors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind; and any tribunal favourable to Henry had a sufficiently specious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was said in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his solicitation; though it was known at that time he was under twelve years of age: it was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requisite, in order to preserve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. These false premises in Julius's bull seemed to afford Clement a sufficient reason or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a dispensation for a second marriage.

But though the pretext for this indulgence had been less plausible, the pope was in such a situation that he had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. He was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose the ambition of Charles. When the English secretary, therefore, solicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer; and a dispensation was forthwith promised to be granted to his master. Soon after the march of the French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvieto, where the secretary with Sir Gregory Cassali, the king's resident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They still found him full of high professions of friendship, gratitude, and attachment to the king; but not so prompt in granting his request as they expected. The emperor, who had got intel-

lignence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise from the pope, to take no steps in the affair before he communicated them to the Imperial ministers; and Clement, embarrassed by this promise, and still more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, seemed willing to postpone those concessions desired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a commission to Wolsey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's dispensation: he also granted them a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with any other person; and promised to issue a decretal bull annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he represented to them the dangerous consequences which must ensue to him, if these concessions should come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers, or make any further use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independence. And his secret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time for opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing some other person. Nor would it be so difficult, he said, for himself to confirm these proceedings after they were passed, as previously to render them valid by his consent and authority.

When Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his ministers, and asked their opinion in so delicate a situation. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in so clandestine a manner, the king would find his second marriage totally invalidated; the children, which it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever. And Henry's apprehensions of the possibility, or even probability, of such an event, were much confirmed when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff.

Clement was a prince of excellent judgment, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely subject, allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed. The captivity and other misfortunes which he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour in any public measure; especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The imperial forces were at that time powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to perils, which threatened still more immediately his person and his dignity.

Charles, apprised of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of summoning a general council; which he represented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those enormous abuses which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration. The power of the

sovereign pontiff himself, he said, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled might justly be called in question. That pope had always passed for the natural son of Julian of Medicis, who was of the sovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X., his kinsman, had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promise of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely silent with regard to the promotion of bastards to the papal throne; but what was still dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepossession that this stain in the birth of any person was incompatible with so holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was express and positive, and no man guilty of simony could attain that dignity. A severe bull of Julius II. had added new sanctions to this law, by declaring, that a simoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a posterior consent of the cardinals. But unfortunately Clement had given to Cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promises of advancing that cardinal, in case he himself should attain the papal dignity by his concurrence: and this billet Colonna, who was in entire dependence on the emperor, threatened every moment to expose to public view.

While Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he also allured him by hopes which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces sacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his distresses, and revolting against the family of Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the event which, of all others, he most passionately desired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse of hope, ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch.

These views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreseen, both on account of the honour and interests of Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whose behaviour always contained so much duplicity, and who was at present so little at his own disposal. The safest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him so far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were dispatched to Rome, and were ordered to solicit a commission from the pope, of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him on any account to recal the commission, or evoke the cause to Rome.

But the same reasons which made the king so



desirous of obtaining this concession, confirmed the pope in the resolution of refusing it: he was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor; and he made no scruple of sacrificing all other considerations to a point which he deemed the most essential and important to his own security, and to the greatness of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commission, in which Cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolsey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter promising not to recal the present commission; this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in such ambiguous terms as left him still the power, whenever he pleased, of departing from it.

Campeggio lay under some obligations to the king; but his dependence on the pope was so much greater, that he conformed himself entirely to the views of the latter; and though he received his commission in April, he delayed his departure under so many pretences, that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took was to exhort the king to desist from the prosecution of his divorce; and finding that this counsel gave offence, he said, that his intention was also to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty previously to attempt an amicable composition of all differences. The more to pacify the king, he shewed to him, as also to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no intreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the secret. In order to atone in some degree for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal, the pope's great desire of satisfying them in every reasonable demand; and in particular, he showed, that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees, had obtained the consent of his holiness.

These ambiguous circumstances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with patience the issue of such uncertain councils. Fortune, meanwhile, seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues for electing his successor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter; and it appears, that if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that summit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after several relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amused the court of England. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a sudden and favourable issue to his process: he still continued his secret negotiations with Charles, and persevered in the resolution of sacrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Roman religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artful delays; and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the

should obtain success by no other means than by an application to him, and by deserting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promising her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and persecutions of her enemies. The queen herself was naturally of a firm and resolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to persevere in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation; the illegitimacy of her daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern: the reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, she believed, had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive: actuated by all these considerations, she never ceased soliciting her nephew's assistance, and earnestly intreating an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone she thought she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negotiations with the pope, made the recal of the commission which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England a fundamental article.

According to Lingard, "At the solicitation of his minister, Henry, in compliance with his promise to the French monarch, sent his defiance to the emperor Charles, who, having delivered to Clarendieu an eloquent justification of his conduct, added: 'God grant that I may not have better reason to defy him than he has to defy me. Can I pass over the injury with which he threatens my aunt, by his application for a divorce, or the insult which he has offered to me by soliciting me to marry a daughter, whom he now pronounces a bastard? But I am perfectly aware from whom these suggestions proceed. I would not satisfy the rapacity of the cardinal of York, nor employ my forces to seat him in the chair of St. Peter; and he, in return, has sworn to be revenged, and now seeks to fulfil his purpose. But, if war ensue, let the blood that must be shed rest, where it ought, on the head of him who is the original instigator of it.'

"In England the merchants refused to frequent the new marts which had been opened in France, as substitutes for those in the Netherlands; and a spirit of disaffection showed itself throughout the kingdom. Wolsey stood alone in the cabinet. Sir Thomas More, who was one of the council, tells us that, when the other members advised the king to let Charles and Francis quarrel by themselves, the cardinal always repeated a fable of 'certain wise men, who foresaw that a great rain was coming which would make fools of all whom it should fall upon, and to escape it hid themselves underground; but when they came out, they found the fools so numerous, that instead of governing them, they were forced to submit to be governed by them.' Whence he inferred, 'that if the English sat still, while the fools fought, the fools would at last unite and fall upon them.'

"At this juncture the disease, which in the year 1485 made such ravages in England, under the name of the sweating sickness, again made its appearance; but experience had now taught the cure: the patient who felt its approach, by sickness or headache, was directly put to bed, a profuse perspiration followed, and in twenty-four hours the danger was over. If perspiration was checked, delirium ensued, and in a few hours life was extinguished. At court

maintained with the king's extreme  
air, was determined that he

the malady first showed itself among the attendants of Anne Boleyn. Anne was removed by the king's order to the house of her father in Kent : where she had the disorder and recovered. During the contagion of this sickness, King Henry joined the queen in her devotional exercises, and they lived in the greatest harmony. Wolsey felt apprehensive of the disorder, and concealed himself in some retreat, apart from any of his family. No sooner did the contagion cease, than the king recalled his mistress to court. She used every means to recover her empire over her lover, and her letters to the cardinal, at that period, form a singular contrast with her conduct towards him, when he could no longer serve her; as the following extracts from Burnet will show :—

“ All the days of my life I am most bound of all creatures, next the king's grace, to love and serve your grace; of the which I beseech you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank your Lord, that them that I desired and prayed for are 'scaped, and that is, the king and you—and as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much; and if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then, I trust, my lord, to recompense part of your great pains.' In another letter she says :—‘ I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompensed on my part, but alone in loving you, next to the king's grace, above all creatures living.’ In a third :—‘ I assure you, that after this matter is brought to pass, you shall find me, as I am bound in the mean time to owe you my service; and then look what thing in the world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it, and next unto the king's grace, of one thing I make you full promise to be assured to have it, and that is, my hearty love, unfeignedly, during my life.’

“ Campeggio had been well received by the king; but the caution practised by this Italian was quite a match for all the finesse of the king and Wolsey : neither flattery nor promises could obtain from him any other reply than that ‘ he should render the king every service consistent with the dictates of his conscience.’ Though every precaution had been taken, the voice of the people was not to be silenced : they declared that the husband of the Princess Mary should succeed Henry on the throne. In order to silence public murmurs, Henry summoned the members of the council, the lords of the court, and the principal citizens, into his presence, and before them explained the motives which urged him to seek an alliance with France, ‘ described the scruples which had long disturbed his mind with regard to his marrying his brother's widow, told them his determination to abide by the decision of the delegates appointed to be judges of his cause, and dismissed them with a caution ‘ to beware how they ventured to arraign his conduct.’ Yet had Henry his fears; a search was made for arms, and strangers were ordered to leave London. For seven months after the arrival of Campeggio, king Henry remained in the uncertainty of suspense. It was to no purpose that different agents from the English court importuned the pontiff with promises and threats : he declared that Catherine must not be deprived the rights of justice; and that when his conscience was concerned, he was insensible to the demands of interest, or the threats of danger. Queen

Catherine was banished the court, and Anne Boleyn occupied the magnificent apartments contiguous to those of the king, and held her levees, which were attended in the same manner as had been those of the queen Catherine. At length the court met in the parliament chamber, at the Black Friars, and summoned the king and queen before them. Upon the latter being called by name, she rose from her seat, and entered her protest to the proceeding, on three grounds : because she was a stranger; because the judges held benefices in the realm, the gift of her adversary; and because she had good reason to believe that justice could not be obtained in a court constituted like the present. On the refusal of the cardinals to admit her appeal, she rose a second time, and throwing herself at the king's feet, ‘ I beseech you,’ she said, ‘ to pity me, a woman and a stranger, without an assured friend, and without an indifferent counsellor. I take God to witness, that I have always been to you a true and loyal wife; that I have made it my constant duty to seek your pleasure; that I have loved all whom you loved, whether I had reason or not, whether they were friends to me or foes. I have been your wife for years; I have brought you many children. God knows that when I came to your bed I was a virgin, and I put it to your own conscience to say whether it was not so. If there be any offence which can be alleged against me, I consent to depart with infamy : if not, then I pray you do me justice.’ She made a low obeisance, and retired. An officer followed to recal her. She whispered to an attendant, and then walked away, saying, ‘ I never before disputed the will of my husband, and shall take the first opportunity to ask pardon for this disobedience.’ Henry observing the impression which her address had made on the audience, replied that she had always been a dutiful wife : that his present suit did not proceed from any dislike of her, but from the tenderness of his own conscience : that his scruples had not been suggested, but on the contrary discouraged, by the cardinal of York : that they were confirmed by the bishop of Tarbes : that he had consulted his confessor, and several other bishops, who advised him to apply to the pontiff : and that in consequence, the present court had been appointed, in the decision of which, be it what it might, he should cheerfully acquiesce.

“ In consequence of repeated adjournments the trial lasted during the whole session; and when, on the last day, the counsel on the king's side called for the judgment of the court, Campeggio replied, that judgment must be deferred until the proceedings had been carried before the pope : and adjourned the court. Upon which the duke of Suffolk exclaimed, ‘ That the old saw was verified; never did cardinal bring good to England.’ Wolsey, conceiving this an intended insult to himself, replied, ‘ Sir, of all men living you have least reason to dispraise cardinals; for if I, a poor cardinal, had not been, you would not at this present have had a head upon your shoulders, wherewith to make such a bray in disrepute of us, who have meant you no harm, and have given you no cause of offence. If you, my lord, were the king's ambassador in foreign parts, would you venture to decide on important matters without first consulting your sovereign? We are also commissioners, and cannot proceed to judgment without the knowledge of him from whom whom our authority proceeds. Therefore do we neither more nor less than our commission alloweth; and if any man will be offended with us, he is an



unwise man. Pacify yourself then, my lord, and speak not reproachfully of your best friend. You know what friendship I have shewn you; but this is the first time I have ever revealed it, either to my own praise, or your dishonour."

According to Hume, the legates, after declaring the queen "contumacious," proceeded to the examination of the cause; and the first point which came before them was the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it must be confessed, that no stronger arguments could reasonably be expected of such a fact after so long an interval. The age of the prince, who had passed his fifteenth year, the good state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his consort, many of his expressions to that very purpose; all these circumstances form a violent presumption in favour of the king's assertion. Henry himself, after his brother's death, was not allowed for some time to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: the Spanish ambassador, in order the better to ensure possession of her jointure, had sent over to Spain proofs of the consummation of her marriage; Julius's bull itself was founded on the supposition that Arthur had perhaps had knowledge of his princess: in the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the consummation of the former marriage with Prince Arthur is acknowledged on both sides. These particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reasonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and against his power of granting a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard these doctrines with great impatience; and, notwithstanding his resolution to protract the cause, he was often tempted to interrupt and silence the king's counsel, when they insisted on such disagreeable topics. The trial was spun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court; because it was thought that a trial managed by an Italian cardinal would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality, than if the king's own minister and favourite had presided in it. The business now seemed to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when, to his great surprise, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences, prorogued the court till the first of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished.

Campeggio was dismissed with thanks, and various presents. At Dover his trunks were searched, under pretence that he was conveying the treasures of Wolsey; but, as some supposed, to find the decretal bull, or the letters of Anne Boleyn. These, however, had been sent beforehand by the legate's son, Bidolto, and are still preserved in the Vatican library.

During the time that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had, by his ministers, earnestly solicited Clement to evoke the cause, and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications, that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; though they employed the same engines of pro-

mises and menaces, the motives which they could set before the pope were not so urgent or immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor. The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety for his personal safety, and the fond desire of restoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As soon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of justice, which required him, as he asserted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and suspending the commission of the legates, he had adjourned the cause to his own personal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had, before-hand, received private orders delivered by Campana to burn the decretal bull with which he was entrusted.

The following is Lingard's account of the fall of Wolsey. "The symptoms of his approaching disgrace were too many and too evident to escape his notice: still he cherished the hope that some lucky chance might enable him to recover the royal favour; and imprudently trusted the hollow professions of men, who, though they had served him faithfully in prosperity, were ready to betray his confidence in his declining fortune. But most he had reason to fear the arts of the woman who, the last year, so solemnly assured him, that her gratitude should be commensurate with her life. It was not long since Anne had measured her influence with his, and had proved victorious. For some offence Wolsey had driven Sir Thomas Cheney from court. Cheney appealed to the king's mistress; and Henry reprimanded the cardinal, and recalled the exile. Now she openly avowed her hostility, and eagerly seconded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and her father, the Viscount Rocheford, in their united attempts to precipitate the downfall of the minister. They insinuated that he had never been in earnest in the prosecution of the divorce; and uniformly sacrificed the interests of his sovereign to those of the king of France. In proof of the first charge, they instanced his request to attend the congress at Cambray, instead of opening the commission: in proof of the second, they alleged that during the war with France he had constantly corresponded with the lady regent, had accepted presents from her, and at her request had compelled the duke of Suffolk to retreat from Mondidier, when he might have advanced and taken Paris. The willingness with which the king listened to these suggestions assured them of success; and over their cups they not only ventured to predict the ruin of Wolsey, but threatened to humble the pride of the churchmen, and to ease them of that load of wealth which encumbered the successors of the apostles. It was therefore with surprise and consternation that they witnessed the gracious reception of the cardinal, when he waited on the king at Greenwich, or Grafton, in Northamptonshire. Henry took him by the hand, conversed with him familiarly in public, granted him a long and private audience in his closet, and, when he took leave, requested him to return the following day. His enemies began to tremble for their own safety: they were relieved from their apprehensions by the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn, who, the same evening, extorted from her lover a promise that he would never more speak to Wolsey. Henry rode out with her at an early hour the next morning, dined in her company at Harewell park, and did not return home until the cardinal, in consequence

of a hint which he had received, had departed for London.

"At the commencement of the Michaelmas term Wolsey proceeded in his usual state to the chancery: on the same day the attorney-general filed against him two bills in the court of king's bench, charging him with having, as legate, transgressed the statute of 16th of Richard II., commonly called the statute of præmunire. Nothing could be more iniquitous than this prosecution. It was doubtful whether the legantine court could be brought within the operation of the statute: it was certain that the cardinal had previously obtained the royal license, and was therefore authorised to hold it both by immemorial usage and the sanction of parliament. This stroke, though it was not unexpected, plunged him into despair. The reader may form an accurate notion of his present situation by the following extract from a letter written by an eye-witness, the bishop of Bayonne. 'I have been to visit the cardinal in his distress, and have witnessed the most striking change of fortune. He explained to me his hard case in the worst rhetoric that was ever heard. Both his tongue and his heart failed him. He recommended himself to the pity of the king and madame (Francis and his mother) with sighs and tears; and at last left me without having said any thing near so moving as his appearance. His face is dwindled to one-half of its natural size. In truth, his misery is such, that his enemies, Englishmen as they are, cannot help pitying him. Still they will carry things to extremities. As for his legation, the seals, his authority, &c., he thinks no more of them. He is willing to give up every thing, even the shirt from his back, and to live in a hermitage, if the king would but desist from his displeasure.' He knew," continues Lingard, "the stern and irritable temper of his prosecutor: to have maintained his innocence, would have been to exclude the hope of forgiveness; and there was, moreover, a 'night crow,' to use his own expression, that possessed the royal ear, and misrepresented the most harmless of his actions. On these accounts he submitted without a murmur to every demand. He resigned the seals to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; ordered his attorneys to plead guilty to both indictments, with this observation, that as he was not conscious of having offended, he threw himself with the greater confidence on the royal mercy; and, on condition that he might retain his preferences in the church, transferred by deed his whole personal estate (it was valued at 500,000 crowns) to the king, saying, that, since he had received all from the royal bounty, it was with pleasure that he returned all to his benefactor. It was intimated to him that the king meant to reside at York-place during the parliament, and that he might retire to Asher, a seat belonging to his bishopric of Winchester. When he entered his barge, he was surprised to behold the river covered with boats, and lined with spectators. Both the courtiers and citizens had crowded together to behold his arrest and commitment to the Tower; but he disappointed their curiosity and their hopes; landed at Putney; and, as he ascended the hill, was met by Norris, a groom of the chamber, who brought him a secret, but gracious, message from Henry; not to despair, but to remember, that the king could at any time give him more than he had now taken away. Overpowered with joy and gratitude, the cardinal sank on his knees, and uttered a fervent prayer for the prosperity of his sovereign." Hume says, Wolsey, who

was on horseback when the messenger met him, immediately alighted, and, throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received in that humble attitude these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him.

Lingard continues: "It is difficult to account for this conduct of Henry, unless we suppose that he still retained for his old favourite a feeling of partiality which neither the representations of his council nor the arts of his mistress could entirely extinguish. He continued to send the cardinal, from time to time, consoling messages, and tokens of his affection. When the court pronounced judgment against him, he took him under the royal protection; and when a bill of impeachment, enumerating forty-four real or imaginary offences, and signed by fourteen peers and the law officers of the crown, had been introduced into the house of commons, he procured it to be thrown out by the agency of Cromwell, who from the service of the cardinal had passed to that of the king. The French ambassador, unable to foresee what might be the issue of the struggle, advised his court to render to the fallen minister such good offices as, without giving cause of offence to the existing administration, might be gratefully remembered by Wolsey, if he should finally triumph over his enemies."

Dr. Lingard says, in a note, and with great apparent correctness, "I ascribe its rejection to the king, from the character of Cromwell and the general subservency of the parliaments in this reign. Cromwell would not have dared to oppose the bill, nor the commons to reject it, had they not received an intimation that such was the royal pleasure." In support of this reasonable argument, and in opposition to the more generous notion of Hume, that the defence was owing to the noble and bold gratitude of Cromwell, we must recollect, that this latter was a political adventurer, hardened in the most heartless school of politics, and was working his way into the favour of a king whom he knew to be singularly arbitrary and vindictive: and there is nothing in his subsequent character to warrant the giving him credit for so singular a sacrifice of his ambition to his honour or better feelings. As Dr. Lingard most judiciously observes, he most probably felt and understood that the king did not wish them to proceed to extremities against Wolsey, and therefore he might at once fulfil Henry's private wishes, and gain a reputation for generosity and fidelity in defending his fallen master.

We continue the narration from Lingard: "At Asher Wolsey found himself destitute of the comforts, almost of the necessities, of life. The comparison of his present with his past condition filled him with the most gloomy apprehensions; and the anguish of his mind rapidly consumed the vigour of his constitution. About Christmas he fell into a fever, which obstinately defied the power of medicine. When Henry heard of his danger, he exclaimed, 'God forbid that he should die; I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds!' He immediately ordered three physicians to Asher; repeatedly assured the cardinal of his unabated attachment, and, no longer concealing his anxiety from Anne Boleyn, compelled her to send to the sick man a tablet of gold, for a token of reconciliation.

"As the agitation of Wolsey's mind subsided, the health of his body was restored: but his enemies had prepared for him a new conflict, and required of him additional sacrifices. The promises which had been



made to him were disregarded; and he was called upon to resign all his ecclesiastical preferments, except the bishoprics of York and Winchester. Out of the former the king annexed York place, the town residence of the archbishops, to the crown for ever; the income of the latter, with the reservation of one thousand crowns to the cardinal, was shared among the duke of Norfolk, the Viscount Rocheford, and the friends of the ruling party: and in return Wolsey himself received a general pardon, and a release from all debts due to the crown for his maintenance since the day of his conviction. Henry had supplied him with money to pay part of his debts, and with a quantity of plate, furniture, and provisions, valued at 6374*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*

"When he had assented to every demand, he was allowed to exchange Asher for Richmond, where he spent most of his time with the monks of the Charter-house. Still his vicinity to the court alarmed the jealousy of his enemies; and a peremptory order to reside within his archbishopric drove him, notwithstanding his entreaties and remonstrances, to a distance of two hundred miles. Henry, to soften the rigour of his exile, had recommended him in the warmest terms to the attention of the northern nobility; and Wolsey by his conduct and generosity quickly won their esteem. His thoughts seemed entirely devoted to the spiritual and temporal concerns of his station. On every Sunday and holiday he rode to some country church, celebrated mass in public, ordered one of his chaplains to preach to the people, and at the conclusion distributed alms to the poor. He made it his favourite employment to reconcile families at variance; a tedious and expensive office, as he frequently satisfied the injured or discontented party out of his own purse. Every gentleman in the county was welcome to his table, which was plentifully though not extravagantly supplied: and in repairing the houses and buildings belonging to his see, he gave employment to three hundred workmen. The more he was known the more he was beloved: the men, to whom in prosperity he had been an object of hatred, applauded his conduct under adversity: and even at court his name was occasionally whispered with feelings of approbation. But the fear of offending Anne imposed silence on his friends: and his enemies were careful to paint all his actions to the king in false and odious colours.

"The cardinal had invited the nobility of the county to assist at his installation on the 7th November; on the 4th he was unexpectedly arrested at Cawood on a charge of high treason. What was the particular crime alleged against him, we know not; but the king asserted that his very servants had accused him of practising against the government both within and without the realm; and it is probable that the suspicion of Henry was awakened by the correspondence of the cardinal with the pope and the king of France. Wolsey betrayed no symptoms of guilt: the king had not, he maintained, a more loyal subject than himself, nor did he seek any other favour than to be confronted with his accusers.

"His health (he suffered much from the dropsy) would not allow him to travel with expedition: and at Sheffield park, a seat of the earl of Shrewsbury, he was seized with a dysentery, which confined him a fortnight. As soon as he was able to mount his mule, he resumed his journey: but feeling his strength rapidly decline, he said to the abbot of Leicester, as he entered the gate of the monastery, 'Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among

you.' He was immediately carried to his bed; and the second day seeing Kyngston, the lieutenant of the Tower, in his chamber, he addressed him in these well-known words: 'Master Kyngston, I pray you have me commended to his majesty; and beseech him on my behalf to call to mind all things that have passed between us, especially respecting good Queen Catherine and himself; and then shall his grace's conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage: rather than miss any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom: and I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him sometimes for three hours together to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kyngston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is my just reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince.' Having received the last consolations of religion, he expired the next morning (29th November, 1530), in the 60th year of his age. In the printed editions of Cavendish it is asserted that the cardinal poisoned himself, but Mr. Wordsworth has shewn that it was an interpolation. The passage is not in the manuscript copies." His character is thus given by Hume:—

Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favourite's measures have undergone; and when we consider, that the subsequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolsey's counsels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If in foreign politics he sometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes rather than his master's service, which he boasted he had solely at heart; we must remember that he had in view the papal throne; a dignity which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a suitable return for all his favours. The cardinal of Amboise, whose memory is respected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was in some respect similar to Wolsey's; and we have reason to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death when informed of it; and always spoke favourably of his memory: a proof that humour more than reason, or any discovery of treachery, had occasioned the last persecutions against him.

To complete the story of Wolsey we have been carried on past some important events which occurred contemporaneously. We now return to them, as given by Hume.

The complaints against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms: and as this topic was now become popular every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people in some measure to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The commons, finding the occasion favourable, passed several bills restraining the impositions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills; a third against

non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclesiastical order, were the severe invectives thrown out almost without opposition in the house against the dissolute lives of the priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert has even preserved the speech of a gentleman of Gray's Inn, which is of a singular nature, and contains such topics as we should little expect to meet with during that period. The member insists upon the vast variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endless inextricable controversies maintained by the several sects; the impossibility that any man, much less the people, could ever know, much less examine, the tenets and principles of every sect; the necessity of ignorance, and a suspension of judgment with regard to all those objects of dispute: and upon the whole he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one Supreme Being, the author of nature; and the necessity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such sentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced without some precaution in a public assembly. But though the first broaching of religious controversy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few persons of a studious disposition; the zeal with which men soon after attached themselves to their several parties, served effectually to banish for a long time all such obnoxious liberties.

The bills for regulating the clergy met with some opposition in the house of lords. Bishop Fisher, in particular, imputed these measures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed design, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in severe and even somewhat indecent terms. He told him that the greatest clerks were not always the wisest men. But Fisher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the bishop of Rochester's speech stopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their speaker, made complaints to the king of the reflections thrown upon them; and the bishop was obliged to put a more favourable construction on his words.

Henry was not displeased that the court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible that they were entirely dependent on him, and that his parliament, if he were willing to second their inclinations, was sufficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The commons gratified the king in another particular of moment: they granted him a discharge of all those debts which he had contracted since the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money which he had borrowed in the public service. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well pleased to take the opportunity of mulcting them. Several also approved of an expedient which they hoped would ever after discredit a method of supply so irregular and so unparliamentary.

The domestic transactions of England were at

present so interesting to the king, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands, had engaged him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercised no hostility against any of the Imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer established in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louisa of Savoy met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hostages. Henry was on this occasion so generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of near 600,000 crowns which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not so well satisfied as the king with the peace of Cambray; they were almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor; and seemed to have no means of security left but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave resistance, was subdued by the Imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated; they were only obliged to relinquish some acquisitions which they had made on the coast of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already by his vigour and capacity succeeded in every enterprise, and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe, the one spiritual the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognostications were formed of his growing empire.

But though Charles seemed to be prosperous on every side, and though the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himself threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his desire of surmounting them was the chief cause of his granting such moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solymán, the greatest and most accomplished prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne, had almost entirely subdued Hungary, had besieged Vienna, and though repulsed, still menaced the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria with conquest and subjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and because they protested against the votes passed in the Imperial diet, they thereforth received the appellation of "protestants." Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandising his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

The friendship of Henry was one material circumstance yet wanting to Charles, in order to ensure success in his ambitious enterprises; and the king was sufficiently apprised, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce—that point which had long been the object of his most earnest wishes. But besides that the interests of his king-



dom seemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty spirit could not submit to a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and as he had ever been accustomed to receive courtship, deference, and solicitation from the greatest potentates, he could ill brook that dependance to which this unhappy affair seemed to have reduced him. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a superstitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely that his personal experience of the duplicity and selfish politics of Clement had served much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly established at home: he observed, that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order: he knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his prosecution of the divorce, and highly resented the unworthy treatment which, after so many services and such devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not fail to use all her efforts, and employ every insinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities against the pope; both as it was the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the duchess of Alençon, a princess inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations: he dreaded the reproach of heresy: he abhorred all the connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: and having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that university for his learning, and still more for the candour and disinterestedness of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into the company of Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to the controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorses would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it; and swore with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear: he sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agent to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe.

Had the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound

philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason why marriages in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral sentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect, that if a commerce of love were authorised between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse more or less restrained between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between persons of different sexes, except where they lived under the same roof; and even the apartments of a step-mother and her daughters were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons, as against those from any stranger or more distant relation: hence, in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry not only his niece, but his half-sister by the father: a liberty unknown to the Romans and other nations, where a more open intercourse was authorised between the sexes. Reasoning from this principle it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes is so obstructed by ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill consequence would result among them from marrying a brother's widow; especially if the dispensation of the supreme priest be previously required, in order to justify what may in common cases be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as strong motives of public interest and tranquillity may frequently require such alliances between the foreign families, there is the less reason for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals.

Even judging of this question by the scripture, to which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the king's cause appear but lame and imperfect. Marriage, in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine, is indeed prohibited in Leviticus; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewish ceremonial or municipal law: and though it is there said, in the conclusion, that the gentile nations, by violating those degrees of consanguinity, had incurred the divine displeasure, the extension of this maxim to every precise case before specified, is supposing the scriptures to be composed with a minute accuracy and precision, to which we know with certainty the sacred penmen did not think proper to confine themselves. The descent of mankind from one common father obliged them, in the first generation, to marry in the nearest degrees of consanguinity: instances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs: and the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain cases, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a positive precept by the Mosaic law. It is in vain to say that this precept was an exception to the rule; and an exception confined merely to the Jewish nation. The inference is still just, that such a marriage can contain no natural or moral turpitude; otherwise God, who is the author of all purity, would never in any case have enjoined it.

But, in opposition to these reasons, and many

more which might be collected, Henry had custom and precedent on his side; the principle by which men are almost wholly governed in their actions and opinions. The marrying of a brother's widow was so unusual, that no other instance of it could be found in any history or record of any Christian nation; and though the popes were accustomed to dispense with more essential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, such as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, without hesitation, as well as without interest or reward, gave verdict in the king's favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone, and Cambridge, made some difficulty; because these universities, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, and dreading a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their sanction to measures whose consequences they feared would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of a denial of justice. The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense. But Clement, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refused to submit to such a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high insult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltshire, carried to the pope the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the first instance of disrespect from England, refused to kiss his holiness's foot, which he very graciously held out to him for that purpose.

A new session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his extensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost obsolete, had been employed to ruin Wolsey, and render his exercise of the legantine power criminal, notwithstanding the king's permission; the same law was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended that every one who had submitted to the legantine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the statute of provisors; and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against them. The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain consequence of not submitting to Wolsey's commission, which was procured by Henry's consent, and supported by his authority. They chose, therefore, to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay 118,840 pounds for a pardon. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that "the king was the protector and the supreme

head of the church and clergy of England;" though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms, "in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ."

The commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest either they should afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their submission to the legantine court, or a supply in like manner be extorted from them in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remission to his lay subjects; but they met with a repulse. He told them, that if ever he chose to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodness, not from their application, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this concession, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expressed great gratitude for that act of clemency.

By this strict execution of the statute of provisors, a great part of the profit, and still more of the power of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connexions between the pope and the English clergy were in some measure dissolved. The next session found both king and parliament in the same dispositions. An act was passed against levying the annates or first fruits, being a year's rent of all the bishoprics that fell vacant: a tax which was imposed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to considerable sums. Since the second of Henry VII., no less than 160,000*l.* had been transmitted to Rome on account of this claim, which the parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. on all the episcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was entrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleasure: and it was voted, that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome on account of that law, should be entirely disregarded; and that mass should be said, and the sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued.

This session the commons preferred to the king a long complaint against the abuses and oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference arose, which put an end to the session before the parliament had finished all their business. It was become a custom for men to make such settlements or trust-deeds of their lands by will, that they defrauded not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the same artifice the king was deprived of his premier seisin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconsiderable branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuse: he was contented that every man should have the liberty of disposing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, "If they would not take a reasonable thing when it was offered, he would search out the extremity of the law, and then would not offer them so much again." The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: a singular instance, where Henry might see that his power and authority, though extensive, had yet some boundaries. The commons, however, found reason to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ablest lawyers, who argued the question in chan-



every; and it was decided, that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands in prejudice of his heir.

The parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, the king caused the two oaths to be read to them, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns, the parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable that one Temse ventured this session to move, that the house should address the king to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion made the king send for Audley the speaker, and explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had long been burdened; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man that had ever married his brother's widow.

After the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from this high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper, or even diminished that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. He sported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high station, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his serene and equal spirit. While his family discovered symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to Sir Thomas Audley.

During these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom which of all others had long been the most devoted to the holy see, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue. While the Imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate and impartial counsellors represented to him the indignity of his proceedings—that a great monarch, who had signalled himself both by his pen and his sword in the cause of the pope, should be denied a favour which he demanded on such just grounds, and which had scarcely ever before been refused to any person of his rank and station. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the

queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to send any proxy to plead his cause before this court: he only dispatched Sir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excusators, so they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he said, must be sacrificed, if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and as the question regarded conscience, not power or interest, no proxy could supply his place, or convey that satisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In order to support himself in this measure, and add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which he believed he had persuaded Francis to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience from the bishop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having farther recourse to that see. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Roulard Lee, soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother and brother, together with Dr. Crammer, were present at the ceremony. Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event both gave great satisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

The parliament was again assembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded still in those gradual and secure steps by which they loosened their connexions with the see of Rome, and repressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts; appeals esteemed dishonourable to the kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction, and found to be very vexatious, by the expense and the delay of justice which necessarily attended them. The more to show his disregard to the pope, Henry finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring by a formal sentence the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine: a sentence which ought naturally to have preceded his espousing of Anne.

The king, even amidst his scruples and remorses on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavoured, by every soft and persuasive art to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her cause, he had totally forborne all visits and intercourse with her; and had desired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for some time at Amptill, near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Crammer, now created archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham, was appointed to open his court

for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared "contumacious;" and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the universities were read, together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after these preliminary steps Cranmer proceeded to a sentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony. To complete the king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. Henry was so much delighted with the birth of this child, that soon after he conferred on her the title of princess of Wales; a step somewhat irregular, as she could only be presumptive, not apparent heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to bestow on the offspring of his present marriage the same mark of distinction, as well as to exclude the elder princess from all hopes of the succession. His regard for the new queen seemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage; and all men expected to see the entire ascendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had set her at so great a distance, and who by a proper mixture of severity and indulgence had long managed so intractable a spirit as that of Henry. In order to efface as much as possible all marks of his first marriage, Lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that she was thenceforth to be treated only as princess-dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit no person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions.

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if before the first of November ensuing he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood. An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The pope had claims upon the duchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena; and, having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration

of the emperor, he was surprised to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his second son, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was so much honoured. An interview was even appointed between the pope and the French king at Marseilles; and Francis as a common friend there employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of England.

Had this connexion of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years sooner, there had been little difficulty in adjusting the quarrel with Henry. The king's request was an ordinary one; and the same plenary power of the pope, which had granted a dispensation for his espousing of Catherine, could easily have annulled the marriage. But in the progress of the quarrel the state of affairs was much changed on both sides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apostolic see; and finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his measures for breaking off foreign dependance, he had begun to relish his spiritual authority, and would scarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his submissions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifest risque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and as a sentence of divorce could no longer be rested on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be construed as an acknowledgment of papal usurpations, it was foreseen that the Lutherans would thence take occasion of triumph, and would persevere more obstinately in their present principles. But notwithstanding these obstacles, Francis did not despair of mediating an agreement. He observed that the king had still some remains of prejudice in favour of the catholic church and was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue from too violent innovations. He saw the interest that Clement had in preserving the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped that these motives on both sides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

Francis first prevailed on the pope to promise, that if the king would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he should appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and he should immediately afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce required of him. Bellay, bishop of Paris, was next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed, that if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion. But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier who carried the king's written promise was detained beyond the day appointed: news was brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England



against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the pope and cardinals. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory inflamed with anger; and by a precipitate sentence the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found that though he heartily repented of this hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before.

It is not probable that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper, could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obstinate; and having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negotiating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had assembled a parliament, and continued to enact laws totally destructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding session had retrenched somewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation that a general council was much superior to a pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese. The proceedings of the parliament showed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reason to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable sentence from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his second marriage and the succession, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have surrendered to him any considerable share of his assumed prerogative. The importance of the laws passed this session, even before intelligence arrived of the violent resolutions taken at Rome, is sufficient to justify this opinion.

All payments made to the apostolic chamber; all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished: monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone: the law for punishing heretics was moderated: the ordinary was prohibited from imprisoning or trying any person upon suspicion alone, without presentment by two lawful witnesses; and it was declared, that to speak against the pope's authority was no heresy: bishops were to be appointed by a *congé d'elire* from the crown, or in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for bulls, bulls, or provisions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed: the law which had been formerly made against paying annates or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: and a submission which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of parliament. In this submission the clergy acknowledge that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only; they promise to enact no new canons without his consent; and they agree that he should appoint

thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative. An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in chancery.

But the most important law passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown: the marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect; the primate's sentence annulling it was ratified: and the marriage with Queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing them to the king's heirs for ever. An oath was likewise enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all slander against the king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of imprisonment of treason. After these compliances the parliament was prorogued; and those acts, so contemptuous towards the pope, and so destructive of his authority, were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced his hasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment against Queen Catherine, on account of her obstinacy, was the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of succeeding to the crown; contrary to his first intention when he began the process of divorce, and of dispensation for a second marriage.

The king found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: and they voted that the bishop of Rome had by the law of God no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority which he and his predecessors had there exercised was only by usurpation, and by the sufferance of English princes. Four persons alone opposed this vote in the lower house, and one doubted. It passed unanimously in the upper. The bishops went so far in their complaisance, that they took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleasure.

The oath regarding the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher was obnoxious on account of some practices into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, seems to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed that his authority would have influence on the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and thought that the parliament had full power to settle it: he offered to draw an oath himself, which would insure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law; because the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwel, now secretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, entreated him to

lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refusal. He persisted, however, in a mild though firm manner, to maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

The parliament being again assembled, conferred on the king the title of the only supreme "head" on earth of the church of England: as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction." They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the English laws.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for any human principles or prepossessions to sustain. Indulgencies had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy see; but being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and opposition in Germany. The prerogative of granting dispensations had also contributed much to attach all the sovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky occurrence of circumstances, was now the cause why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy introduced there a greater simplicity in the government, by uniting the spiritual with the civil power, and preventing disputes about limits, which never could exactly be determined, between the contending jurisdictions. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitances of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which all human reason, policy, and industry had so long been encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent abuses. And on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial consequences; though perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with so much order and tranquillity in changing the national religion, and while his authority seemed entirely secure in England, he was held in some inquietude by the state of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

The earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accused of some violences against the family of Osory, his hereditary enemies, he was summoned to

answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son, who hearing that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself to O'neale, O'carrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in prison, and his son, persevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promised him assistance. The king was obliged to send over some forces to Ireland, who so harassed the rebels, that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promises, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner to Lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorset. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction they were all brought to public justice; though two of the uncles, in order to save the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

The earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant in Scotland; and having got possession of the king's person, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen dowager, however, his consort, bred him great disturbance. For having separated herself from him, on account of some jealousies and disgusts, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatisfied with the slavery to which he was reduced; and by secret correspondence he incited first Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprises failed of success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit and valour in repressing those feuds, ravages, and disorders, which, though they disturbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed by that means to maintain national independency. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account somewhat cold in hearkening to his proposals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped by means of such an ally to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scottish king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his sister the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not upon reflection been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over all other considerations. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle Henry to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms,



and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himself in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refusing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any personal negotiations with an enemy of the holy see. From these measures Henry easily concluded, that he could very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But those events took not place till some time after our present period.

### CHAP. XXXV.

*Religious principles of the people—of the king—of the ministers—Farther progress of the Reformation—Sir Thomas More—The Maid of Kent—Trial and execution of Fisher, bishop of Rochester—of Sir Thomas More—King excommunicated—Death of Queen Catherine—Suppression of the lesser monasteries—A parliament—A convocation—Translation of the Bible—Disgrace of Queen Anne—Her trial—and execution—A parliament—A convocation—Discontents among the people—Insurrection—Birth of Prince Edward, and death of Queen Jane—Suppression of the greater monasteries—Cardinal Pole.*

THE ancient and almost uninterrupted opposition of interests between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had sufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the sovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to discover abuses, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive of their own. These subjects seemed proportioned to human understanding; and even the people, who felt the power of interest in their own breast, could perceive the purpose of those numerous inventions which the interested spirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature of the sacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were during some time at a loss how to choose their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological alterations, had produced a sincere but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As soon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions: hence their seeming prostitution, in sacrificing to present power the most sacred principles: and hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in a habitual detestation of those who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the reformers, than the offer which they made, of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgment, while they opposed to prejudices of ancient authority, more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience and even alacrity in suffering persecution, death, and tortments; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people, and by such considerations were men so generally induced during that age to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared in some respects dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of shaking so ancient and deep-founded an establishment as that of the Romish hierarchy might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican spirit which naturally took place among the reformers increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptists in Germany, furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore such apprehensions were altogether without any shadow of plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiesce implicitly in those establishments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry—not even the pope himself, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers; and there was small likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But besides this political jealousy, there was another reason which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received from his courtiers and theologians infinite applause for his performance. Elated by this imaginary success, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther also had been so imprudent as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made the most humble submissions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part

of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

Henry's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during his whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers: Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations; Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets, and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and oppressed by tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it.

All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to each other, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for the catholic faith; and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party: the king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtship paid him both by protestants and catholics, to assume an unbounded authority: and though in all his measures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he casually steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, in his situation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: but while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious passions, each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him cordially and fully into their interests.

The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation with which the age was generally seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady severity

in the administration, could be able to repress. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp, where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces served, during some time, to give them protection. These men employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other protestants, they asserted that salvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most infallible road to perdition was a reliance on "good works;" by which terms they understood as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of "good works;" but though they did not exclude from this appellation the social virtues, it was still the superstitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books composed by these fugitives, having stolen over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to considerable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made sensible. Tonsal, then bishop of London, soon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being desirous to discourage in the gentlest manner these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapside. By this measure he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the word of God.

The disciples of the reformation met with little severity during the ministry of Wolsey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore too small a regard to the ecclesiastical order to serve as an instrument of their tyranny: it was even an article of impeachment against him, that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compassion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's sentiments during that age. This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles which even at present would be deemed somewhat free, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their prosecution of heresy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his pre-



sence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostasy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield.

Many were brought into the bishops' courts for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of the party: some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; others for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages. To harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was so haunted by remorse, that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last his mind seemed to be more relieved; but this appearance of calmness proceeded only from the resolution which he had taken of expiating his past offence by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their salvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or to images. He was soon seized, tried in the bishops' court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; and the writ was sent down to burn him. When brought to the stake, he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment; and some mendicant friars who were present, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them lose those alms which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and, by this meekness, gained the more on the sympathy of the people. Another person, still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots which were to be the instruments of his punishment, as the means of procuring him eternal rest. In short, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, those severe executions, which, in another disposition of men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it, now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

But though Henry neglected not to punish the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him, "That many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's." The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him, who justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession

of the crown; but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry silenced the petulant friar, but showed no other mark of resentment than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence. He even here bore patiently some new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: when the earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them, that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elston replied, that the road to Heaven lay as near by water as by land.

But several monks were detected in a conspiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its discovery attended with more fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the "holy maid of Kent," had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which, as she was scarcely conscious of them during the time, had soon after entirely escaped her memory. The silly people in the neighbourhood were struck with these appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a designing fellow, founded on them a project from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought upon that prudent but superstitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard paid her by a person of so high a rank soon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was easy for Masters to persuade them, as well as the maid herself, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery, as is usual, soon after succeeding to delusion, she learned to counterfeit trances; and she then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was to raise the credit of an image of the virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrimages as usually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the presence of a great multitude, she fell anew into convulsions; and after distorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, she affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the virgin. This miracle was soon bruited abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to succeed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprises. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went so far as to assert, that if he prosecuted that design, and married another, he should not be a king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the delusion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophe-

sies of Elizabeth. Miracles were daily added to increase the wonder; and the pulpit every where resounded with accounts of the sanctity and inspirations of the new prophetess. Messages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princess was exhorted to persist in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion so favourable to the party which he had espoused. The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, he brought them before the star chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable imposture; and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, Gold, suffered for their crime. The bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Lawrence and others, were condemned for misprision of treason; because they had not discovered some criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth; and they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions which so naturally insinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different sexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes.

The detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles: they had lately added to his other titles, that of supreme head of the church; it was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that nowise affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament in passing this law had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed: but the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what during many ages it had been heresy to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern unrelenting mind of Henry was at first shocked with these sanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his garb and dress; pretending sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded by

making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his lawless tyranny.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals still more than for his ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes, and without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which scarcely sufficed him for covering. In this condition he lay in prison above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so indifferent about that dignity, that even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make the innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

The following account of Sir Thomas More is taken from Mackintosh, as the fullest account given of this celebrated man. It must not quite be lost sight of, though too much glossed over by Mackintosh, that More had displayed great bigotry in enforcing his own religious tenets on others, and had a sincere and apparently worthy man tortured for his conscientious opinions.

"The next of Henry's deeds of blood has doomed his name to everlasting remembrance. The fate of Sir Thomas More was unequalled by any scene which Europe had witnessed since the destruction of the best and wisest of the Romans by those hideous monsters who wielded the imperial sceptre of the west. It will be difficult, indeed, to point out any man like More since the death of Boethius, the last sage of the ancient world. Others imitated the Grecian arts of composition more happily; but when we peruse those writings of More which were produced during the freedom and boldness of his youth, we must own that no other man had so deeply imbibed from the works of Plato and Cicero, their liberty of reasoning, their applications of philosophy to affairs and institutions, to manners and tastes; in a word, their inmost habits of thinking and feeling. He faithfully transmits the whole impression which they made on his nature. He imprinted it with some enlargement and variation on the minds of his readers. Those who know only his 'Utopia,' will acknowledge that he left little of ancient wisdom uncultivated, and that it anticipates more of the moral and political speculation of modern times than can be credited without a careful perusal of it. It was the earliest model among the moderns of imaginary voyages and ideal commonwealths. Among the remarkable parts of it may be mentioned the admirable discussions on criminal law, the forcible objections to capital punishment for offences against property, the remarks on the tendency of the practice of inflicting needless suffering on animals in weakening compassion and affection towards our fellow-men. The specious chimera of a community of goods allured him, as it had seduced his master Plato. The guilt and misery caused by property lie on the surface of society; the infinitely greater evils from which it guards us require much sagacity and meditation to unfold; inasmuch that it is hard to determine



what sort of instinct restrains multitudes in troubled times from making terrible experiments on this most tempting of all subjects.

"The most memorable of Sir Thomas More's speculations was the latitude of his toleration, which in Utopia, before he was scared by the tumults of the reformation, he expressly extends even to atheists. 'On the ground that a man cannot make himself believe what he pleases, the Utopians do not drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threats, so that men are not tempted there to lie or disguise their opinions.' It must be owned that he deviated from his fair visions of intellectual improvement after he was alarmed by the excesses of some of Luther's followers. He took a part in the execution of the barbarous laws against heretics, as many judges since his time have enforced criminal laws which punish secondary crimes with death, and in which no good man not inured to such inflictions by practice could have taken a share. Yet even in his polemical writings against Luther he represents the severities of sovereigns against the new reformers as caused by their tumults and revolts; and at last declares that he heartily wishes for the exclusion of violence on both sides, trusting to the final triumph of truth.

"He was the first Englishman who signalized himself as an orator, the first writer of a prose which is still intelligible, and probably the first layman since the beginning of authentic history who was chancellor of England, a magistracy which has been filled by as many memorable men as any office of a civilized community.

"But it is time to turn from his merits, his rank, and his fame, to the mournful contemplation of his last days. He had been imprisoned for about twelve months, apparently in pursuance of his attainder for misprision in not having taken the oath to maintain the succession. He was brought to trial on the 7th of May, 1535, before Lord Audley the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the chief justice, and six judges, of whom Spelman and Fitzherbert were lawyers of considerable note. The accusation against him was high treason, grounded (if on any legal pretext) on the monstrous clause of the recent act, which made it treason 'to do any thing by writing or act which was to the slander, disturbance, or prejudice of the marriage with the lady Anne; or to the dishonour or disturbance of the king's heirs by her.' Both he and Fisher proposed their readiness to swear that they would support the succession to the crown as established by parliament; but they declined to take that oath, if it were understood to involve an affirmation of the facts recited in the preamble of the statute, as the premises from which the statute infers the practical conclusion respecting the legitimacy of the succession. They abstained thereby from affirming or denying, first, that Henry's marriage with Catherine was invalid; or, secondly, that his marriage with Anne was valid; and thirdly, they refused to disclaim all foreign authority in the kingdom, the disclaimer extending to spiritual authority, although that is in its own nature no more than a decisive ascendant over the minds of those who spontaneously submit to it. More was so enfeebled by imprisonment that his limbs tottered when he came into the court, and he supported himself with difficulty in coming forward by a staff. The commissioners had sufficient pity on their late illustrious colleague to allow him the indulgence of a chair. His countenance was pale and wan, yet composed and cheerful. His faculties were undis-

turbed; and the mild dignity of his character did not forsake him. The first witnesses against him were the privy councillors who had at various times examined him during his imprisonment. Their testimony amounted only to his repeated declaration, 'that being loth to aggravate the king's displeasure, he would say no more than that the statute was a two-edged sword; for if he spoke against it, he should be the cause of the death of his body; and if he assented to it, he should purchase the death of his soul.' It is obvious that this answer might be perfectly innocent, even according to Henry's own code; and that, even if it had been a positive refusal to take the oath, it was only a misprision. Hales, the attorney-general, said, that the prisoner's silence proved his malice. More replied that he said nothing against the oath, but that his own conscience forbade him to take it, which could be no more than not taking it. The court were driven to the very odious measure of examining a law officer of the crown concerning the real or pretended language of Sir Thomas More in a private conversation, where one man might have spoken freely from some trust in the honour of another—where disclosures were alleged to have been made by More at an interview, in the course of which it soon appeared that More had been betrayed by the reasonings of the crown lawyer. Sir Robert Rich, the solicitor-general, was then called as a witness, and said that he had visited More in the Tower; and after protesting he came there without authority, which rendered the communication confidential, he asked More whether if the parliament had enacted that Rich should be king, and that it should be treason to deny it, what offence would it be to contravene the act? That More owned in answer that he was bound to obey such a statute; because a parliament can make a king, and depose him, and that every parliament-man may give his consent thereunto; but asked whether, if it were enacted by parliament that God was not God, it would be an offence to say according to such an enactment: that More concluded by observing, that the parliament might submit to the king as head; but that the other churches of Christendom would not follow their example or hold communion with them.

"On hearing this testimony, Sir Thomas More said, 'If I were a man, my Lords, that had no regard to my oath, I had no need to be now here; and if this oath which Mr. Rich have taken be true, I pray I may never see God's face, which, were it otherwise, is an imprecation I would not be guilty of to gain the whole world. I am more concerned for your perjury than for my own danger. I am acquainted with your manner of life from your youth, you well know; and I am very sorry to be forced to speak it—you always lay under the odium of a very lying tongue. Could I have acted so unadvisedly as to trust Mr. Rich, of whose truth and honesty I had so mean an opinion, with the secrets of my conscience respecting the king's supremacy, which I had withheld from your Lordships, and from the king himself? If his evidence could be believed, are words, thus dropt in an unguarded moment of familiar conversation, to be regarded as proofs of malice and enmity against the established order of succession to the crown?'

"This speech touched the reputation of Rich to the quick. He called two gentlemen of the court, who were present at the conversation; but they did not corroborate his story, alleging, most improbably, that their minds were so much occupied by their

own business, that they did not attend to such a conversation. The truth or falsehood of Rich's account of a confidential conversation very little affects the degree of his baseness. But its falsehood, which is much the more probable supposition, throws a darker shade on the character of the triers who convicted More, and of the judges who condemned him. After his condemnation, he avowed, as he said then (when there was no temptation to suppress truth), for the first time, that he had studied the question for seven years, and could not escape from the conclusion that the king's marriage with Catherine was valid. Audley, the chancellor, incautiously pressed him with the weight of authority. 'Would you,' says Audley, 'be esteemed wiser, or of purer conscience, than all the bishops, doctors, nobility, and commons in this land?'—'For one bishop,' answered More, 'on your side I can produce a hundred holy and catholic bishops on mine; and against one realm, the consent of Christendom for a thousand years.' He was sentenced to die the death of a traitor; but Henry mercifully changed it to beheading; and he suffered that punishment on the 7th day of July, 1535, in the 55th year of his age.

"On his return from his arraignment at Westminster, Margaret Roper, his first-born child, waited on the Tower wharf, where he landed, to see her father, as she feared, for the last time; and after he had stretched out his arms in token of a blessing, while she knelt at some distance to implore and receive it, she, hastening towards him, without consideration or care of herself, pressing in amongst the throng, and the arms of the guard, that with halberds and bills went around him, ran to him, and openly, in presence of them all, embraced him, took him about the neck, and kissed him. He, well liking her most natural and dear daughterly affection, gave her again his fatherly blessing. After she was departed, she, like one that had forgotten herself, being all ravished with the entire love of her dear father, having respect neither to herself nor to the multitude, turned back, ran to him as before, took him about the neck, and divers times kissed him most lovingly; the beholding of which made many who were present, for very sorrow thereof, to weep and mourn.' In his answer to her on the last day of his life, he expressed himself thus touchingly, in characters traced with a coal, the only means of writing which was left within his reach:—'Dear Megg, I never liked your manner better towards me as when you kissed me last. For I like, when daughterly love and dear charity have no leisure to look to worldly courtesy.' On the morning of his execution he entreated that his darling daughter might be allowed to attend his funeral. He was noted among friends for the strength of his natural affection, and for the warmth of all the household and family kindness which bless a home. But he prized Margaret above his other progeny, which she merited by resemblance to himself in beauty of form, in power of mind, in variety of accomplishments, and, above all, in a pure and tender nature. His innocent playfulness did not forsake him in his last moments. His harmless pleasantry, in which he habitually indulged, now showed his perfectly natural character, together with a quiet and cheerfulness of mind, which formed the graceful close of a virtuous life.

"The only petition he made on the day of execution was, that his beloved Margaret might be allowed to be present at his burial. His friend, Sir Thomas Pope, who was sent to announce to More his doom,

answered, 'The king is already content that your wife, children, and other friends, may be present thereat.' Pope, on taking his leave, could not refrain from weeping: More comforted him: 'I trust that we shall once in Heaven see each other full merrily, where we shall be sure to live and love together in joyful bliss.' When going up the scaffold, which was so weak that it seemed ready to fall, he said to the lieutenant, 'I pray you, Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up; and as to coming down, let me shift for myself.' Observing some signs of shame in the executioner, he said, 'Pluck up thy spirits, man, my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, of a stroke awry, by which you will lose your credit.' On kneeling to receive the fatal stroke, he said to the executioner, 'My beard has not offended the king, let me put it aside.' That the whole of his deportment in dying moments, thus full of tenderness and pleasantry, of natural affection, of benevolent religion, came without effort from his heart, is apparent, from the perfect simplicity with which he conducted his own defence, in every part of which he avoided all approaches to theatrical menace or ostentatious defiance; and, instead of provoking his judges to violence, seemed by his example willing to teach them the decorum and mildness of the Judgment Seat. He used all the just means of defence which law or fact afforded, as calmly as if he expected justice. Throughout his sufferings he betrayed no need of the base aids from pride and passion, which often bestow counterfeit fortitude on a public death.

"The love of Margaret Roper continued to display itself in those outwardly unavailing tokens of tenderness to his remains by which affection seeks to perpetuate itself; ineffectually, indeed, for the object, but very effectually for softening the heart and exalting the soul. She procured his head to be taken down from London Bridge, where more odious passions had struggled in pursuit of a species of infernal immortality by placing it. She kept it during her life as a sacred relic, and was buried with that object of fondness in her arms nine years after she was separated from her father. Erasmus called her the ornament of her Britain, and the flower of the learned matrons of England, at a time when education consisted only of the revived study of ancient learning. He survived More only a few months, but composed a beautiful account of his martyrdom, though with his wonted fearfulness, under an imaginary name.

"Cranmer often wanted the courage to resist crimes, but never desired to do evil. In April, 1535, he wrote a letter to Cromwell, earnestly advising the acquiescence of the king in the proposal of Fisher and More, who were ready to swear to the succession as settled by the statute, provided that they were not obliged to include the preamble in their oath. Such a compliance on the part of such eminent men would extinguish all scruples about the succession through the kingdom, and silence even the most zealous partisans of Catherine and Mary. He may be thought blameworthy for thus limiting himself to topics of no very exalted policy, in a case where justice and humanity were so deeply concerned. But it is a decisive proof of his good faith, that he employed the only reasons which he knew could affect the minds with which he had to deal.

"Even Henry himself confidently expected that he should overawe More into submission, and embarked in the proceedings without meditating any



farther result. At every step of his progress, the anger of a self-willed man against those who thwart his passions grew stronger as the hope of subduing the conscience of More was enfeebled. More at last died because his sincerity was perfect, and his probity incapable of being shaken. For in all other respects we know, that though the disorders of a revolution had frightened him out of his youthful free-thinking, he was no slave of Rome, no bigoted advocate for the papal authority, but zealously maintained the independence of the civil power, and the principles of the council of Constance,—known in modern times as those of the Gallican church,—

“Who, with a generous but mistaken zeal,  
Withstood a brutal tyrant’s useful rage.”

When the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and Paul III., of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favoured Henry’s cause, had hoped that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England: and the king himself was so desirous of accommodating matters, that in a negotiation which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accustomed to prescribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating for peace, his usual violence often carried him to commit offences which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fisher was regarded by Paul as so capital an injury, that he immediately passed censures against the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes: if they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his issue by Ann Boleyn illegitimate; dissolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and declared it lawful for any one to seize them, to make slaves of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use. But though these censures were passed, they were not at that time openly denounced: the pope delayed their publication till he should find an agreement with England entirely desperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry the sentence into execution.

The king knew that he might expect any injury which it should be in Charles’s power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his resentment upon him. He renewed his friendship with Francis, and opened negotiations for marrying his infant-daughter Elizabeth, with the duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. The two monarchs also made advances to the protestant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor’s ambition: and Henry,

besides remitting them some money, sent Fox bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay lord of Langley, to treat with them. But during the first fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of interests, to be essential to a good correspondence among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity, that they exercised such extreme rigour against all preachers of the reformation in their respective dominions. Henry carried the feint so far, that, while he thought himself the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philosopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admiration with those wretched composers of metaphysical polemics. The German princes told the king that they could not spare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in every thing else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee that, even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their interests to oppose the emperor: and the hatred between Francis and that monarch was so inveterate, that he deemed himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these potentates.

During these negotiations an incident happened in England which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to the grave: she died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which she gave him the appellation of “her most dear Lord, King, and Husband.” She told him that, as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment: that though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: and that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words, “I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.” The king was touched even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine’s affection; but Queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit.

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England,

from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity, upon these conditions; that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome, that he should assist him in his war with the Turk, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the duchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, providing that prince would acknowledge that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: as to the conditions proposed; the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him, against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully restored, he should then be in a situation, as a common friend to both him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the injured party.

What rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor was, both his experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained that the duchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him as head of the Germanic body: not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince who should be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to substitute his second son, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his sole intention in that liberal concession was to gain time, till he should put himself in a warlike posture, and be able to carry an invasion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between these princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in personal insults on each other, ill becoming persons of their rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon after invaded Provence in person, with an army of fifty thousand men; but met with no success. His army perished with sickness, fatigue, famine, and other disasters; and he was obliged to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialists, near 30,000 strong, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands, and laid siege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the satisfaction to find, both that his ally Francis was likely to support himself without foreign assistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully insured by these violent wars and animosities on the continent.

If any inquietude remained with the English court, it was solely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the dangerous situation of his ally Francis, generously levied some forces; and embarking them on board vessels which he had hired for that purpose, landed them safely in France. He even went over in person; and making haste to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, and to

partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who having repulsed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friendship, the king of Scots paid his addresses to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match than what arose from the infirm state of his daughter's health, which seemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princess, and obtained her consent, the father would no longer oppose the united desires of his daughter and his friend: they were accordingly married, and soon after set sail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid lest his ally Henry, whom he likewise looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be displeased that this close confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore dispatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologise for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expressed such displeasure, that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his measures more by humour and passion, than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was so fettered by the opposition in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he pursued no farther this disgust against Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity, both on the side of France and of Scotland.

The domestic peace of England seemed to be exposed to more hazard by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that in this dangerous conjuncture nothing ensured public tranquillity so much as the decisive authority acquired by the king, and his great ascendant over all his subjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown was profound during that age: the personal respect inspired by Henry was considerable; and even the terrors with which he overawed every one were not attended with any considerable degree of hatred. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuosity. And the important rank which his vigour more than his address acquired him in all foreign negotiations flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships to which they were exposed. The king conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority; and after paying the way for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues.

The great increase of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other disadvantage attending that communion seems to have an inseparable connection with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuation of monks, whose habitations being established every where proved so many seminaries of superstition and of folly. This order



of men was extremely enraged against Henry, and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the sole protection which they enjoyed against the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now subjected to the king's visitation; the supposed sacredness of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progress of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monastic orders, gave them reason to apprehend like consequences in England; and though the king still maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen, that in the progress of the contest he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient institutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests naturally induced him to unite. Moved by these considerations, the friars employed all their influence to inflame the people against the king's government; and Henry, finding their safety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to seize the present opportunity, and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others, as commissioners, who carried on every where a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and as it was known that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren; the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses: whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. It is indeed probable, that the blind submission of the people during those ages would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more dissolute than they are in any Roman catholic country at present: but still the reproaches which it is safest to credit, are such as point at vices naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men who, being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish, and tempers more unrelenting, than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The supine idleness also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question; and though monks were the true preservers as well as inventors of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the

schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men whose lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind or cultivate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwell and his commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whose vows were on that account supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions which to their ancestors had been the objects of the most profound veneration.

The king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no farther at present than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year. These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny; and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law: so absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony.

The act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon-law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity of that law increased his authority, and kept the clergy in still greater dependance.

Farther progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: the separate jurisdictions of several great lords, or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished this session.

The commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to secure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law, such as he dictated to them. It was enacted, That the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust.

After all these laws were passed, the king dis-

solved the parliament; a parliament memorable not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had sitten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will that he did not choose, during those religious ferment, to hazard a new election; and he continued the same parliament above six years: a practice at that time unusual in England.

The convocation which sat during this session was engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new translation which was projected of the scriptures. The translation given by Tindal, though corrected by himself in a new edition, was still complained of by the clergy as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now proposed to them that they should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections.

The friends of the reformation asserted, that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which for the purpose of universal salvation had published that salutary doctrine to all nations: that if this practice were not very absurd, the artifice at least was very gross, and proved a consciousness that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text dictated by Supreme Intelligence: that it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven: and that as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and above all, the holy scriptures, should be set before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again by their means revealed to mankind.

The favourers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom heaven itself, had appointed for their spiritual direction: that the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to choose their own principles; and it was a mockery to set materials before them, of which they could not possibly make any proper use: that even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compass of human reason, the laws had in a great measure deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour: that theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehension; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully assured of a just decision; except by the promise made them in scripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her: that the gross errors adopted by the wisest heathens proved how unfit men were to grope their own way through this profound darkness; nor would the scriptures, if trusted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy;

on the contrary, they would much augment those fatal illusions: that sacred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rise to so many difficulties, contained so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon that could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: that the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: that a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend each of them to derive its tenets from the scripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most monstrous principles: and that if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more secure establishments.

These latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a considerable advancement of their cause. Farther progress was soon expected, after such important successes.

But while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness Anne Boleyn possessed no longer the king's favour; and soon after lost her life by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had persevered in his love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had subsisted, and still increased under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus for the present disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her, was his jealousy.

Anne, though she appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her less circumspect than her situation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all



around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Ill instruments interposed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen: the viscountess of Rochford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into the king's mind; and as she was a woman of profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and, not content with this imputation, she poisoned every action of the queen's, and represented each instance of favour she conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeaton, groom of the chamber, were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship; and they served her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be seasoned with some mixture of tenderness for so pleasing a princess. Smeaton, says Mackintosh, was a performer on musical instruments, and a person of low degree, promoted to be a groom of the chamber for the skill in the fine art which he professed. The king's jealousy laid hold of the slightest circumstance, and finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

Had Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might on a sudden have proceeded to the most violent extremities, it would have been subject to many remorses and contraries; and might at last have tended only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was a more stern jealousy, fostered entirely by pride: his love (such as it could be) was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of great beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendancy over him; and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damsels of their court rather honoured than disgraced by their passion, he seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than those which he sought to avoid by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but interpreted by him as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours. He immediately retired from the place: sent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeaton, together with her brother Rochford; and threw them into prison. The queen, astonished at these instances of his fury, thought that he meant

only to cry her; but finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and she prepared herself for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day she was sent to the Tower; and on her way thither she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant: she made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when she entered the prison she fell on her knees, and prayed God so to help her, as she was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her surprise and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders; and in that situation she thought that the best proof of her innocence was to make an entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and levities which her simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow: she had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife: but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself: upon which she defied him. She affirmed that Smeaton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord: but she acknowledged that he had once had the boldness to tell her, that a look sufficed him. The king, instead of being satisfied with the candour and sincerity of her confession, regarded these indiscretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

Of all those multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had smiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connexions of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her.

The queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations and of the warmest protestations of innocence. We give the letter from Mackintosh's appendix, as the restorations necessary, in consequence of the state of the manuscript, are there marked in italics; his remark as to its authenticity is subjoined:

"The MS. was partly destroyed by fire in 1731. The following is the document at length; the insertions in the parts destroyed by the fire are printed in italics:—

"SIR,  
"Your Grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things *soe strange* unto me, as what to wrighte, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confesse a truth, and soe to obteyne your favour) by such an whome you know to be mine antient professed enemy, I noe sooner received this message by him, then I rightly conceived your meaning; and if as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safte I shall use all willingnesse and dutie perform your

command. But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poore wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not soe much as a thought ever proceeded. And to speake a truth, never a prince had wife more loyall in all duty, and in all true affection, then you have ever found in *Anne Bulen*, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself; if God and your Grace's pleasure had so bene pleased. Neither did I at any time soe farre forgett my selfe in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I alwayes looked for such an alteration as now I finde; for the ground of my preferment being on noe surer foundation then your Grace's fancye, the least alteration was fitt and sufficient (I knowe) to draw that fancye to some other subjecte. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queene and companion farre beyond my desert or desire; if then you found me worthy of such honour, good your Grace, let not any light fancye, or bade counsell of my enemies withdraw your princely favour from me; neither lett that stayne, that unworthy stayne of a disloyall hart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foule a blott one your most dutifull wife, and the infant princesse your daughter. Tryeme, good king, but let me have a lawfull tryall; and let not my sworne enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yee let me receive an open tryall, for my truth shall feare noe open shames. Then shall you see either mine innocencye cleered, your suspiation and conscience satisfied, the ignominye and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. See that whatsoever God or you may determine of your Grace may be freed from an open censure, and mine offence being soe lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithfull wife, but to follow your affection already settled one that partie, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspiation therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the joying of your desired happines, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sinne herein, and likewise my enemies the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a straight accompt for your unprincely and cruell usage of me, at his generall judgement seat, where both you and my selfe must shortly appeare, and in whose just judgement I doubt not, what soever the world may thinke of mee, mine innocency shall be openly knowene, and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that my selfe may only beare the burthen of your Grace's displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, whome as I understand are likewise in straight imprisonment for my sake. If I ever have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of *Ann Bulen* have ben' pleasing in your eares, then let me obteyne this request; And soe I will leave to trouble your Grace any further. With mine earnest prayer to the Trinitie to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all yor actions, from my dolefull prison in the Tower the 6th of Maye,

"Your most Loyall and  
ever faithfull Wife,  
ANN BULEN"

'The Ladye . . .  
to the Kinge he . . .  
of the Towe . . ."

"At the foot of the MSS. the following memorandum appears in the same handwriting. We

have attempted to supply the part destroyed by fire:—

"On the King sending a messenger to Queen *Ann Bulen* in the Tower willing to confesse the truth, she said that she could confesse noe more, then shee had already done. But as he said she must conceal nothing she would add this, that she did acknowledge her selfe indebted to the king for many favours, for raying her first to be \* \* \* next to be a Marques, next to be his Queene, and that now he could bestowe noe further honor upon her than if he were soe pleased to make her by martirdome a saint."

"The handwriting appears to be that of the period between the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. and the earliest years of Elizabeth. As it seems to be a copy, by the title inscribed on it, the original from which it was transcribed may, with great probability, be considered as contemporary with the events to which it relates. It is in the same volume with Kingston's letters to Cromwell during Anne's imprisonment, and with them it was a part of the Cottonian library which was formed in the time of Elizabeth or James by Sir Robert Cotton, a skilful antiquary, not likely to collect counterfeits, who probably possessed the means of ascertaining the handwriting of Anne, and the history of the manuscript. It will be observed that in the age of Charles I., Herbert, who has been followed by all subsequent writers, has modernized the orthography. An inspection of Kingston's letters, as printed by Mr. Ellis, if compared with one of them published by Herbert in his history, will show that he performed exactly the same operation upon them—that of modernizing the spelling: their authenticity has never been doubted, and perhaps the reader may be disposed to think that the doubts entertained of the genuineness of this letter are not warranted by reason. To these remarks it may be added, that from the authentic letters she appears to have written a letter through Cromwell at the very time to which the disputed letter must be referred; and that this contested letter answers exactly to the circumstances of the one sent, or attempted to be sent, through the secretary. We do not know the extent of Anne's capacity; we do not know how far she might have been lifted above herself by the vindication of her innocence; and we are ignorant whether some friendly hand might not have corrected the errors and raised the diction of the forlorn lady, without defacing the natural beauties of her composition. The modern orthography in which Lord Herbert has arrayed the letter has much contributed to take away that character of a somewhat rude simplicity, which, when exhibited in its original state, as has been done above, it appears in some measure to recover."

This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt consisted in a hearsay from one Lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeaton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an



offer of life was made him, if he would confess his crime, and accuse the queen: but he generously rejected the proposal; and said, that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless: but for his part he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more: their uncle the duke of Norfolk presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown: the chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rochford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions that the king never had her heart; and had said to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatsoever: "which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her." By this strained interpretation her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both against the queen and Lord Rochford; and her verdict contained, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced, she was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." And then turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate: he recalled to his memory, that a little after her appearance in the English court some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then Lord Percy; and he now questioned the nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops, that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them: he received the sacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this solemn act he accompanied with the most solemn protestations of veracity. The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king. The afflicted primate who sat as judge thought himself obliged by this confession to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and that if her marriage were from the beginning invalid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery.

The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him, in thus uniformly continuing her endeavours for her advancement: from a private

gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very slender;" upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. When brought, however, to the scaffold, she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obstinacy of Queen Catherine, and her opposition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the Lady Mary: her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in these last moments over that indignation which the unjust sentence by which she suffered naturally excited in her. She said that she was come to die, as she was sentenced by the law: she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a most merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower.

The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry himself, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuse as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four persons more, he was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenor of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, such as is implied in the king's accusation: had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution. His impatience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affections.

The following remarks are made by Hallam, on the much and idly controverted point of Anne's innocence, and on the mode of her prosecution:—"Few, very few, except some bigoted and implacable calumniators of the Romish school, have in any age entertained a doubt of her innocence. But her discretion was by no means sufficient to preserve her steps in that dizzy height which she had ascended with more eager ambition than feminine delicacy could approve. Henry was probably quick-sighted enough to perceive that he did not possess her affections; and his own were soon transferred to another object. Nothing in this detestable reign is worse than her trial. She was indicted partly upon the statute of Edward III., which, by a just though rather technical construction, has been held to extend the guilt of treason to an adulterous queen as well as to her paramour, and partly on the recent law for preservation of the succession, which attached the same penalties to any thing done or

said in slander of the king's issue. Her levities in discourse were brought within this strange act by a still more strange interpretation. Nor was the wounded pride of the king content with her death. Under the fear, as is most likely, of a more cruel punishment, which the law affixed to her offence, Anne was induced to confess a pre-contract with Lord Percy, on which her marriage with the king was annulled by an ecclesiastical sentence, without awaiting its certain dissolution by the axe. Henry seems to have thought his honour too much sullied by the infidelity of a lawful wife. But for this destiny he was yet reserved." He says, in a note in allusion to the truth of the charges against the queen, "Burnet has taken much pains with the subject, and set her innocence in a very clear light. But Anne had all the failings of a vain, weak woman, raised suddenly to greatness. She behaved with unamiable vindictiveness towards Wolsey, and perhaps (but this worst charge is not fully authenticated) exasperated the king against More. A remarkable passage in Cavendish's life of Wolsey strongly displays her indiscretion.

"A late writer (Dr. Lingard), whose acuteness and industry would raise him to a very respectable place among our historians, if he could have repressed the inveterate partiality of his profession, has used every oblique artifice to lead his readers into a belief of Anne Boleyn's guilt, while he affects to hold the balance, and state both sides of the question without determining it. Thus he repeats what he must have known to be the strange and extravagant lies of Sanders about her birth; without vouching for them indeed, but without any reprobation of their absurd malignity. Thus he intimates that 'the records of her trial and conviction have perished, perhaps by the hands of those who respected her memory;' though, had he read Burnet with any care, he would have found that they were seen by that historian, and surely have not perished since by any unfair means: not to mention that the record of a trial contains nothing more from which a party's guilt or innocence can be inferred. Thus he says, that those who were executed on the same charge with the queen, neither admitted nor denied the offence for which they suffered; though the best informed writers assert that Norris constantly declared the queen's innocence and his own."

In addition to the foregoing, the following remarks selected from Mackintosh, will give the reader a tolerably fair opportunity of forming an opinion on the case of this unhappy victim of vanity, lust, and ambition:—

"It is hard to believe that Anne could have dared to lead a life so unnaturally dissolute, without such vices being more early and very generally known in a watchful and adverse court. It is still more improbable that she should in every instance be the seducer; and that in all cases (as it is alleged in the indictment) the enticement should systematically occur on one day, while the offence should be completed several days after. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton were tried before a commission of oyer and terminer at Westminster, on the 12th of May, two days after the bill against them was found. They all, except Smeaton, firmly denied their guilt to the last moment. On Smeaton's confession it must be observed that we know not how it was obtained, how far it extended, or what were the conditions of it; that his humble condition might render it more easy to subdue his spirit; and that his ignorance would naturally lead him to interpret every

word which denoted the faintest shade of favour to himself in a stronger sense than those would do, who better understood the cajoling language of courts.

"That statesmen eager to accomplish the purpose of their master, in examinations shrouded from every impartial eye, should have religiously abstained from explicit or implied promises and threats, is at least a very improbable hypothesis. It is easy to excite hopes of mercy, though all intention or authority to do so be expressly disclaimed. In this case we know that the usual artifice of saying or hinting to each prisoner that his fellows had confessed, was amply practised. Indeed, the terrors of the confessional might have accounted for groundless admissions of guilt from men more enlightened, or more liable to be degraded by falsehood, than Smeaton. The confessor, seated in a place where he could neither be heard nor seen by men, might overawe his penitent into a belief that an acknowledgment of the justice of legal and royal acts was the only amends which could be made for the offence charged, or for the other misdeeds of the party. The exercise of this invisible and inscrutable power can never be safely committed to human frailty. The sincerity and probity of a confessor might be no security in such a case as hers. The majority of these English priests, who believed every story circulated against Anne—who firmly credited the pending accusation—who regarded with horror the usurper of the excellent Catherine's throne, the adulterous seductress of king and people from the church, and thereby from salvation,—might have been the most exemplary men of the ecclesiastical body; but they were also the most credulous and partial in whatever regarded her, and the most prone to magnify the merits of confession, without strictly defining its boundaries, in a case where they believed that every confession was short of the whole truth.

"In surveying this case, it may be concluded that her departure from honour, even on the eve of marriage, is not proved; and that the general profrigacy of her youth is the mere assertion of her enemies, inconsistent with probability and unsupported by proof. Whether in her last year she touched, or she overpassed, the boundaries which separate female honour from the delicacy and decorum which are its bulwarks, is a question which, though it gives rise to more doubtful enquiries, can never be considered as answered in the affirmative by the frantic language uttered in the agony of her mind and body during the first eight days' imprisonment; nor by the testimony of Smeaton, contradicted by all whom he called his accomplices; still less by the brief statements of such originally inadequate evidence in historians unacquainted with legal proceedings; and least of all by the verdicts and judgments of such a reign as that of Henry VIII., in which, though guilt afforded no security, virtue was the surest path to destruction.

"The infliction of death upon a wife for infidelity might be a consistent part of the criminal code of Judea, which admitted polygamy on account of the barbarous manners of the Jewish people, and, by consequence, allowed all females to remain in a state of slavery and perpetual imprisonment. Even then the man would not be accounted good who should avail himself of such a permission, so far as to put a woman to death, unless, perhaps, as a palliation of an act done in the first transports of jealous rage."

The Lady Mary thought the death of her step-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself



to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her on account of the part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience: he required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets, to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father, containing her assent to the articles required of her: upon which she was received into favour. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the Lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blest with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

The trial and conviction of Queen Anne, and the subsequent events, made it necessary for the king to summon a new parliament; and he, here, in his speech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced for their good to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: he compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Samson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he disavowed these praises; since, if he were really possessed of such endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no less submissive in deeds than complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified;\* that queen and all her accomplices were attainted; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: an enormous authority, especially when entrusted to a prince so violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause a species of political inquisition was established in the kingdom, as well as the accusations of treason multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any castles, honours, liberties, or franchises; words which might have been extended to the dismembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry without the king's consent, any princess related in the first

degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the discovery of a design formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to espouse the Lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his sister the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, and the young lady, were committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty soon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of parliament.

Another accession was likewise gained to the authority of the crown: the king, or any of his successors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been passed before he was four-and-twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any person who possessed any office ecclesiastical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of "So help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists." The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making some advances to Henry: but this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal censures; and finding a great increase of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to persevere in his present measures. This parliament also, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the respect of his subjects, and what confidence he might repose in them. Though the elections had been made on a sudden without any preparation or intrigue, the members discovered an unlimited attachment to his person and government.

The extreme complaisance of the convocation, which sat at the same time with the parliament, encouraged him in his resolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was secretly a great division of sentiments in the minds of this assembly: and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by some late successes, the resentment of the catholics was no less excited by their fears and losses; but the authority of the king kept every one submissive and silent; and the new-assumed prerogative, the supremacy, with whose limits no one was fully acquainted, restrained even the most furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwell presided as vicar-general; and though the catholic party expected that, on the fall of Queen Anne, his authority would receive a great shock, they were surprised to find him still maintain the same credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cramer the primate, Latimer bishop of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Hilsey of Rochester, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The opposite faction was headed by Lee archbishop of York, Stokesley bishop of London, Tonstal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle. The former party, by their opposition to the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power: the latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles: and both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour,

\* The parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reason, "For that his highness had chosen to wife the excellent and virtuous Lady Jane, who for her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, would be apt, God willing, to conceive issue by his highness."

by which he was more governed than by either of these motives.

The church in general was averse to the reformation, and the lower house of convocation framed a list of opinions, in the whole sixty-seven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern protestants, or Gossellers, as they were sometimes called. These opinions they sent to the upper house to be censured; but in the preamble of their representation, they discovered the servile spirit by which they were governed. They said, "that they intended not to do or speak any thing which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledged their supreme head, and whose commands they were resolved to obey; renouncing the pope's usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and addicting themselves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king and the laws made within this kingdom."

The convocation came at last, after some debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the assembly itself, or rather as the king's system of theology, by which they were resolved entirely to square their principles. They determined the standard of faith to consist in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian; and this article was a signal victory to the reformers: auricular confession and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics; no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments; and in this omission the influence of the protestants appeared: the real presence was asserted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: the terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitable to the new principles.

So far the two sects seem to have made a fair partition, by alternately sharing the several clauses. In framing the subsequent articles, each of them seems to have thrown in its ingredient. The catholics prevailed in asserting, that the use of images was warranted by Scripture: the protestants, in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these sensible representations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to saints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practised on Ash-Wednesday, Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and other festivals, were still maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of these institutions, were also adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting sin, and by its asserting that their sole merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind.

But the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hesitation, arising from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this purpose: "Since, according to due order of charity, and the book of Maccabees, and divers ancient authors, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and since such a practice has been maintained in the church from the beginning, all bishops and teachers should instruct the people not to be grieved for the continuance of the same. But since the place where departed souls are retained, before they reach Paradise, as

well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by Scripture; all such questions are to be submitted to God, to whose mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceased, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for them."

These articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the king, were subscribed by every member of that assembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except Henry himself, who had adopted precisely these very doctrines and opinions. For, though there be not any contradiction in the tenets above mentioned, it had happened in England, as in all countries where factious divisions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neuters were to be found; and these consisted only of speculative or whimsical people, of whom two persons could scarcely be brought to an agreement in the same dogmas. The protestants all of them carried their opposition to Rome farther than those articles: none of the catholics went so far: and the king, by being able to retain the nation in such a delicate medium, displayed the utmost power of an imperious despotism, of which any history furnishes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when seconded by a party, is one of the most perilous enterprises which any sovereign can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to set the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even stop its career: he could say to it, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther:" and he made every vote of his parliament and convocation subservient, not only to his interests and passions, but even to his greatest caprices; nay, to his most refined and most scholastic subtilties.

The concurrence of these two national assemblies served, no doubt, to increase the king's power over the people, and raised him to an authority more absolute than any prince in a simple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds beyond which the most slavish submission cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the rest were exposed, had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour. Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which, they believed, must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat iniquitous, that men who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws human and divine which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners and others employed in visiting



the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended much to increase the general discontent.

But the people did not break into open sedition till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwell's person was little acceptable to the ecclesiastics; the authority which he exercised being so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with disgust and terror. He published, in the king's name, without the consent either of parliament or convocation, an ordinance by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited several superstitions gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, relics; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a considerable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a grievous servitude, instilled into the people those discontents which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of Captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above 20,000 men; but notwithstanding their number, they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed still overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed: and they prayed the king to consult the nobility of the realm concerning the redress of these grievances. Henry was little disposed to entertain apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude, whom he despised. He sent forces against the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very sharp answer to their petition. There were some gentry, whom the populace had constrained to take part with them, and who kept a secret correspondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that resentment against the king's reply was the chief cause which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably suppress the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels; and being so well supported by power, he thought that, without losing his dignity, he might now show them some greater condescension. He sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: the populace was dispersed: Mackrel and some of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed: the greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their usual occupations: and a few of the more obstinate fled to the north, where they joined the insurrection that was raised in those parts.

The northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were also on other accounts more formidable than those of Lincolnshire; because the people were there more accustomed to arms, and because of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of these disorders. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called the "Pilgrimage of Grace:" some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying

crosses in their hands: in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ: they wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle: they all took an oath, that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about 40,000 men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

The earl of Shrewsbury, moved by his regard for the king's service, raised forces, though at first without any commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulsed them from his castle of Skipton: Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborough-castle against them: Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops. The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: they had laid siege to Pomfret-castle, into which the archbishop of York and Lord Darcy had thrown themselves. It was soon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court which supported the ancient religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause which he was sent to oppose. His prudent conduct, however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, together with the earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army was small, scarcely exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night there fell such violent rains as rendered the river utterly impassable; and Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negotiation, he sent them a herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand, and Lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in expectation that necessity would soon oblige them to disperse themselves. Being informed that his artifice had in a great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms, and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king's answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, soon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negotiation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with proposals for an accommodation;

and he hoped, by intrigue and separate interests, to throw dissension among so great a number. Aske himself had intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a hostage for his security; but the king, when consulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other whom he esteemed so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their numbers and spirit; and, notwithstanding the small river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their design; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the dispersion by the promise of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty style, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, "with our whole council, think it right strange that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our council."

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court; and the former, upon his refusal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels besieged Carlisle with 8000 men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prisoners of all their officers except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of seventy persons. An attempt made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam, to surprise Hull, met with no better success; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted; and from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and wherever he thought proper executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, leader of the first insurrection, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower Hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry,

either sensible of that nobleman's services, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of such extensive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now satiated with punishing the rebels, he published anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered; and he erected by patent a court of justice at York, for deciding lawsuits in the northern counties: a demand which had been made by the rebels.

Soon after this prosperous success, an event happened which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a son, (13th October, 1537,) who was baptized by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happiness without alloy: the queen died a few days after (24th October). But a son had so long been ardently wished for by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, after the acts declaring the two princesses illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made Lord Beauchamp, was raised to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, Lord St. John; Sir John Russel, Lord Russel.

The suppression of the rebellion, and the birth of a son, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, increased his consideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on with various success, and without any decisive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to incur, without necessity, either hazard or expense on his account. A truce, concluded about this time between these potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established the tranquillity of Europe.

Henry continued desirous of cementing a union with the German protestants; and for that purpose he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great progress in his negotiation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and dispute. They endeavoured to convince the king that he was guilty of a mistake in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy. Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassador without coming to any conclusion. Jealous also lest his own subjects should become such theologians as to question his tenets, he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the Scripture which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain: and he took care to inform the people by proclamation "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness and his liberality to them; who therefore should use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife: and he ordered that no man should read the Bible aloud, so as to



priest while he sang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned." In this measure, as in the rest, he still halted half way between the catholics and the protestants.

There was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion: this measure was, the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present opportunity seemed favourable for that great enterprise, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and increased the royal authority; and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's resentment was farther incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as several of the abbots since the breach with Rome had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success, that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the intility and often want which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The relics also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: protest-

ant historians mention, on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents; the pairings of St. Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence; the girdle of the Virgin shown in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by pregnant women; some relics, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the catholic religion.

There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales in the county of Gloucester there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relic was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relic; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks who were let into the secret had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: they put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial.

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the "Rood of Grace." The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsay, bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought to London, and cut in pieces; and by a cruel refinement in vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn Friar Forest, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of his pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his relics wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at

a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year, three pounds two shillings and sixpence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and sixpence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and threepence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eightpence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and threepence. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas: he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.

On the whole, the king at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries; of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels: a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. It is worthy of observation, that all the lands and possessions and revenue of England, had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income; a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired.

Lingard gives the following particulars of the destruction of the monasteries. "As a fair specimen of the proceedings, I will describe the surrender of the great monastery of Furness. All the members of the community, with the tenants and servants, were successively examined in private: and the result of a protracted inquiry was, that though two monks were committed to Lancaster-castle, nothing could be discovered to criminate either the abbot or brotherhood. The commissioners proceeded to Whalley; and a new summons compelled the abbot of Furness to re-appear before them. A second investigation was instituted, and the result was the same. In these circumstances, says the earl in a letter to Henry, which is still extant, 'devising with myself, yf one way would not serve, how and by what means the said monks might be ryd from the same abbey, and consequently how the same might be at your graceous pleasur, I determined to assay him as of myself, whether he would be contented to surrender, gif, and graunt unto (you) your heirs and assignans the sayd monastery; which thing so opened to the abbot farelly, we found him of a very facile and ready mynde, to follow my advyce in that behalfe.' A deed was accordingly

offered him to sign, in which having acknowledged 'the misorder and evil rule both unto God and the king, of the brethren of the said abbey,' he, in discharge of his conscience, gave and surrendered to Henry all the title and interest which he possessed in the monastery of Furness, its lands and revenues. Officers were immediately dispatched to take possession in the name of the king; the commissioners followed with the abbot in their company; and in a few days the whole community ratified the deed of its superior. The history of Furness is the history of Whalley, and of the other great abbeys in the north. They were visited under pretext of the late rebellion: and by one expedient or other, were successively wrested from the possessors, and transferred to the crown.

"The success of the earl of Sussex and his colleagues, stimulated the industry of the commissioners in the southern districts. For four years they proceeded from house to house, soliciting, requiring, compelling the inmates to submit to the royal pleasure: and each week, frequently each day of the week, was marked by the surrender of one or several of these establishments. To accomplish this purpose, they first tried the milder expedient of persuasion. Large and tempting offers were held out to the abbot and the leading members of the brotherhood: and the lot of those who had already complied, the scanty pittance assigned to the refractory, and the ample pensions granted to the more obsequious, operated on their minds as a warning and inducement. The pensions to the superiors, appear to have varied from 266*l.* to 6*l.* per annum. The priors of cells received generally 13*l.* A few whose services had merited the distinction, obtained 20*l.* To the other monks were allotted pensions of six, four, or two pounds, with a small sum to each at his departure, to provide for his immediate wants. The pensions to nuns averaged about 4*l.* It should, however, be observed, that these sums were not in reality so small as they appear, as money was probably of ten times more value than it is now. It was provided that each pension should cease, as soon as the pensioner obtained church preferment of equal value.

"Where persuasion failed (in expelling the monks,) recourse was had to severity and intimidation. 1. The superior and his monks, the tenants, servants, and neighbours, were subjected to a minute and vigorous examination: each was exhorted, was commanded to accuse the other; and every groundless tale, every malicious insinuation, was carefully collected and recorded. 2. The commissioners called for the accounts of the house, compared the expenditure with the receipts, scrutinized every article with an eye of suspicion and hostility, and required the production of all the monies, plate, and jewels. 3. They proceeded to search the library and the private rooms, for papers and books: and the discovery of any opinion or treatise in favour of papal supremacy, or of the validity of Henry's first marriage, was taken as a sufficient proof of adhesion to the king's enemies, and of disobedience to the statutes of the realm. The general result was a real or fictitious charge of immorality or high treason. But many superiors, before the termination of the inquiry, deemed it prudent to obey the royal pleasure: some, urged on the one hand by fear, on the other by scruples, resigned their situations, and were replaced by successors of more easy and accommodating loyalty: and the obstinacy of the refractory monks and abbots was punished by impi-



sonment during the king's pleasure. But the fate of these was calculated to terrify their brethren. Some, like the Carthusians confined in Newgate, were left to perish through hunger, disease and neglect; others, like the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury, were executed as felons or traitors.

"The fate of these Carthusians is thus announced to Cromwell in a letter from Bedyl, one of the visitors: 'My very good lord, after my most hearty commendations—it shall please your lordship to understand, that the monks of the charter-house here at London, committed to Newgate for their treacherous behaviour continued against the king's grace, be almost dispatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by this bill inclosed. Wherefore, considering their behaviour, and the whole matter, I am not sorry: but would that all such as love not the king's highness, and his worldly honour, were in like case. There be departed, Greenwood, Dayve, Salte, Parson, Grene. There be at the point of death, Scriven, Reading. There be sick, Jonson, Horne. One is whole, Bird.'"

The following account of the annual revenue of the monastic houses is given by Lingard. It differs from Hume and other authors; but is perhaps the nearest to the true statement. It is taken from Nasmyth's edition of Tanner's *Notitia*, and was primarily selected from the *Liber Regis* and other original sources.

No. of Houses.	Orders.	Revenue.		
		£.	s.	d.
186....	Benedictines .....	65,877	14	0
20....	Cluniacs .....	4,972	9	2½
9....	Carthusians .....	2,947	15	4½
101....	Cistercians .....	18,691	12	6
173....	Austins .....	33,027	1	11
32....	Premonstratensians ..	4,807	14	1
25....	Gilbertins .....	2,421	13	9
3....	Fontevraud Nuns....	825	8	6½
3....	Minoresses .....	548	10	6
1....	Bridgettines .....	1,731	8	9½
2....	Bonhommes .....	859	5	11½
	Knights Hospitalars..	5,394	6	5½
	Friars .....	809	11	8½
		£142,914	12	9½

There is a curious passage with regard to the suppression of monasteries to be found in the 4th of Coke's Institutes. It is worth transcribing, as it shows the ideas of the English government, entertained during the reign of Henry VIII. and even in the time of Sir Edward Coke, when he wrote his Institutes. It clearly appears that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were desirous of making the crown quite independent, and wished only to remove from themselves, as much as possible, the burthens of government. A large standing army, and a fixed revenue, would on these conditions have been regarded as great blessings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little suspicion that the power of the crown could ever fail, that the English owe all their present liberty. The title of the chapter in Coke is, *Advice concerning new and plausible Prospects and Offers in Parliament*. "When any plausible project," says he, "is made in parliament, to draw the lords and commons to assent to any act (especially in matters of weight and importance,) if both houses do give, upon the matter projected and

promised, their consent, it shall be most necessary, they being trusted for the commonwealth, to have the matter projected and promised (which moved the houses to consent) to be established in the same act, lest the benefit of the act be taken, and the matter projected and promised never performed, and so the houses of parliament perform not the trust reposed in them, as it fell out (taking one example for many) in the reign of Henry the Eighth: on the king's behalf, the members of both houses were informed in parliament, that no king or kingdom was safe but where the king had three abilities: 1. To live of his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any sudden invasion or insurrection. 2. To aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist him. 3. To reward his well-deserving servants. Now the project was, that if the parliament would give unto him all the abbeyes, priories, friaries, nunneries, and other monasteries, that for ever in time then to come, he would take order that the same should not be converted to private uses; but first, that his exchequer for the purposes aforesaid should be enriched; secondly, the kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders; thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the subject, who never afterwards (as was projected,) in any time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids; fourthly, lest the honour of the realm should receive any diminution of honour by the dissolution of the said monasteries, there being twenty-nine lords of parliament of the abbots and priors (that held of the king *per baroniam*, whereof more in the next leaf,) that the king would create a number of nobles, which we omit. The said monasteries were given to the king, by authority of divers acts of parliament, but no provision was therein made for the said project, or any part thereof."

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of these violences; and men much questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. While arguments such as we have just quoted were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures: he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, in the proportions stated by Dr. Lingard: he erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which five subsist at this day: and by all these means of expense and dissipation, the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to those of the lesser.

Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transfe

to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen: an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expense of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, which possessed seven hundred and forty-four pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: that of Furness in the county of Lincoln was valued at nine hundred and sixty pounds a year, and contained about thirty. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome; and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high sounding epithets, and by holy excommunications, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their side: he had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themselves respected; was at open hostility with heaven; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the Emperor Julian, whom it was said he imitated in his apostasy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals. Henry could distinguish in some of these libels the style and animosity of his kinsman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every possible expedient on that famous cardinal.

Reginald de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius and generous disposition by which during his whole life he was so much distinguished; and Henry, having conceived great friendship for him, intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the university of Paris at the time when the king solicited the suffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendship with a person whose virtues and talents he hoped would prove useful as well as ornamental to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanery, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua: he even paid him some

court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late measures taken in England for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connexions, as well as by religious zeal, to forget in some respect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his sovereign. He replied, by writing a treatise of "the unity of the church," in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, dissembled his resentment; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was universally beloved.

The pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who in support of their cause had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into Flanders about the year 1537. Henry was sensible that Pole's chief intention, in choosing that employment, was to foment the mutinous disposition of the English catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate without allowing him to exercise his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal on his part kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even suspected of having aspired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the Lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the Lord Abergavenny; Sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, Lord Montague; and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. These persons were indicted and tried and convicted before Lord Audley, who presided in the trial as high steward: they were all executed except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intelligence of the conspiracy. We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men: we only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time prosecuted by the court, forms no presumption of his guilt; though, as no historian of credit mentions in the present case any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume that sufficient evidence was produced against the marquis of Exeter and his associates.

Mackintosh says, they were most cruel and iniquitous executions, and that the guilt of the sufferers consisted only in their descent from Edward IV. Lingard says, "The execution of men so nearly allied to Henry in blood, on a charge so ill defined and improbable, excited a general horror; and the



king, in his own vindication, ordered a book to be published containing the proofs of their real or pretended treason." And Hallam says, that in the processes against those "implicated in charges of treason, we find so much haste, such neglect of judicial forms, and so blood-thirsty a determination to obtain convictions, that we are naturally tempted to reckon them among the victims of revenge or rapacity."

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*Disputation with Lambert—A parliament—Laws of the six articles—Proclamations made equal to laws—Settlement of the succession—King's projects of marriage—He marries Anne of Cleves—He dislikes her—A parliament—Fall of Cromwell—His execution—King's divorce from Anne of Cleves—His marriage with Catherine Howard—State of affairs in Scotland—Discovery of the Queen's dissolute life—A parliament—Ecclesiastical affairs.*

THE rough hand of Henry seemed well adapted for rending asunder those bands by which the ancient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine, and worship, as well as discipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he previously renounced all submission to it, as summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this course; and while Queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her insinuation and address, been successful in his endeavours. After her death Gardiner, who was returned from his embassy to France, kept the king more in suspense; and, by feigning an unlimited submission to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purposes. Fox bishop of Hereford had supported Cranmer in his schemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bounner, who, though he had hitherto seemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to sacrifice every thing to present interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partisans of the old religion. Gardiner himself, it was believed, had secretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with these powers he endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, the ancient faith and worship.

Henry was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have retarded his animosity and opposition against Rome, but some other passion which stopped his career, and raised him new objects of animosity. Though he had gradually, since the commencement of his scruples with regard to his first marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the

few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken. And though he stood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had so inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own particular standard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy happened to be the real presence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberless victories of superstition over common sense, her triumph is the most signal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and detestable; and nothing he thought would be more honourable for him, than, while he broke off all connexions with the Roman pontiff, to maintain in this essential article the purity of the catholic faith.

There was one Lambert, a schoolmaster in London, who had been questioned and confined for unsound opinions by Archbishop Warham; but upon the death of that prelate, and the change of counsels at court, he had been released. Not terrified by the danger which he had incurred, he still continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained that, though the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were in a certain mysterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign punishment; because in their common departure from the ancient faith he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on these points, were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surprised when, instead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king.

The king, not displeased with an opportunity where he could at once exert his supremacy, and display his learning, accepted the appeal; and resolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given that he intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster: scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty: the prelates were placed on his right-hand; the temporal peers on his left: the judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers: and in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist.

The bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by saying that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: that though his majesty had

thrown off the usurpation of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had published the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: and that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he still continued obstinate in them, he must expect the most condign punishment.

After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from Scripture and the schoolmen: the audience applauded the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics: Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer: Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonstal: six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley: and the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then, returning to the charge, asked him whether he were convinced? and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, Whether he were resolved to live or to die? Lambert, who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency: the king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicergerent, pronounced the sentence against him.

Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, has preserved an account which Cromwell gave of this conference, in a letter to Sir Thomas Wyatt, the king's ambassador in Germany. "The king's majesty," says Cromwell, "for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there presided at the disputation, process and judgment of a miserable heretic sacramentary, who was burned the 20th of November. It was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent gravity and inestimable majesty his highness exercised there the very office of supreme head of the church of England. How benignly his grace essayed to convert the miserable man: how strong and manifest reasons his highness alleged against him. I wish the princes and potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should have much marvelled at his majesty's most high wisdom and judgment, and reputed him no otherwise after the same, than in a manner the mirror and light of all other kings and princes in Christendom." It was by such flatteries that Henry was engaged to make his sentiments the standard to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the severest penalties, his *strong and manifest* reasons for transubstantiation.

Lambert, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the

terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king as cruel as possible: he was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, "None but Christ, none but Christ;" and these words were in his mouth when he expired.

Some few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield.

It was the unhappy fate of the English during this age, that, when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: on the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with some circumstance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper of themselves to carry into execution. This abject servility never appeared more conspicuously than in a new parliament which the king now assembled, and which, if he had been so pleased, might have been the last that ever sat in England. But he found them too useful instruments of dominion ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion.

The chancellor opened the parliament by informing the house of lords, that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion; and as this undertaking was, he owned, important and arduous, he desired them to choose a committee from among themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwell, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what a hopeful task they had undertaken: this small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinion, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, That, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, intended to be established, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them. As this peer was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and after a short prorogation, the bill of the "six articles," or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, received the royal assent.

In this law, the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article with regard to the real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: an unheard-of severity and unknown to the inquisition itself. The actual



of any of the other five articles, even though recanted was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure: an obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment. Their commerce with women was, on the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment; on the second, death. The abstaining from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king for inquiring into these heresies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

The king, in framing this law, laid his oppressive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reason to complain, that the friars and nuns, though dismissed their convent, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy: but as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion, as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill in the house; and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unusual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whisper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Osiander, a famous divine of Nuremberg; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, showed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics on account of the law, and were committed to prison.

The parliament having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil; and without scruple or deliberation they made by one act a total subversion of the English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly set forth several proclamations, which froward persons had wilfully contemned, not considering what a king by his royal power may do; that this licence might encourage offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but also to dishonour the king's most royal majesty, "who may full ill bear it;" that sudden emergencies often occur, which require speedy remedies, and cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered by his authority derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence: for these reasons the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should

think proper: and these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws.

What proves either a stupid or a wilful blindness in the parliament is, that they pretended, even after this statute, to maintain some limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchises; nor yet infringe any common law or laudable custom of the realm. They did not consider that no penalty could be inflicted upon the disobeying of proclamations, without invading some liberty or property of the subject; and that the power of enacting new laws joined to the dispensing power, then exercised by the crown, amounted to a full legislative authority. It is true, the kings of England had always been accustomed from their own authority to issue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a strong symptom of absolute government: but still there was a difference between a power which was exercised on a particular emergence, and which must be justified by the present expedience or necessity; and an authority conferred by a positive statute, which could no longer admit of control or limitation.

Could any act be more opposite to the spirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the same parliament. They passed an act of attainder not only against the marquis of Exeter, the Lords Montague, Darcy, Hussey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against some persons of the highest quality, who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred which Henry bore to Cardinal Pole had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the countess of Salisbury, had on that account become extremely obnoxious to him. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new translation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which it is said had been seen at Coudray, her country-seat; and of having kept a correspondence with her son, the cardinal: but Henry found, either that these offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be subjected to such severe punishments as he desired to inflict upon her. He resolved, therefore, to proceed in a more summary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpose he sent Cromwell, who was but too obsequious to his will, to ask the judges whether the parliament could attain a person who was forthcoming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them? The judges replied, that it was a dangerous question, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to justice: no inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied, that if a person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in question, but must remain good in law. Henry learned by this decision, that such a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he resolved to employ it against the countess of Salisbury. It must be here remarked, that the fact of the application of this decision to the countess's case, so absolutely asserted by Hume, is subject to some doubt. Hallam says, it is not known to whom it was intended to apply it. Crom-

well showed to the house of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countess's house. No other proof seems to have been produced in order to ascertain her guilt: the parliament, apparently without further inquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her: and they involved in the same bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed: the marchioness was pardoned, and survived the king; the countess received a reprieve; but was ultimately executed as will be narrated.

The only beneficial act passed this session, was that by which the parliament confirmed the surrender of the monasteries; yet even this act contains much falsehood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. Their scheme of engaging the abbots to surrender their monasteries had been conducted with many invidious circumstances, as has already been shown: arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive that could work on the frailty of human nature had been set before them; and it was with great difficulty that these dignified conventuals were brought to make a concession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself. The three abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury, had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited. Besides, though none of these violences had taken place, the king knew that a surrender made by men who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all sure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament asserts, that all the surrenders made by the abbots had been, "without constraint, of their own accord, and according to due course of common law." And in consequence, the two houses confirm the surrenders, and secure the property of the abbey-lands to the king and his successors for ever. It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still sat in the house of peers; and that none of them made any protests against this injurious statute. Lingard says there were twenty-eight abbots, and the two priors of Coventry and St. John of Jerusalem.

We may here introduce the last-mentioned author's account of the mode of proceeding in the annulling and dispersing the monasteries: "As soon as an abbey was surrendered; 1st. The commissioners broke its real and assigned pensions to the members: 2d. The plate and jewels were reserved for the king; the furniture and goods were sold; and the money was paid into the augmentation-office, lately established for that very purpose: 3rd. The abbot's lodgings and the offices were left standing for the convenience of the next occupant: the church, cloisters, and apartments for the monks were stripped of the lead and every saleable article, and then left to fall in ruins: 4th. The lands were by degrees alienated from the crown by gift, sale, or exchange. From a commission in Rymer it appears that the lands sold at twenty, the buildings at fifteen years' purchase: the buyers were to hold of the crown, paying a reserved rent, equal to one-tenth of the usual rent: 5th. The annual revenue of all the suppressed houses amounted to £42,914. 12s. 9½d., about the one-and-twentieth part of the whole rental

of the kingdom, if Hume be correct in taking the rental at three millions."

Lingard also mentions a curious spectacle that took place about this time, and which comes much like a burlesque farce after a momentous play. "At the same time Henry celebrated his triumph over the court of Rome, by a naval exhibition on the Thames. Two galleys decorated, the one with the royal, the other with the pontifical arms, met on the river: a stubborn conflict ensued; but at length the royalists boarded their antagonist; and the figures of the pope and the different cardinals were successively thrown into the water, amidst the acclamations of the king, of his court, and of the citizens."

In this session, the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed: Cromwell, as vicegerent, had the precedence assigned him above all of them.

As soon as the act of the six articles had passed, the catholics were extremely vigilant in informing against offenders; and no less than five hundred persons were in a little time thrown into prison. But Cromwell, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able for the present to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk and Chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents; and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family: a concession regarded by that party as an important victory.

But as Henry was observed to be much governed by his wives while he retained his fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party seemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He first cast his eye towards the duchess-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made proposals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties, he was carried by his friendship for Francis rather to think of a French princess. He demanded the duchess-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise, a prince of the house of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refusal: he had set his heart extremely on the match: the information which he had received of the duchess's accomplishments and beauty, had prepossessed him in her favour; and having privately sent over Meautys to examine her person, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him served further to inflame his desires. He learned that she was large; and he thought her on that account the more proper match for him who was now become somewhat corpulent. The pleasure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a further incitement to his prosecution of this match; and he insisted that Francis should give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though sensible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his interests, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent further solicitation, he immediately sent the princess to Scotland. Not to shock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Ven-



dome; but as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princess, he would not hear any further of such a proposal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger sisters of the queen of Scots; and he assured him that they were nowise inferior either in merit or size to their eldest sister, and that one of them was even superior in beauty. The king was as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives as if his heart had been really susceptible of a delicate passion; and he was unwilling to trust any relations, or even pictures, with regard to this important particular. He proposed to Francis, that they should have a conference at Calais, on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him the two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the proposal: he was impressed with too much regard, he said, for the fair sex, to carry ladies of the first quality like geldings to a market, there to be chosen or rejected by the humour of the purchaser. Henry would hearken to none of these niceties, but still insisted on his proposal; which, however, notwithstanding Francis's earnest desire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

The king then began to turn his thoughts (or as Lingard more probably avers, was the more ready to listen to the suggestions of Cromwell,) towards a German alliance; and as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely disgusted with the emperor on account of his persecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew a connexion which he regarded as so advantageous to him. Cromwell proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holbein determined Henry to apply to her father; and after some negotiation, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was at last concluded; and Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester, and got a sight of her. He found her large indeed, and tall, as he could wish; but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and representations which he had received: he swore she was a great Flanders mare; and declared that he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwell, as well as to Lord Russel, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny. This last gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private persons, choose for themselves; but must receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors, whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved, and the princess be sent back to her own country. Henry's situation seemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a

good understanding was thought to have taken place between these rival monarchs; and such marks of union appeared as gave great jealousy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare to that degree among great princes. An insurrection had been raised in the Low-Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and seemed to threaten the most dangerous consequences. Charles, who resided at that time in Spain, resolved to go in person to Flanders, in order to appease those disorders; but he found great difficulties in choosing the manner of his passing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the channel dangerous, by reason of the English naval power. He asked Francis's permission to pass through his dominions; and he entrusted himself into the hands of a rival whom he had so mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courtesy; and though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his mistress and favourites, to make advantage of the present opportunity, he conducted the emperor safely out of his dominions; and would not so much as speak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal guest.

Henry, who was informed of all these particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between these princes; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England. An alliance with the German princes seemed now more than ever requisite for his interest and safety; and he knew that if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwell, that since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. After the marriage was consummated his disgust was confirmed, and he made some coarse remarks upon, and even threw out imputations against, the honour of the new queen. He continued, however, to cohabit with Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.

The following is the account given by Lingard of the fall of Cromwell. "The unfortunate marriage had already shaken the credit of Cromwell: his fall was hastened by a theological quarrel between Dr. Barnes, one of his dependants, and Gardiner bishop of Winchester. In a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, the prelate had severely censured the presumption of those preachers, who, in opposition to the established creed, inculcated the Lutheran tenet of justification by faith without works. A fortnight later, Dr. Barnes, an ardent admirer of Luther, boldly defended the condemned doctrine from the same pulpit, and indulged in a scurrilous invective against the bishop. The king summoned the preacher before himself and a commission of divines; discussed with him several points of controverted doctrine; prevailed on him to sign a recantation; and enjoined him to preach on the same subject a second time on the first Sunday after Easter. Barnes affected to obey. He read his recantation before the audience; publicly asked pardon of Gardiner; and then, proceeding with his

sermon, maintained in still stronger terms the very doctrine which he had recanted. Irritated by this insult, the king committed him to the Tower, with Garret and Jerome, two preachers who, placed in similar circumstances, had thought proper to follow his example.

"It was generally believed that Henry's resentment against Barnes would beget suspicions of the orthodoxy of the minister by whom Barnes had hitherto been protected: and so confidently did Cromwell's enemies anticipate his disgrace, that his two principal offices, those of vicar-general and keeper of the privy seal, were already, according to report, shared between Tunstal bishop of Durham, and Clarke bishop of Bath, prelates of the old learning, who had lately been introduced into the council. The king, however, subdued or dissembled his suspicions: and, to the surprise of the public, Cromwell, at the opening of the parliament, (12th April, 1540,) took his usual seat in the house of lords, and delivered a royal message. It was, he said, with sorrow and displeasure that his majesty beheld the religious dissensions which divided the nation; that on the one hand presumption and liberty of the flesh, on the other attachment to ancient errors and superstitions, had generated two factions, which reciprocally branded each other with the opprobrious names of papists and heretics: that both abused the indulgence which, of his great goodness, the king had granted them of reading the Scriptures in their native tongue, these to introduce error, those to uphold superstition: and that to remedy such evils, his majesty had appointed two committees of prelates and doctors, one to set forth a pure and sincere declaration of doctrine, the other to determine what ceremonies ought to be retained, what to be abolished; had strictly commanded the officers of the crown, with the judges and magistrates, to put in execution the laws already made respecting religion: and now required the aid of the two houses to enact penalties against those who should treat with irreverence, or explain rashly and erroneously the Holy Scriptures.

"The vicar-general now seemed to monopolize the royal favour. He obtained a grant of thirty manors belonging to suppressed monasteries: the title of earl of Essex (the last earl, Henry Bouchier, had been killed by a fall from his horse, March 12,) was revived (April 18) in his favour; and the office of lord chamberlain was added to his other appointments. He continued as usual to conduct in parliament the business of the crown. He introduced two bills vesting the property of the knights hospitallers in the king, and settling a competent jointure on the queen: and he procured from the laity the almost unprecedented subsidy of four-tenths and fifteenths, besides ten per cent. on their income from lands, and five per cent. on their goods; and from the clergy a grant of two-tenths, and twenty per cent. on their incomes for two years. This was the first clerical subsidy, which, though granted in convocation, was confirmed by parliament. The object was to make such subsidies liable to be levied by distress, which before were levied by censures in the spiritual courts. So far indeed was Cromwell from apprehending the fate which awaited him, that he committed to the Tower the Bishop of Chichester and Dr. Wilson, on a charge of having relieved prisoners confined for refusing the oath of supremacy, and threatened with the royal displeasure his chief opponents, the duke of Norfolk, and the bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Bath.

"But Henry in the mean time had ascertained that Barnes was the confidential agent of Cromwell; that he had been employed in secret missions to Germany; and that he had been the real negotiator of the late marriage with Anne of Cleves. Hence the king easily persuaded himself that the insolence of the agent arose from confidence in the protection of the patron: that his vicar-general, instead of watching over the purity of the faith, had been the protector of heretics: and that his own domestic happiness had been sacrificed by his minister to the interests of a religious faction. He now recollected that when he proposed to send Anne back to her brother, he had been dissuaded by Cromwell: and he moreover concluded, from the sudden change in her behaviour, that his intention of procuring a divorce had been betrayed to her by the same minister. The earl seems to have had no suspicion of his approaching fate. On the morning of the 10th of June he attended in his place in the house of lords: at three the same afternoon he was arrested at the council-board on a charge of high treason."

The following account of his impeachment is from Mackintosh. "A bill to attain him of high treason was read a first time on the 17th June, on which day he took his place as earl of Essex, and vicegerent of the king, in the royal character of supreme head of the church. So far was the accused from being heard in his own defence, that in two days more, viz. on the 19th, the bill was read a second and third time, passed unanimously, and sent down to the house of commons. On the 29th of June it came back from the commons, and was once more passed by the lords without a dissentient voice. He was charged by the bill of attainder with heresy and treason: the first, because he favoured heretical preachers, patronised their works, and discouraged informations against them: the second, because he had received bribes, released many prisoners confined for misprision of treason, and performed several acts of royal authority without warrant from the king; but more especially because he had declared, two years before, 'that if the king would turn from the preachers of the new learning, yet he, Cromwell, would not; but would fight in the field in his own person, with his sword in his hand, to defend it against the king himself.' But the condemnation of a man unheard is a case in which the strongest presumptions against the prosecution are warranted. That he was zealous for further reformation is certain: that he may have used warm language to express his zeal; that he may have transgressed the bounds of official duty to favour the new opinion, are allegations in themselves not improbable: but as we do not know the witnesses who gave testimony; as we do not even know whether there were any examined; and, indeed, know nothing but that he was not heard in his own defence; it is perfectly evident that whether the words or deeds ascribed to Cromwell were really his or not, is a question, without any decision on which the judicial proceedings (if they deserve that name) may be pronounced to be altogether void of any shadow of justice. Cranmer, in a very earnest and persuasive letter, endeavoured to obtain from the king the preservation of Cromwell's life. The archbishop, like Atticus, never forsook his friends in their distress; but, like that famous Roman, he too often bent the knee to their oppressors.

"The character of Cromwell may be estimated from the following extracts from a memorandum book of that minister, published by Mr. Ellis:—



"Item—the abbot of Reding to be sent down to be tried and executed at Reding, with his complices."

"Item—the abbot of Glastonbury to be tried at Glaston, and also to be executed there, with his complices."

"Item—to advertise the king of the ordering of maister Fisher" (the bishop).

"Item—to know his pleasure touching maister More" (sir Thomas More).

"Item—when maister Fisher shall go."

"Item—to send unto the king by Raffe the behaviour of maister Fisher."

"To send *Gurdon* to the Tower, to be *rakked*."

"The execution of Cromwell, though an act of flagrant injustice, was for a time popular. The most active conductor of a wide system of confiscation must do much wrong, besides what is involved in the very nature of rapine. He must often cover his robberies by false accusations and unjust executions. He treats the complaints of the spoiled as crimes. He excites revolt, and is the author of that necessity which compels him to punish the revolvers. He connives at the atrocities of his subalterns; for with what face can the leader of a gang reprove banditti for the injustice and cruelty which are the cement of their discipline and the wages of their obedience?"—We now return to Hume.

Cromwell endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications, but all to no purpose: it was not the practice of that prince to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all movements of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwell's letter ran in these words: "I, a most woeful prisoner, am ready to submit to death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell." And a little below, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." When brought to the place of execution, he avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private sentinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service which he had rendered him. Cromwell in his grandeur happened at London to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful assistance reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. The house of

peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to the king by petition, desiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by consent of both parties. The king, however, pleaded this pre-contract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reasons more, which may seem a little extraordinary; that when he espoused Anne he had not "inwardly" given his consent, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation was satisfied with these reasons, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen: the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy; and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess.

To show how much Henry sported with law and common sense; how servilely the parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were lost to all sense of shame; an act was passed this session, declaring that a pre-contract should be no ground for annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made use of both in the case of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the king's intention in this law is said to be a design of restoring the Princess Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look further than the present object, without regarding the inconsistency of his conduct. The parliament made it high treason to deny the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves.

Anne was blessed with a happy insensibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his prosecution of the divorce, had never given her the least uneasiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her; she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce. She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead,) that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to her own country after the affront which she had received; and she lived and died in England.

Notwithstanding Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the situation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their resentment. The close intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles had subsisted during a very short time: the dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealousy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make in confidence some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all suspicion of his rival, he hoped that the emperor and he, supporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest the state of his negotiations with Sultan Solyman and the Venetians; he also laid open the

solicitations which he had received from the court of England to enter into a confederacy against him. Charles had no sooner reached his own dominions, than he showed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He absolutely refused to fulfil his promise, and put the duke of Orleans in possession of the Milanese. He informed Solymán and the senate of Venice of the treatment which they had received from their ally; and he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to whom he owed such important obligations, and had sacrificed him to a new confederate. He even poisoned and misrepresented many things which the unsuspecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and generosity, this incident alone had been sufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, who had so unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor; and as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted of the offer; and thinking himself secure in this alliance, he neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

The new turn which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs was extremely agreeable to his catholic subjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwell, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonists. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was also regarded as a favourable incident to their party; and the subsequent events corresponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt in his turn the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill which passed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of saints, he said that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped in half an hour to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entreated the sheriff to carry to the king his dying request, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch who had sent him to the stake. The purport of this request was, that Henry, besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common swearing.

While Henry was exerting this violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breast. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was also executed for his religion. These catholics were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powell, who declared that

the most grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them.

Though the spirit of the English seemed to be totally sunk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent. An considerable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of Cardinal Pole; and the king was instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences.

"In the prison," says Lingard, "and on the scaffold, she maintained the dignity of her rank and descent; and when she was told to lay her head on the block, 'No,' she replied, 'my head never committed treason: if you will have it, you must take it as you can.' She was held down by force; and while the executioner performed his office, exclaimed, 'Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake.'" It is generally said that the executioner performed his office very unskillfully, and made several ineffectual blows at his victim before he effected his purpose.

Thus perished (says Hume) the last of the line of Plantagenet, which with great glory, but still greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the space of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered service to the crown, was also beheaded for treason soon after the countess of Salisbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his prosecution. He was charged with mal-administration in the government of Ireland, and with conniving at the escape of his nephew Gerald Fitzgerald.

The insurrection in the north engaged Henry to make a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish the ancient superstitions, to which those parts were much addicted. He had also another motive for this journey: he purposed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if possible, to cement a close and indissoluble union with that kingdom.

The same spirit of religious innovation which had seized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite the same jealousies, fears, and persecutions. But the most dangerous symptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. James himself, who was very poor, and was somewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been swayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the same fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry also never ceased exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making proselytes, and the prospect of security, should Scotland embrace a close union with him, he solicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promise to that purpose.

The ecclesiastics were alarmed at this resolution of James, and they employed every expedient in order to prevent the execution of it. They represented the danger of innovation; the pernicious consequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself into the



hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which must ensue upon his losing the friendship of France, and of all foreign powers. To these considerations they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed: they offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds: they promised him that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply: and they pointed out to him the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a-year to the crown revenues. The insinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged first to delay his journey, then to send excuses to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview.\*

Henry, vexed with the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at sea and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he always showed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned solemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him; and he directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: one Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that his sister, formerly a servant in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the duchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford, and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his consort, that at first he gave no credit to the information; and he said to the privy-seal, to Lord Russel high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous situation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealousy, prompted him to search the matter to the bottom: the privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information as he had given; and still appealed to his sister's

testimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Sussex, where the woman at that time resided: he found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested at the same time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars, which redounded still more to her dishonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was so deeply affected that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. The queen being next questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full discovery was made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage; and only insisted that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Culpepper had passed a great part of the night with her and Lady Rochford, when the court was at Lincoln; and as it appeared that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service, she seemed to deserve little credit in this asseveration; and the king, besides, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

Henry found that he could not by any means so fully or expeditiously satiate his vengeance on all these criminals, as by assembling a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny. The two houses, having received the queen's confession, made an address to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were subject; but to consider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from these views to derive a subject of consolation. They desired leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices: and they begged him to give his assent to this bill, not in person, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commissioners appointed for that purpose. And as there was a law in force, making it treason to speak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon if any of them should, on the present occasion, have transgressed any part of the statute.

Having obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treason against the queen, and the viscountess of Rochford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Culpepper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old duchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle Lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance, to expect that parents should so far forget the ties of natural affection, and the sentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders of their family. He himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this proceeding: for he pardoned the duchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason.

However, to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to pass a law somewhat

\* Henry had sent some books, richly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw by the titles that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the presence of the person who brought them; adding, it was better he should destroy them than they him.

extraordinary. It was enacted, That any one who knew, or vehemently suspected any guilt in the queen, might within twenty days disclose it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law against defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one at the same time from spreading the matter abroad, or even privately whispering it to others: it was also enacted, That if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this singular clause, and said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute. After all these laws were passed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with Lady Rochford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life: and as Lady Rochford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were further confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt in the favourable sentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen.

The king made no demand of any subsidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter. He took further steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising on the presidents and governors to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their further progress: it had been provided, by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president or any number of fellows could consent to such a deed without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not easily obtained. All such statutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses were now exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites. The church had been so long their prey that nobody was surprised at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations on the secular clergy. He extorted from many of the bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the sees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils.

The clergy have been commonly so fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal interests go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy; and both these passions be regarded by the people, ignorant and superstitious, as proofs of zeal for religion: but the violent and headstrong character of Henry now disjoined these objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church, his bigotry and arrogance by persecuting heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the six articles, so far as regards the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life; he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission consisting of the two archbishops, and several bishops of both provinces, together with a considerable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy, he had given them in charge to choose a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any progress in this arduous undertaking, the parliament in 1541 had passed a law by which they rati-

fied all the tenets which these divines should thereafter establish with the king's consent; and they were not ashamed of thus expressly declaring that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule, in spiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute which may seem at first sight to favour somewhat of the spirit of liberty: it was enacted, That the ecclesiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and contradiction into the laws, he became more master of every one's life and property. And as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased, under cover of such a clause, to introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpose in ecclesiastical causes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; though at first invented for arbitrary purposes!

The king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that spiritual supremacy which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was soon after published, called the "Institution of a Christian Man," which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now increased to the number of seven, conformably to the sentiments of the catholics. The king's caprice is discernible throughout the whole; and the book is in reality to be regarded as his composition. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himself had formerly established.

The people had occasion, soon after, to see a further instance of the king's inconstancy. He was not long satisfied with his Institution of a Christian Man: he ordered a new book to be composed, called the "Erudition of a Christian Man;" and, without asking the assent of the convocation, he published, by his own authority, and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Institution; but the king was no less positive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his signal. In both these compositions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the nation in the practice.

While the king was spreading his own books among the people, he seems to have been extremely perplexed, as were also the clergy, what course to take with the Scriptures. A review had been made by the synod, of the new translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed, that instead of employing English expressions throughout, several Latin words should still be preserved; because they contained, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and significance, that they had no correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue. Among these were, *ecclesia*, *penitentia*, *pontifex*, *contritus*, *holocausta*, *sacramen-*



tum, elementa, ceremonia, mysterium, presbyter, sacrificium, humilitas, satisfactio, peccatum, gratia, hostia, charitas, &c. But as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at least their disputative turn, seemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous: and the king and parliament, soon after the publication of the Scriptures, retracted the concession which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from perusing them. Even that liberty was not granted without an apparent hesitation, and a dread of the consequences: these persons were allowed to read, "so it be done quietly and with good order." And the preamble to the act sets forth, "That many seditious and ignorant persons had abused the liberty granted them of reading the Bible, and that great diversity of opinion, animosities, tumults, and schisms, had been occasioned by perverting the sense of the Scriptures." It seemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for uniformity with the permission of free inquiry.

The mass-book also passed under the king's revision; and little alteration was as yet made in it: some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erased. This latter precaution was likewise used with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was sold. The word Pope was carefully omitted or blotted out; as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecution of it did not rather imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people.

Thus Henry laboured incessantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal statutes, to bring his subjects to an uniformity in their religious sentiments. But as he entered himself with the greatest earnestness into all those scholastic disputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themselves to the study of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however present fear might restrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any set of tenets or opinions prescribed to them.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*War with Scotland—Victory at Solway—Death of James V.—Treaty with Scotland—New rupture—Rupture with France—A parliament—Affairs of Scotland—A parliament—Campaign in France—A parliament—Peace with France and Scotland—Persecutions—Execution of the earl of Surrey—Attainder of the duke of Norfolk—Henry's sixth marriage—Death of the king—His character—Review of the reign.*

HENRY, being determined to avenge himself on the king of Scots for slighting the advances which he had made him, would gladly have obtained a supply from parliament, in order to prosecute that enterprise; but as he did not think it prudent to discover his intentions, that assembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would understand no hints; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and as soon as he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify hostilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining the proposed interview; which was the real ground of

the quarrel: but in order to give a more specious colouring to the enterprise, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to some English rebels and fugitives, and had detained some territory, which Henry pretended belonged to England. He even revived the old claim to the vassalage of Scotland, and he summoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and superior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James sent the bishop of Aberdeen and Sir James Learmont of Darsay to appease his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was assembling his army at Newcastle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and destroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, who had been many years banished their country, and had subsisted by Henry's bounty, joined the English army in this incursion; and the forces commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thousand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had posted a considerable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vassals, was hastening to join Huntley when he met with the English army; and an action immediately ensued. During the engagement the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the English, afraid of being surrounded and overpowered, took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and some other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners. A few only of small note fell in the skirmish.

The duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to move from his camp at Newcastle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His forces amounted to above twenty thousand men; and it required the utmost efforts of Scotland to resist such a formidable armament. James had assembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as soon as he should be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The English passed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelso; but hearing that James had collected near thirty thousand men, they repassed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country. The king of Scots, inflamed with a desire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was surprised to find that his nobility, who were in general disaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him in his projected enterprise. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impression on the enemy. He sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway Frith; and he himself followed them at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion. Disgusted, however, at the refractory disposition of his nobles, he sent a message to the army, depriving Lord Maxwell their general of his commission, and conferring the

command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely disgusted with this alteration, and was ready to disband; when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Daeres and Musgrave. A panic seized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action; but a great many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility: among these the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all sent to London, and given in custody to different noblemen.

The king of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was astonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, he lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child? Being told the latter, he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one: many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own either by force of arms or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of considerable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and personal courage, for repressing those disorders to which his kingdom during that age was so much exposed. He executed justice with impartiality and rigour; but as he supported the commonalty and the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The protestants also, whom he opposed, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any considerable imputation upon him.

Henry was no sooner informed of his victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreseen, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom. He called together the Scottish nobles who were his prisoners; and after reproaching them in severe terms for their pretended breach of treaty, he began to soften his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which he hoped those disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty without ransom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their assent to a proposal which seemed so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed; and they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in some confusion.

The pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beaton the primate the dignity of cardinal in order to confer more in-

fluence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and property of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the consequences, both to his party and to himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power; and for that purpose he is accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princess. At least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation. By virtue of this will Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

James earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III. and on that account seemed best entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal had intruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partisans; and though his character indicated little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity which he had discovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of those innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody under the care of Lord Seton; and a negotiation was commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen should remain in Scotland till she should be ten years of age; that she should then be sent to England to be educated; that six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges. By means of these equitable conditions the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with such dismal calamities, seemed to be fully composed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity.

But the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all these measures, which appeared so well concerted. He assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; and having represented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large sum of money, by which, if entrusted to his management, he engaged to overturn the schemes of their



enemies. Besides the partisans whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he roused up the zeal of those who were attached to the catholic worship; and he represented the union with England as the sure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their southern neighbours was also an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make resistance, had procured a temporary assent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: but Sadler prudently dissembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise which they had given, of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers whom he had left as hostages.

This behaviour of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not disagreeable to the cardinal, who foresaw that all these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Though the French king was fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his resentment against Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made great though fruitless efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more disabled at present from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any succour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen-mother: and he promised that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should soon be dispatched after him. Arran the governor, seeing all these preparations against him, assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant queen into his custody; but being repulsed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entrust that precious charge to four neutral persons, the heads of potent families, the

Lindseys, and Levingstones. The arrival of Lenox, in the midst of these transactions, served to render the victory of the French party over the English still more indisputable.

The opposition which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues excited his resentment, and further confirmed the resolution which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint against the French king; which, though not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance those great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from the see of Rome, and that he had broken his promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied that James his nephew had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England. He had been informed of some raileries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was disgusted that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been stipulated. Impelled by all these motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance. This league, besides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terrouenne, and Ardes, as a security for the regular payment of his pension for the future: in case these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the duchy of Burgundy, and some other territories. That they might have a pretence for enforcing these claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solymán, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Christendom had sustained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refusal, war was declared against him by the allies. It may be proper to remark, that the partisans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretrical king of England, as no less obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solymán: and they observed, that this league was a breach of the solemn promise which he had given to Clement VII. never to make peace or alliance with England.

While the treaty with the emperor was negotiating, the king summoned a new session of parliament, in order to obtain supplies for his projected war with France. The parliament granted him a subsidy, to be paid in three years: it was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three shillings in the pound upon any individual.\* The convoca-

\* They who were worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four-pence of every pound from five pounds to ten pounds, eight-pence; from ten pounds to twenty

tion gave the king six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater sums were always, even during the establishment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity: which made the Emperor Charles say, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs.

The parliament also facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to statutes; they appointed that any nine counsellors should form a legal court for punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as of all parliaments, seemed, if the king had so pleased, the necessary consequence of this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable that Lord Mountjoy entered a protest against this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that protest is the only one entered against any public bill during this whole reign.

It was enacted this session, That any spiritual person who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, the "Erudition of a Christian Man," or contrary to any doctrine which he should "thereafter" promulgate, was to be admitted on the first conviction to renounce his error; on the second, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burned. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the prisoner was allowed to bring witnesses for his exculpation. These penalties were lighter than those which were formerly imposed on a denial of the real presence: it was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the six articles was still in force. But, in order to make the king more entirely master of his people, it was enacted, That he might hereafter at his pleasure change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause both parties were retained in subjection: so far as regarded religion, the king was invested in the fullest manner with the sole legislative authority in his kingdom; and all his subjects were, under the severest penalties, expressly bound to receive implicitly whatever doctrine he should please to recommend to them.

The reformers began to entertain hopes that this great power of the crown might still be employed in their favour. The king married Catherine Par, widow of Nevil Lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. The king's league with the emperor seemed a circumstance no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

The advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles were inconsi-

derable during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor: Francis in person took the field early; and made himself master, without resistance, of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg: he afterwards took Landrecy, and added some fortifications to it. Charles having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and after taking almost every fortress in the dutchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he was pleased to prescribe to him. Being then joined by a body of six thousand English, he sat down before Landrecy, and covered the siege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raise the siege: but while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of some great event, the French king found means of throwing succour into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles, finding the season far advanced, despaired of success in his enterprise, and found it necessary to go into winter-quarters.

The vanity of Henry was flattered by the figure which he made in the great transactions on the continent: but the interests of his kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of so indolent and unambitious a character, that had he not been stimulated by his friends and dependants, he never had aspired to any share in the administration; and when he found himself overpowered by the party of the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, however dishonourable. He even gave them a sure pledge of his sincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himself to the Romish communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling. By this weakness and levity he lost his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the protestants, who were hitherto the chief support of his power, his mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire ascendancy in the kingdom: the queen-dowager placed implicit confidence in him; the governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretension: Lenox alone was become an obstacle to his measures, and reduced him to some difficulty.

The inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran, made the interests of these two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cause, had flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown after their infant sovereign, this rivalry had tended still further to rouse the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aspire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given him some pretensions to the regency; and as he was become assuming on account of the services which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found that since he must choose between the friendship of Lenox and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more easily governed, and who was invested with present authority, was in every respect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to succeed in his pretensions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the ascendancy, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion: he entered into a secret correspondence with the

pounds sixteen-pence; from twenty and upwards, two shillings. Lands, sees, and annuities, from twenty shillings to five pounds, paid eight-pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen-pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings. All foreigners paid double.



English court; and he summoned his vassals and partisans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the protestant religion, or were on any account discontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their services. In a little time he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose him; but as he was a prudent man, he foresaw that Lenox could not long subsist so great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negotiation with him. He seduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: and Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Present peace was restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

While the winter season restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament; in which a law was passed, such as he was pleased to dictate, with regard to the succession of the crown. After declaring that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, were first and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. This seemed a reasonable piece of justice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confusion: but it was impossible for Henry to do any thing, how laudable soever, without betraying, in some circumstance, his usual extravagance and caprice: though he opened the way for these two princesses to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own issue, he might dispose of the crown as he pleased, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foresee, that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the passive instrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all its acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purposes which he was so bent to attain.

An act passed, declaring "that the king's usual style should be King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland." It seemed a palpable inconsistency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him for maintaining its cause against Luther, and yet subjoin his ecclesiastical supremacy in opposition to the claims of that court.

An act also passed for the remission of the debt which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the people. It will easily be believed, that after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary. But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment,

either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer.

The oaths which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses to which they swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken.

The most commendable law to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprised in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorized for the purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority whenever he demanded subsidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not to hazard a refusal, he made no mention this season of a supply: but as his wars both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expense, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects: and he enhanced gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and silver from three shillings and nine-pence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywise serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London, a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was enrolled as a foot-soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large composition. These powers of the prerogative (which at that time passed unquestioned), the compelling of any man to serve in any office, and the imprisoning of any man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign in a manner absolute master of the person and property of every individual.

Early this year the king sent a fleet and an army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley Lord Lisle commanded the sea-forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beaten down (for little or no resistance was made); and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eastward; and being joined by a new body under

Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, and then retreated into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry settled a pension on him, and even gave him his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to total servitude.

Henry's policy was blamed in this sudden and violent incursion; by which he inflamed the passions of the Scots, without subduing their spirit; and it was commonly said, that he did too much if he intended to solicit an alliance, and too little if he meant a conquest. But the reason of his recalling the troops so soon, was his eagerness to carry on a projected enterprise against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces, amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries: they were to enter on no siege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Francis could not oppose to these formidable preparations much above forty thousand men.

Henry, having appointed the queen regent during his absence, passed over to Calais with thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet Lord St. John, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was soon joined by the Count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperialists.

The emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and, not to lose time while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which was surrendered to him: he thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which he took: Ligny met with the same fate: he next laid siege to St. Disier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave resistance, under the count of San-cerre the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation.

The emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontier, or thinking that the emperor had first broken his engagement, by forming sieges, or perhaps foreseeing at last the dangerous consequences of entirely subduing the French power, instead of marching forward to Paris sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The

duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: the king himself that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corse, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He was killed during the course of the siege, and the town was immediately surrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for this dishonourable capitulation.

During the course of this siege Charles had taken St. Disier; and finding the season much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, since all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deserting his ally, he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honour, and that the emperor himself had first broken the concert by besieging St. Disier. This answer served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's second son; and Francis in return withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, so advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the decisive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialists at Cerissoles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great desire to turn his arms against the protestant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign served to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of sense concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprises, made, at a great expense, an acquisition which was of no importance.

The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various success. Sir Ralph Evers, now Lord Evers, and Sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid waste the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took possession of, and fortified. The governor assembled an army of eight thousand men, in order to dislodge them from this post; but he had no sooner opened his batteries before the place than a sudden panic seized him; he left the army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehensions lest they should deliver him into the hands of the English: but his own unwearied spirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this dishonourable flight. The Scottish army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confusion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the English might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this success, boasted to Henry that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important service. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty such acquisitions would be maintained against a warlike enemy, advised the king to grant him, as his reward, the conquests of which he boasted so highly. The next



inroad made by the English showed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general led about five thousand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country; when intelligence was brought him that some Scottish forces appeared near the abbey of Melross. Angus had roused the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they resolved to wait, on some high grounds near Auncrum, the assault of the English. The English, whose past successes had taught them too much to despise the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retreating; and they hastened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprise of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis some time after sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery lord of Lorges. Reinforced by these succours, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no considerable resistance, he retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and west marches; and the war on both sides was signalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any considerable advantage gained by either party.

The war likewise between France and England was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides galleys; and having embarked some land-forces on board, he sent them to make a descent in England. They sailed to the Isle of Wight, where they found the English fleet lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It consisted not of above a hundred sail; and the admiral thought it most advisable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and except the sinking of the *Mary Rose*, one of the largest ships of the English fleet, the damage on both sides was inconsiderable.

Francis's chief intention in equipping so great a fleet, was to prevent the English from throwing succours into Boulogne, which he resolved to besiege; and for that purpose he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of time and money, the fort was found so ill constructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had assembled on that frontier an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprise. Henry, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who having

marched to Fleurines in the bishopric of Liege, found that they could advance no further. The emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions: they received intelligence of a superior army on the side of France ready to intercept them: want of occupation and of pay soon produced a mutiny among them: and having seized the English commissaries as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There seems to have been some want of foresight in this expensive armament.

The great expense of these two wars maintained by Henry, obliged him to summon a new parliament. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land;\* the spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property: by one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chantries, free chapels,† and hospitals. Henry was pleased with this concession, as it increased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile and prostitute parliament.

The prostitute spirit of the parliament further appeared in the preamble of a statute, in which they recognise the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England; and acknowledge that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate: to him alone, say they, and such persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, control their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions.

The king made, in person, a speech to the parliament on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he said, equalled what was ever paid by their ancestors to any king of England, he complained of their dissensions, disputes, and animosities in religion. He told them, that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite: that he had permitted his people the use of the Scriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for disputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their

\* Those who possessed goods or money above five pounds and below ten, were to pay eight-pence a pound: those above ten pounds, a shilling.

† A chantry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to say mass, or perform divine service for the use of the founders, or such others as they appointed; free chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for such the same purposes as the former.

consciences, and instruct their children and families: that it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alehouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal pastors: and that he was sorry to observe that the word of God, while it was the object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice, and that, though an imaginary knowledge so much abounded, charity was daily going to decay. The king gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging speculation and dispute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable submission of opinion which he recommended.

Henry employed in military preparations: the money granted by parliament; and he sent over the earl of Hertford and Lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of small moment ensued with the French; and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party. Henry, whose animosity against Francis was not violent, had given sufficient vent to his humour by this short war; and finding that from his great increase in corpulence and decay in strength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was desirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewise, on his part, was not averse to peace with England; because having lately lost his son the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foresaw that hostilities must soon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commissioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a small place between Ardres and Guisnes, the articles were soon agreed on, and the peace signed by them. The chief conditions were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, beside a claim of 500,000 livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was not a third of the value.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs; particularly to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was so intent. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to permit that the litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the six articles. One petition of the new litany was a prayer to save us "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities." Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into further innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was sent on an embassy to the emperor: but Gardiner having written to the king, that if he carried his opposition against the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend that he possessed at

court, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk: the queen dowager of France, consort to Suffolk, had died some years before. This nobleman is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate the merits, of the deceased. He declared, that during the whole course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. "Is there any of you, my lords, who can say as much?" When the king subjoined these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them.

Cranmer himself, when bereaved of this support, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the points at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that, if he were found guilty, he should be committed to prison, and brought to condign punishment. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and his old friends, from interested views, as well as the opposite party, from animosity, began to show him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer said that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the king, he reproved them in the severest terms; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy; but he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to teach them, by the severest discipline, since gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and said, that their only intention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial; and Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a sign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his part, than is usual in such forced compliances.

But though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity all others who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty, who had great connexions



with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, instead of showing indulgence to the weakness of her sex and age, was but the more provoked that a woman should dare to oppose his theological sentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a seeming recantation; but she qualified it with some reserves, which did not satisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into prison, and she there employed herself in composing prayers and discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost extremity rather than relinquish her religious principles. She even wrote to the king, and told him, that as to the Lord's supper, she believed as much as Christ himself had said of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required: but while she could not be brought to acknowledge an assent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a fresh insult. The Chancellor Wriothesely, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her: but she maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in preserving secrecy. Some authors\* add an extraordinary circumstance: that the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still further; but that officer refused compliance: the chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refusal: upon which that magistrate, who was otherwise a person of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder. Her constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her persecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being so dislocated by the rack that she could not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair. Together with her were conducted Nicholas Belenian a priest, John Lassels of the king's household, and John Adams a tailor, who had been condemned for the same crime to the same punishment. They were all tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation the chancellor sent to inform them that their pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should instantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames, which consumed them. Wriothesely did not consider, that this public and noted situation interested their honour the more to maintain a steady perseverance.

Though the secrecy and fidelity of Anne Ascue saved the queen from this peril, that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she narrowly escaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevish and passionate. The queen attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by

every soothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts of humour to which he was become so subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology: and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented, that the more elevated the person was who was chastised, and the more near to his person, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and the more glorious would the sacrifice appear to posterity. The chancellor, being consulted, was engaged by religious zeal to second these topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counsellors, went so far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. Wriothesely executed his commands; and soon after brought the paper to him to be signed: for as it was high treason to throw slander upon the queen, he might otherwise have been questioned for his temerity. By some means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was sensible of the extreme danger to which she was exposed; but did not despair of being able, by her prudence and address, still to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more serene disposition than she had reason to expect. He entered on the subject which was so familiar to him; and he seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and remarked, that such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural imbecility of her sex. Women, she said, by their first creation, were made subject to man: the male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: it belonged to the husband to choose principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband: and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blessed with a husband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instruction." She meekly replied, that she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also proposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics whence she had observed by frequent experience that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweet-heart?" replied the king, "then are we perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day

\* Fox, Speed, Baker. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance: Fox, however, transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. I must add, in justice to the king, that he disapproved of Wriothesely's conduct, and commended the queen.—Hume.

to carry her to the Tower, pursuant to the king's warrant Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: she even overheard the appellations of "knave, fool," and "beast," which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his presence: she afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger: he said to her, "Poor soul! you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices." Thenceforth the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favour and good opinion.

The following account of the arrest of the nobles, Norfolk and Surrey, is taken from Mackintosh, who has the most clearly elucidated that somewhat obscure transaction:

"The cruelty of Henry continued conspicuous to the last, in the alternate but impartial persecution of the Lutherans as heretics, and of the papists as traitors. But it seems to have been somewhat mitigated in his last years to his court and kindred; probably from the languor of distemper, which might put on some appearance of mildness, and produce some of the effects of good nature towards those on whose kind offices he was necessarily dependent. This general softening was chequered by occasional acts of extreme harshness, which, for the sake of equal justice, may be laid to the account of his occasional paroxysms of pain, which are said to have been unusually acute. His body had become so unwieldy, that he could not be moved without machines contrived for the purpose. An oppression on his breathing rendered it difficult for him to relieve himself by a recumbent posture. The signature of his name became too heavy a task for his feeble or overloaded hands. Stamps with his initials were affixed in his presence, and by his verbal command, to all the instruments which required the royal signature. He became offensive to his humblest attendants by an ulcer in one of his swollen limbs, which often subjected him to the extremity of pain.

"It was in this miserable condition of Henry that an act was done by him, or in his name, which has become memorable and interesting from the fame of an illustrious sufferer. Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, is so justly renowned by his poetical genius, which was then surpassed in his own country by none but that of Chaucer; by his happy imitations of the Italian masters; by a version of the *Æneid*, of which the execution is wonderful, and the very undertaking betokens the consciousness of lofty superiority; by the place in which we are accustomed to behold him, at the head of the uninterrupted series of English poets; that we find it difficult to regard him in those inferior points of view, of a gallant knight, a skilful captain, and an active statesman, which, in the eyes of his contemporaries, eclipsed the lustre of his literary renown. He had served with distinction in the late war against France, where differences with the earl of Hertford, whom Surrey accused of having supplanted him in command, were widened. Hertford was the brother of Jane Seymour, and the uncle of the young prince. The rapid decay of the king added daily to his consequence, and increased his desire to en-  
e an undivided power over his nephew. Hertford soon after gave full scope to his attachment for

the reformation, that we cannot suppose him not to have been a protestant while Henry yet lived. As none of the reformed nobility exposed themselves to legal punishment by an avowal of their faith, so the catholic lords concealed their attachments to the papal power, which would have been an unpardonable crime in the eyes of Henry. These circumstances render it difficult to ascertain the real opinions of the earl of Surrey. But we know the opinions of his father, and the inclinations of his family, so perfectly, that there can be little doubt of Surrey being at least an adherent of the catholic party. The house of Howard alone stood in the way of the Seymours in their pursuits, under the approaching minority. Personal pique, religious dissension, political jealousy, all pointed in the same direction. The means by which Henry was enlisted in the service of this confederacy of passions are unknown; but it is likely that he was easily filled with apprehension by representations of the power and greatness of the Howards, who alone could endanger the royal seat of his son.

"Whatever were the motives or means employed, the earl of Surrey, together with his father, was, on the 12th of December, 1546, imprisoned in the Tower. The legal ground of proceeding was the sweeping section of more than one recent statute which made it high treason 'to do any thing, by word, writing, or deed, to the scandal or peril of the established succession to the crown.' The only overt act alleged against him was, 'his having assumed the armorial bearing of Edward the Confessor, which had been hitherto exclusively used by his majesty and his predecessors, kings of England.'

"Of the witnesses who were examined in support of this charge, the first was Mrs. Holland, the mistress of the duke of Norfolk. She only mentioned the duke having blamed his son for want of skill in quartering the family arms, and 'had spoken with warmth against the new nobility (meaning the Seymours), who did not love him.' The second witness was the duchess of Richmond, the widow of Henry's natural son, a young and very beautiful woman, who, though the daughter of Norfolk, now appeared to swear away the lives of her father and her brother. She deposed that her brother Surrey had spoken with asperity of Hertford; that he had professed a dislike of 'the new nobility,' and complained of the king as the cause of the defeat of the English before Boulogne. She added, seemingly of her own accord, that Surrey wore on his arms, instead of a ducal coronet, what seemed to her judgment very like a close crown, and a cipher, which she took to be the king's H. R.; two matters, however, which had no connexion with the accusation.

"Surrey was tried on the 13th of January, 1547, at Guildhall; and on this absurd charge, supported by such monstrous evidence, he was convicted of high treason. On the 19th or 21st of January he was executed, either six or eight days before Henry died, 'who,' says Holinshed, 'on the day of Lord Surrey's execution, was lying in the agonies of death.' As the king's sick bed was surrounded by Surrey's enemies, it must be always uncertain whether the hand of Henry was, even in the lowest bodily sense, affixed to the instrument which warranted the execution.

"The duke of Norfolk, who seems to have owed his misfortunes originally to the resentment of the duchess, whom he had long deserted for Mrs. Holland, was importuned into an imperfect confession of acts which were almost blameable. A bill of at-



tainder was introduced against him, founded on his confession. The royal assent was given to it in virtue of a commission signed by the stamps on the 27th of January, and orders were sent to the Tower for the execution in the morning. But Henry died in the night. The execution was suspended. The duke was confined during the next reign; but in that of Mary the attainder was reversed, on the grounds that the act could not be treason, because the arms had been long publicly borne in the presence of the kings of England; that the king died in the night following the day on which the commission bears date; and that the commission is not signed with his name, but with stamps put thereunto not in the place where he was accustomed to put them; and it was also declared that the royal assent can only be given by the king, either in his own person or by letters patent under the great seal, according to a statute of 33 Henry VIII., and that the pretended act of attainder shall be taken and deemed to be no act of parliament."

The king's health had long been in a declining stage; but for several days all those near him plainly saw his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durst inform him of his condition; and as some persons during this reign had suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death, every one was afraid lest in the transports of his fury he might on this pretence punish capitally the author of such friendly intelligence. At last Sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer might be sent for: but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years, and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The following is an extract from a letter from the earl of Sussex to the countess. "These be to signify to you that our late sovereign lord the king departed at Westminster upon Friday last, the 28th of this instant, January, about two of the clock in the morning." Dated the 31st January, 1547.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to Prince Edward, then to the Lady Mary, next to the Lady Elizabeth: the two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister the French queen; then on Eleanor countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but as he subjoined, that after the failure of the French queen's posterity the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained in the last moments of his

lence and caprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may suggest the same reflection with regard to the strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: he left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions established by his ancestors and others for the benefit of "their" souls; and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his later years; he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care at least of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question. There is no reasonable ground to suspect its authenticity.

Such is Hume's statement. Dr. Lingard is of the contrary opinion, and alleges that "in Edward's reign, an attested copy was deposited in the chancery, which was destroyed by Mary, on the ground that the will was a forgery. But the original remained untouched in the treasury of the exchequer, till the end of the seventeenth century, when it was removed into the chapter-house at Westminster. There it was examined in Queen Anne's reign by some persons of the first rank and ability in the kingdom, and found 'to consist of several sheets of soft coarse paper, tacked together with a braid of green and white riband, the writing of a mean and slovenly character. The will was signed at the head of the first and the end of the last page, with the king's hand-writing as was pretended; but the character was fairer than ever he could make, and the hand stiff like a counterfeit hand. On the comparing the hand in the will with his stamp and his usual hand-writing, it agreed with neither.'"

On the parliamentary recognition of the will, Mackintosh has the following remarks: "This parliamentary consideration of a royal testament, implying that right of bequeathing a nation which had been so decisively repelled in the minority of Henry VI., requires more explanation. The act of settlement passed on Henry VIII.'s marriage with Jane, had vested the power of bequeathing the realm in the crown on failure of the king's legitimate issue, no such issue being then in existence. About three years before the king's decease, this unbounded and oriental power was abridged by a statute, which, after the failure of male progeny, limited the succession to Mary and Elizabeth, without any consideration of their irreconcilable claims, or of their common illegitimacy; on condition, however, of these princesses observing the terms, if any, to be prescribed by the king; and in the case of their death or forfeiture, the unlimited power of devise was re-vested in the crown. The king's property in his people was still maintained, as his daughters were not to inherit by the fundamental laws, but to receive a conditional and defeasible authority under his will. By the will of Henry, executed on the 30th of December preceding his death, all the powers of government were, during the minority, vested in the following fifteen persons therein named (called in the will executors, to keep up the language of the doctrine of ownership): Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor Writchesley, Sir John Hertford, Russell, Lisle, Bishop Tunstall, Brown, master of the horse; Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; Bromley, a justice; North, Paget, Denny, Harberd, and two Woottons."

It is difficult to give a just summary of this

prince's qualities: he was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by Lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. The absolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him in some degree to the appellation of a "great" prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a "good" one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men—courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: and though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who in every controversy was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature; violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: but neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether destitute of virtues: he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light: the treatment which he met with from the court of Rome provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme severity. But it must at the same time be acknowledged, that his situation tended to throw an additional lustre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: the emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithstanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: the extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.

It may seem a little extraordinary, that notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects, but never was the object of their hatred: he seems even in some degree to have possessed to the last their love and affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes: and it may be said with truth, that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that like eastern slaves they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves, and at their own expense.

With regard to foreign states, Henry appears long to have supported an intercourse of friendship with Francis, more sincere and disinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealousy of the Emperor Charles, and some resemblance in their characters (though the comparison sets the French monarch in a very superior and advantageous light), served as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline: he foretold that he should

not long survive his friend; and he died in about two months after him.

There were ten parliaments summoned by Henry VIII. and twenty-three sessions held. The whole time in which these parliaments sat during this long reign exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call these assemblies more frequently: but though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognisance of parliament, their devoted submission to Henry's will, added to their earnest desire of soon returning to their country-seats, produced a quick dispatch of the bills, and made the sessions of short duration. All the king's caprices were indeed blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the safety or liberty of the subject. Besides the violent prosecution of whatever he was pleased to term heresy, the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the disparagement of the king, queen, or royal issue, were subjected to that penalty; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; inasmuch that had they been strictly executed, every man without exception must have fallen under the penalty of treason. By one statute, for instance, it was declared treason to assert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: by another it was treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them spurious, would no doubt have been construed to their slander. Nor would even a profound silence, with regard to these delicate points, be able to save a person from such penalties. For by the former statute, whoever refused to answer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was subjected to the pains of treason. The king, therefore, needed only propose to any one a question with regard to the legality of either of his first marriages: if the person were silent, he was a traitor by law: if he answered, either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no less a traitor. So monstrous were the inconsistencies which arose from the furious passions of the king, and the slavish submission of his parliaments. It is hard to say whether these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed design of tyranny.

As the transactions of this reign were very important, and laid the foundation of our modern system of religion and policy, it will be interesting to give the sentiments of Lingard, who may in general be considered as the opponent of Hume; and also to take advantage of Mackintosh's later information and greater legal attainments.

We commence with the latter, who says, "Some direct benefits the constitution owes to this reign. The act which established a parliamentary representation in so considerable a territory as Wales, may be regarded as the principal reformation in the composition of the house of commons since its legal maturity in the time of Edward I. That principality had been divided into twelve shires; of which eight were ancient, and four owed their origin to a statute of Henry's reign. Knights, citizens, and burgesses were now directed to be chosen and sent to parliament from the shires, cities, and burghs of Wales. A short time before, the same privileges were granted to the county palatine of Chester, of which the preamble contains a memorable recognition and establishment of the principles which are the basis of



the elective part of our constitution. Nearly thirty members were thus added to the house of commons on the principle of the Chester bill—that it is disadvantageous to a province to be unrepresented; that representation is essential to good government; and that those who are bound by the laws ought to have a reasonable share of direct influence on the passing of laws. As the practical disadvantages are only generally alleged, and could scarcely have been proved, they must have been inferred from the nature of a house of commons. The British constitution was not thought to be enjoyed by a district till a popular representation was bestowed on it. Election by the people was regarded, not as a source of tumult, but as the principle most capable of composing disorder in territories not represented.

“But it is chiefly by its relation to the infant reformation of religion that this reign became a period of great importance in the general history of Europe. The last twenty years of it is to be considered as a time of transition from popery to protestantism. It must be owned that it required a vigorous, and even a harsh hand, to keep down all the fear and hatred; all the conscientious but furious zeal of catholics and gossellers; the whole mass of passion and of interest which were stirred up by so prodigious a revolution in human opinion.

“An ecclesiastical dictatorship might have been excused in a time full of peril. At the beginning the protestants (even if we number all the anti-papists among them) formed a small, though intelligent and bold minority. They grew stronger by degrees, as opinions and parties which are the children of the age naturally do. Their strength lay in the towns on the southern and eastern coasts, and among the industrious classes of society. In the northern and midland provinces, and in the mountains of Wales, far removed from commerce with the heretics of Flanders and Germany, the ancient faith maintained its authority. At the end of this reign it is still doubtful whether the majority had changed sides. Henry had few qualifications for an umpire. But it was a public service that he restrained both factions, and kept the peace during this dangerous process. Had he been only severe and stern, instead of plunging into barbarism and butchery, his services might be commended, and some allowance might be made for the necessity of curbing uncivilized men by rough means.

“Had the protestant party risen against him they must have been vanquished, and he would have been driven back into the arms of Rome. The iron hand which held back both parties from battle was advantageous to the protestant cause, humanly speaking; only because the opinions and institutions which spring up in an age are likely to be the most progressive. His grotesque authority as head of the church, his double persecution of Romanists and Lutherans, his passion for transubstantiation, and his abhorrence of appeals to a court at Rome, may be understood, if we regard his reign as a bridge which the nation was to pass on its road to more complete reformation. This peculiar character was given to the latter portion of his reign by the combined power of his adherence to the catholic doctrines, and of his impatience of papal authority, by the connexion of this last disposition with the validity of his marriages and the legitimacy of his children; by the manifold and intricate ties which at various times blended the interest of each religious party with the succession to the crown; an object which the recent remembrance

of the war of the Roses might render very important to any prince, but which became the ruling frenzy of Henry's mind. The reformers needed the acquisition of one great state for the stability and solidity of their reform. They gained England. As soon as the hand was withdrawn which held the statesmen and the people dumb, the reformation was established. England continues to this day to be the only power of the first class which maintains the reformed doctrines.

“Eleven months before the decease of the English monarch, Luther breathed his last in his native town of Eisleben, which he had not visited for many years. He died of an inflammation in his chest, which cut him off in twenty-four hours, in the sixty-third year of his age. His last moments were placid, and employed in prayers for the well-being of the church, now more than ever threatened by the Roman pontiff, supported as he was by the great council of his followers convoked at Trent. It ought not to be doubted by a just man, of whatever communion, that Martin Luther was an honest, disinterested, and undaunted man, magnanimous in prosperous as well as adverse fortune, without the slightest taint of any disposition which rested on self as its final aim, elevated by the consciousness of this purity in his motives, and by the humble desire to conform his mind to the model of supreme perfection, and to adapt his actions to the laws which flowed from the source of all good, through reason and through revelation. On the other hand, it must be allowed that his virtues were better fitted for revolutions than for quiet; that he often sacrificed peace and charity to trivial differences of opinion, or perhaps unmeaning oppositions of language; and that his scurrilous and merciless writings, as a controversialist, both manifested and excited very odious passions. But the object of his life was religious truth; and, in the pursuit of this single and sublime end, he delivered reason from the yoke of human authority, and contributed to set it free from all subjection, except that which is due to Supreme Wisdom—‘whose service is perfect freedom.’

“The tales propagated against this great man prove his formidable power. He was said openly to deride all that he taught, to have composed hymns to his favourite vice of drunkenness, to disbelieve the immortality of the soul; nay, even to have been an atheist. He was represented to have been the fruit of the commerce of his mother with a demon,—a fable which, in the end of the seventeenth century, writers of some reputation thought it necessary to disavow. Notes of his table-talk, published many years after his death, and then, perhaps, very inaccurately, continued to furnish the viler sort of antagonists with means of abuse, in the ardent phrases which fell from him amidst the negligence of familiar conversation.

“At the moment of his death, Lutheranism was established only in Scandinavia, and in those parts of Germany which had embraced it when it was first preached. The extent, however, of its invisible power over the minds of men was not to be measured by the magnitude of the countries where it was legally predominant. Bold inquiry, active curiosity, excited reason, youthful enthusiasm, throughout every country of Europe, in secret cherished a Lutheran spirit. Henry, as we have seen, was impelled, by a singular combination of circumstances, to prepare the way in England for embodying that spirit in a civil establishment. Calvin, who was called by his eminent contemporaries

the greatest divine since the apostles, had now spread the seeds of reformation throughout France. Had Luther survived a few years longer, he would have seen the second and more terrible eruption of the reformation in the civil wars of France, in which the protestant party maintained their ground for thirty years, and obtained a partial establishment for near a century, though they were finally doomed to defeat and dispersion. In Italy, most well-educated men, who were not infidels, became secret protestants. The inquisition did not entirely exempt the Spanish peninsula from innovation. If 100,000 or 50,000 protestants suffered for religion in the Netherlands, during the government of Charles V., we can desire no better proof of the prevalence of the reformation in these rich and lettered provinces. Already monarchs, now become absolute, began to apprehend that the spirit of inquiry would extend from religion to civil government, or, in their language, prove as fatal to the state as to the church. Such, at a much earlier period, were the fears with which the insurrection of the German peasants had filled the mind of Sir Thomas More. The intention of quelling this general revolt of the minds of men by a confederacy of princes, although not fully unfolded, was, we are told, one of the motives of the treaty of Francis I. with Charles V., which preceded the last peace between France and England. But points like these are long discussed among statesmen, and acquire some steady place in their minds before the perils grow large enough and come near enough to be contemplated with practical seriousness, and long before they are felt to make urgent demands on rulers for the security of the commonwealth against the threatening tempest. At the death of Henry VIII. the preponderance of visible force in the scale of establishment was immense; and even the moral force of the state and the church retained its commanding posture and its aspect of authority, at the moment when its foundation in opinion was silently crumbling from beneath it. It is easy to blame this want of foresight after events have taught knowledge. But contemporary statesmen would have acted unwisely, if they were to be influenced in their deliberations concerning present events by probabilities of future danger so uncertain, even from their distance, as to be beyond the scope of the active politician, who is never to forget the shortness of his foresight, and the moral duty of walking warily when he cannot see clearly. It was not wonderful that the masters of Europe should adjourn the consideration of perils which still seemed to belong more to speculation than to practice, and of a religious revolution which, in the course of thirty years, had gained no outward dominion in the more cultivated parts of Europe, except a small number of German cities and principalities."

Dr. Lingard concludes this momentous reign with the following lucid view of its most important events:—

"Of the king's conduct during his sickness, we know little. It is said that at the commencement he betrayed a wish to be reconciled to the see of Rome: that the other bishops, afraid of the penalties, evaded the question; but that Gardiner advised him to consult his parliament, and to commit his ideas to writing. He was constantly attended by his confessor, the bishop of Rochester, heard mass daily in his chamber, and received the communion under one kind. About a month before his death he endowed the magnificent establishment of Trinity College in Cambridge, for a master and sixty fel-

lows and scholars: and afterwards re-opened the church of the Grey Friars, which, with St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and an ample revenue, he gave to the city of London.

"Of his sentiments on his death-bed nothing can be asserted with any degree of confidence. One account makes him die in the anguish of despair: according to another he refused any spiritual aid till he could only reply to the exhortation of the archbishop by a squeeze of the hand: while a third represents him as expiring in the most edifying sentiments of devotion and repentance. Not only the dangerous state in which he lay, but also his death, were carefully concealed from the knowledge of the public: and the parliament, ignorant of the event, met and transacted business after the usual manner. Three days were employed by the earl of Hertford to secure the person of his royal nephew at Enfield, and to arrange with his associates the plan of their subsequent proceedings. On the fourth the chancellor announced to the two houses the death of Henry; read to them an extract from the will respecting the government of the realm during the minority of his successor; and then, declaring the parliament dissolved, invited the lords to pay their respects to the new king. That prince was the same day conducted to the Tower, and proclaimed by the style of Edward the Sixth, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the church of England and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head.

"To form a just estimate of the character of Henry, we must distinguish between the young king, guided by the counsels of Wolsey, and the monarch of more mature age, governing by his own judgment, and with the aid of ministers selected and fashioned by himself. In his youth the beauty of his person, the elegance of his manners, and his adroitness in every martial and fashionable exercise, were calculated to attract the admiration of his subjects. His court was gay and splendid: a succession of amusements seemed to absorb his attention: yet his pleasures were not permitted to encroach on his more important duties: he assisted at the council, perused the dispatches, and corresponded with his generals and ambassadors: nor did the minister, trusted and powerful as he was, dare to act, till he had asked the opinion, and taken the pleasure of his sovereign. His natural abilities had been improved by study, and his esteem for literature may be inferred from the learned education which he gave to his children, and from the number of eminent scholars to whom he granted pensions in foreign states, or on whom he conferred promotion in his own. The immense treasure which he inherited from his father, was perhaps a misfortune; because it engendered habits of expense not to be supported from the ordinary revenue of the crown: and the soundness of his politics may be doubted, which, under the pretence of supporting the balance of power, repeatedly involved the nation in continental hostilities. Yet even these errors served to throw a lustre round the English throne, and raised its possessor in the eyes of his own subjects and of the different nations of Europe. But as the king advanced in age, his vices gradually developed themselves: after the death of Wolsey they were indulged without restraint. He became as rapacious as he was prodigal: as obstinate as he was capricious; as fickle in his friendships, as he was merciless in his resentments. Though liberal of his confidence, he soon grew suspicious of those whom he had ever



trusted: and, as if he possessed no other right to the crown than that which he derived from the very questionable claim of his father, he viewed with an evil eye every remote descendant of the Plantagenets; and eagerly embraced the slightest pretences to remove those whom his jealousy represented as future rivals to himself or his posterity. In pride and vanity he was perhaps without a parallel. Inflated with the praises of interested admirers, he despised the judgment of others: acted as if he deemed himself infallible in matters of policy and religion; and seemed to look upon dissent from his opinion as equivalent to a breach of allegiance. In his estimation, to submit and to obey, were the great, the paramount duties of subjects: and this persuasion steeled his breast against remorse for the blood which he shed, and led him to trample without scruple on the liberties of the nation.

"When he ascended the throne, there still existed a spirit of freedom, which on more than one occasion defeated the arbitrary measures of the court, though directed by an able minister, and supported by the authority of the sovereign: but in the lapse of a few years that spirit had fled, and before the death of Henry, the king of England had grown into a despot, the people had shrunk into a nation of slaves. The causes of this important change in the relations between the sovereign and his subjects, may be found not so much in the abilities or passions of the former, as in the obsequiousness of his parliaments, the assumption of the ecclesiastical supremacy, and the servility of the two religious parties which divided the nation.

"I. The house of peers no longer consisted of those powerful lords and prelates, who in former periods had so often and so successfully resisted the encroachments of the sovereign. The reader has already witnessed the successive steps, by which most of the great families of the preceding reigns had become extinct, and their immense possessions had been frittered away among the favourites and dependants of the court. The most opulent of the peers under Henry were poor in comparison with their predecessors: and by the operation of the statute against livery, they had lost the accustomed means of arming their retainers in support of their quarrels. In general they were new men, indebted for their present honours and estates to the bounty of Henry or of his father: and the proudest among the rest, by witnessing the attainders and executions of others, had been taught to tremble for themselves, and to crouch in submission at the foot of a master, whose policy it was to depress the great, and punish their errors without mercy, while he selected his favourites from the lowest classes, heaping on them honours and riches, and confiding to them the exercise of his authority.

"1. By the separation of the realm from the see of Rome, the dependence of the spiritual had been rendered still more complete than that of the temporal peers. Their riches had been diminished, their immunities taken away: the support which they might have derived from the protection of the pontiff, was gone: they were nothing more than the delegates of the king, exercising a precarious authority determinable at his pleasure. The ecclesiastical constitutions, which had so long formed part of the law of the land, now depended on his breath, and were executed only by his sufferance. The convocation indeed continued to be summoned: but its legislative authority was no more. Its principal business was to grant money: yet even these

grants now owed their force, not to the consent of the grantors, but to the approbation of the other two houses, and the assent of the crown.

"2. As for the third branch of the legislature, the commons of England, they had not yet acquired sufficient importance to oppose any effectual barrier to the power of the sovereign, yet care was taken that among them the leading members should be devoted to the crown, and that the speaker should be one holding office, or high in the confidence of the ministers. Freedom of debate was, indeed, granted; but with a qualification which in reality amounted to a refusal. It was only a 'decent' freedom: and as the king reserved to himself the right of deciding what was or was not decent, he frequently put down the opponents of the court, by reprimanding the 'varlets' in person, or by sending to them a threatening message.

"It is plain that from parliaments thus constituted, the crown had little to fear: and though Wolsey had sought to govern without their aid, Henry found them so obsequious to his will, that he convoked them repeatedly, and was careful to have his most wanton and despotic measures sanctioned with their approbation. The parliament, as often as it was opened or closed, by the king in person, offered a scene not unworthy of an oriental divan. The form indeed differed but little from our present usage. The king sat on his throne: on the right-hand stood the chancellor, on the left the lord-treasurer; whilst the peers were placed on their benches, and the commons stood at the bar. But the addresses made on these occasions by the chancellor or the speaker, usually lasted more than an hour; and their constant theme was the character of the king. The orators, in their efforts to surpass each other, fed his vanity with the most hyperbolic praise. Cromwell was unable, he believed all men were unable, to describe the unutterable qualities of the royal mind, the sublime virtues of the royal heart. Rich told him that in wisdom he was equal to Solomon, in strength and courage to Sampson, in beauty and address to Absalom: and Audeley declared before his face, that God had anointed him with the oil of wisdom above his fellows, above the other kings of the earth, above all his predecessors; had given him a perfect knowledge of the Scriptures, with which he had prostrated the Roman Goliath; a perfect knowledge of the art of war, by which he had gained the most brilliant victories at the same time in remote places; and a perfect knowledge of the art of government, by which he had for thirty years secured to his own realm the blessings of peace, while all the other nations of Europe suffered the calamities of war.

"During these harangues, as often as the words 'most sacred majesty,' were repeated, or as any emphatic expression was pronounced, the lords rose, and the whole assembly, in token of respect and assent, bowed profoundly to the demi-god on the throne. Henry himself affected to bear such fulsome adulation with indifference. His answer was invariably the same: that he laid no claim to superior excellence; but that, if he did possess it, he gave the glory to God, the author of all good gifts: it was, however, a pleasure to him to witness the affection of his subjects, and to learn that they were not insensible of the blessings which they enjoyed under his government.

"II. It is evident that the new dignity of head of the church, by transferring to the king that authority which had been hitherto exercised by the

pontiff, must have considerably augmented the influence of the crown: but in addition, the arguments by which it was supported, tended to debase the spirit of the people, and to exalt the royal prerogative above law and equity. When the adversaries of the supremacy asked in what passage of the sacred writings the government of the church was given to a layman, its advocates boldly appealed to those texts, which prescribe obedience to the established authorities. The king, they maintained, was the image of God upon earth: to disobey his commands was to disobey God himself: to limit his authority, when no limit was laid down, was an offence against the sovereign: and to make distinctions, when the Scripture made none, was an impiety against God. It was indeed acknowledged that this supreme authority might be employed unreasonably and unjustly: but even then to resist was a crime: it became the duty of the sufferer to submit; and his only resource was to pray that the heart of his oppressor might be changed; his only consolation to reflect, that the king himself would hereafter be summoned to answer for his conduct before an unerring tribunal. Henry became a sincere believer in a doctrine so flattering to his pride; and easily persuaded himself that he did no more than his duty in punishing with severity the least opposition to his will. To impress it on the minds of the people, it was perpetually inculcated from the pulpit: it was enforced in books of controversy, and instruction. it was promulgated with authority in the 'Institution,' and afterwards in the 'Erudition of a Christian Man.' From that period the doctrine of passive obedience formed a leading trait in the orthodox creed.

"III. The two great parties, into which religious disputes had separated the nation, contributed also to strengthen the despotic power of Henry. They were too jealous of each other, to watch, much less to resist, the encroachments of the crown. The great object of both was the same: to win the favour of the king, that they might crush the power of their adversaries: and with this view they flattered his vanity, submitted to his caprice, and became the obsequious slaves of his pleasure. Henry, on the other hand, whether it were through policy or accident, played them off against each other; sometimes appearing to lean to the old, sometimes to the new doctrines, alternately raising and depressing the hopes of each, but never suffering either party to obtain the complete ascendancy over its opponent. Thus he kept them in a state of dependence on his will, and secured their concurrence to every measure which his passion or caprice might suggest, without regard to reason or justice, or the fundamental laws of the land. Of the extraordinary enactments which followed, a few instances may suffice. 1. The succession to the crown was repeatedly altered, and at length left to the king's private judgment or affection. The right was first taken from Mary, and given to Elizabeth; then transferred from Elizabeth to the king's issue by Jane Seymour or any future queen; next restored, on the failure of issue by Prince Edward, to both Mary and Elizabeth: and lastly, failing issue by them, was secured to any person or persons to whom it should please him to assure it in remainder by his last will. 2. Treasons were multiplied by the most vexatious, and often, if ridicule could attach to so grave a matter, by the most ridiculous laws. It was once treason to dispute, it was afterwards treason to maintain, the validity of the mar-

riage with Anne Boleyn, or the legitimacy of her daughter. It became treason to marry without the royal licence any of the king's children, whether legitimate or natural, or his paternal brothers or sisters, or their issue; or for any woman to marry the king himself, unless she were a maid, or had previously revealed to him her former incontinence. It was made treason to call the king a heretic or schismatic, openly to wish him harm, or to slander him, his wife, or his issue. This, the most heinous of crimes in the eye of the law, was extended from deeds and assertions to the very thoughts of men. Its guilt was incurred by any person who should by words, writing, imprinting, or any other exterior act, directly or indirectly accept or take, judge or believe, that either of the royal marriages, that with Catherine, or that with Anne Boleyn, was valid, or who should protest that he was not bound to declare his opinion, or should refuse to swear that he would answer truly such questions as should be asked him on those dangerous subjects. It would be difficult to discover, under the most despotic governments, a law more cruel and absurd. The validity or invalidity of the two marriages was certainly matter of opinion, supported and opposed on each side by so many contradictory arguments, that men of the soundest judgment might reasonably be expected to differ from each other. Yet Henry, by this statute, was authorized to dive into the breast of every individual, to extort from him his secret sentiments upon oath, and to subject him to the penalty of treason, if those sentiments did not accord with the royal pleasure. 3. The king was made in a great measure independent of parliament, by two statutes, one of which gave to his proclamations the force of laws, the other appointed a tribunal, consisting of nine privy counsellors, with power to punish all transgressors of such proclamations. 4. The dreadful punishment of heresy was not confined to those who rejected the doctrines which had already been declared orthodox, but it was extended beforehand to all persons who should teach or maintain any opinion contrary to such doctrines as the king might afterwards publish. If the criminal were a clergyman, he was to expiate his third offence at the stake; if a layman, to forfeit his personal property, and be imprisoned for life. Thus was Henry invested, by act of parliament, with the high prerogative of theological infallibility, and an obligation was laid on all men, without exception, whether of the new or of the old learning, to model their religious opinions and religious practice by the sole judgment of their sovereign. 5. By an *ex post facto* law, those who had taken the first oath against the papal authority, were reputed to have taken, and to be bound by, a second and much more comprehensive oath, which was afterwards enacted, and which, perhaps, had it been tendered to them, they would have refused.

"But that which made the severity of these statutes the more terrible, was the manner in which criminal prosecutions were then conducted. The crown could hardly fail in convicting the prisoner, whatever were his guilt or his innocence. He was first interrogated in his cell, urged with the hope of pardon to make a confession, or artfully led by ensnaring questions into dangerous admissions. When the materials of the prosecution were completed, they were laid before the grand inquest: and, if the bill was found, the conviction of the accused might be pronounced certain: for in the trial which followed, the real question submitted to the decision of the petit jury was, which of the two were more



worthy of credit, the prisoner who maintained his innocence, or the grand inquest which had pronounced his guilt. With this view the indictment, with a summary of the proofs on which it had been found, was read; and the accused, now perhaps for the first time acquainted with the nature of the evidence against him, was indulged with the liberty of speaking in his own defence. Still he could not insist on the production of his accusers, that he might obtain the benefit of cross-examination: nor claim the aid of counsel to repel the taunts, and unravel the sophistry, which was too often employed at that period by the advocates for the crown. In this method of trial, every chance was in favour of the prosecution: and yet it was gladly exchanged for the expedient discovered by Cromwell, and afterwards employed against its author. Instead of a public trial, the minister introduced a bill of attainder into parliament, accompanied with such documents as he thought proper to submit. It was passed by the two houses with all convenient expedition; and the unfortunate prisoner found himself condemned to the scaffold or the gallows, without the opportunity of opening his mouth in his own vindication.

"To proceed by attainder became the usual practice in the latter portion of the king's reign. It was more certain in the result, by depriving the accused of the few advantages which he possessed in the ordinary courts: it enabled the minister to gratify the royal suspicion or resentment without the danger of refutation, or of unpleasant disclosures: and it satisfied the minds of the people, who, unacquainted with the real merits of the case, could not dispute the equity of a judgment given with the unanimous assent of the whole legislature.

"Thus it was that by the obsequiousness of the parliament, the assumption of the ecclesiastical supremacy, and the servility of religious factions, Henry acquired and exercised the most despotic sway over the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of his subjects. Happily, the forms of a free government were still suffered to exist: into these forms a spirit of resistance to arbitrary power gradually infused itself: the pretensions of the crown were opposed by the claims of the people; and the result of a long and arduous struggle was that constitution, which for more than a century has excited the envy and the admiration of Europe."

## APPENDIX.

### SECTION I.

SUMMARY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS OF ENGLAND, FROM A.D. 1485, TO A.D. 1547.

As these subjects have been so fully treated of in the body of the work, we shall, in the present Appendix, restrict ourselves to a very brief view of them.

The people of England were arranged in the same ranks and orders in society in this as in the former period; but a very considerable change was now made in the numbers and circumstances of the people in some of those ranks, particularly the highest and lowest.

So many noblemen had been killed, executed, and attainted, in the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, that only twenty-eight tem-

poral peers were summoned to the first parliament of Henry VII.: a very small number in so great a kingdom. This diminution of the number of peers diminished their weight in the scale of government; and as that was one object of the policy of Henry VII. he raised very few to the peerage. Only thirty-six temporal peers were summoned to the first parliament of Henry VIII. Though that prince was more profuse of his money, he was no less frugal of his honours than his father, and no more than forty-seven peers were summoned to the first parliament of his son Edward VI. Some other things contributed to diminish the power and influence of the peerage in this period: the facility of alienating their estates: the strict execution of the laws against retaining great numbers of idle people in their service, by giving them liveries; and by that splendid expensive mode of living introduced in the reign of Henry VIII. In a word, the baronage of England was no longer that too powerful preponderating body they had long been; equally formidable to their sovereigns and their fellow-subjects.

The numbers of the people in the lowest rank in society, that of slaves, were also greatly diminished in this period. Sir Thomas Smith, who flourished in those times, and was secretary of state to Edward VI. in his Treatise on the Republic of England, mentions two kinds of slaves, viz. villains in gross, the absolute property of their masters and their heirs; and villains regardant, who were annexed to a particular estate, and transferred with it from one proprietor to another. "Neither of the one sort nor of the other," says he, "have we any number in England; and of the first I never knew any in the realm in my time: of the second so few there be, that it is not almost worth the speaking about. But law doth acknowledge them in both these kinds." That is, no law had been made for abolishing these kinds of slavery. Other causes had produced that effect. Several causes of the gradual decline of slavery in England have been already mentioned. Another cause now contributed to produce that effect. It came to be a prevailing opinion among people of all ranks, that slavery was inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the rights of humanity, offensive to God, and injurious to man. Wickliff and his followers inculcated this doctrine with great warmth, and their declamations had a great effect. Henry VIII. granted a manumission A.D. 1514, to two of his slaves and their families; for which he assigned this reason in the preamble: "That God had at first created all men equally free by nature, but that many had been reduced to slavery by the laws of men. We believe it therefore to be a pious act, and meritorious in the sight of God, to set certain of our slaves at liberty from their bondage." As these sentiments prevailed, slavery declined, and was at length extinguished, without any positive law. An attempt was made to procure a law for the general manumission of the bondmen in England; and a bill for that purpose was brought into the house of lords A.D. 1526, read three times in one day and rejected. But what could not be effected at once by a law, was gradually accomplished by humanity.

A new race of people, differing in their origin, complexion, language, and manners from the other inhabitants, appeared in England about this time, and soon became so numerous, and committed so many crimes, that a law was made 22 Henry VIII. for their expulsion. These people were called Gypsies or Egyptians; because they said, and it was

generally believed, that they came originally from Egypt. The characters and practices of these remarkable wanderers are thus described in the preamble to the act of parliament for their expulsion: "Forasmuch as before this time, divers and many outlandish people, calling themselves Egyptians, using no craft nor feat of merchandise, have come into this realm, and gone from shire to shire, and place to place in great company, and used great, subtle, and crafty means to deceive the people; bearing them in hand, that by palmistry they could tell men's and women's fortunes; and so many times by craft and subtily have deceived the people of their money, and also have committed many heinous felonies and robberies, to the great hurt and deceit of the people that they have come among." For these reasons the parliament enacted, that no more Egyptians should be admitted into the realm; and that if any of them landed, they should be immediately seized and commanded to depart. It was further enacted, That a proclamation should be published, commanding all the Egyptians in England to banish themselves out of the kingdom in sixteen days, under the penalty of imprisonment and the confiscation of their goods. But neither this law, nor several subsequent laws still more severe, produced the desired effect. Many thousands of those pernicious inmates remained in England long after this time; and considerable numbers of their posterity are still remaining.

The changes that took place in parliament in this period were not many, and few of them were of great importance.

For several centuries the spiritual peers had been more in number than the temporal peers in the house of lords. But a great revolution happened in that particular in this period. By the dissolution of the monasteries and other religious houses, more than one half of the spiritual peers were cut off from the house of lords at one blow. No fewer than twenty-six parliamentary abbots, and two parliamentary priors lost their baronies and their seats in the house of lords at the same time. When the parliament met after this great revolution, April 13th, 1539, the house of peers made a very different appearance from what it had done on all former occasions, from the time that the parliament had been divided into two houses. Forty-one temporal, and only twenty spiritual peers were present in that session. This revolution was very favourable to the cause, and had been promoted by the friends, of the reformation; but it was fatal to the cause of popery, which thereby lost a great number of its strongest pillars, and soon fell to the ground.

The forms of conducting business in parliament were not very firmly fixed, in the times we are now considering; at least some forms were then used, which have long since been discontinued, which were very different from those that are now established. At the opening of every parliament the king was present, seated on his throne, but made no speech to the two houses. The speech was made by the lord chancellor; and as the chancellors in those times were generally prelates, those speeches were a kind of sermons on a text of Scripture, and abounded in the most fulsome flattery of his majesty, whose glorious perfections the humble prelate acknowledged himself incapable of describing. The chancellor then named several committees, consisting of lords and commons, for the quicker dispatch of business; viz. one committee for receiving petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; another

for receiving petitions from Gascony, and the English territories on the continent: one committee for trying the petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; and another for trying the petitions from Gascony, and the continent. This was a very ancient form; but in those times it was far from being a mere unmeaning form, as it is at present. The triers of petitions had a great deal of power, and did a great deal of business. In particular, they had the same dangerous power with the lords of the articles in the parliament of Scotland, to select such petitions as they thought worthy of the attention of parliament, to form them into bills to be laid before the houses, and to reject others. This gave the king and his ministers a great advantage; as it put it into their power to prevent any thing that was disagreeable to them from being introduced into parliament, except incidentally by the members in their speeches. The forms of reading and passing bills were in some respects different from what they are at present. Bills were prepared and brought into the house by the triers of petitions, written upon paper, and after a first and second reading, were commonly delivered to the king's attorney and solicitor, to be examined, corrected, and put into legal parliamentary form. No certain number of times was fixed for reading bills before they were passed. In the journals of the house of lords we find some bills were passed on the first reading, with the unanimous consent of all the members, and that others were twice read on one day, passed, and sent to the commons. Many were passed on the third reading, but some were read four times, some five times, some six times, some seven times, and some even eight times. It seems to have been the intention of parliament in those times to pass those bills immediately on the first or second reading on which all were agreed; and to read those bills on which different opinions were entertained, till all, or a great majority of the members, came to be of the same sentiments. This, however, is only a conjecture, and may be a mistake. Several other peculiarities in the modes of conducting business in parliament might be collected from the journals of the house of lords, if it were necessary.

The sessions of parliament in this period were seldom longer than five or six weeks, sometimes much shorter; but in these short sessions, both houses applied to business with great assiduity. They had often two meetings in the day; one at eight or nine o'clock in the morning, after breakfast; the other at two o'clock in the afternoon, after dinner. Great pains were taken to secure a full attendance of all the members at every meeting. None could be absent without leave from the king, and without naming one or two who were present as proxies, to act in his name. Such as were absent without leave, and without proxies, were liable to a heavy fine. The names of all the members present at every meeting are carefully marked in the journals, and from thence we find that there was constantly a very full attendance.

Some of the parliaments of this period were of longer duration, and had a greater number of sessions, than those of former times. The parliament that met at Westminster, 21 Henry VIII. November 3d, A.D. 1529, had seven sessions, each of them uncommonly long and full of business, and was not dissolved till April 4th, A.D. 1535, after having continued six years and four months.

Though many of the laws that were made in the parliament of England in the reign of Henry VIII.,



as the laws for abolishing the power of the pope; for investing the king, a layman, with the supremacy of the church; and for the dissolution of religious houses, could not but be very disagreeable to many of the members, and particularly to the spiritual peers in the house of lords; it is astonishing how little opposition they encountered, and with what facility and rapidity they passed through both houses. The bill empowering the king, as supreme head of the church, to constitute bishops by his own authority, was brought into the house of lords, read three times, passed, sent to the commons, read three times by them, passed, and returned to the lords all in the same day. At the end of the third and last session of that parliament which finished the dissolution of the monastic orders, granted their houses, lands, and goods to the king, and made many other severe laws against the pope and church of Rome, it is recorded in the journals, "that the lords gave their suffrages and delivered their sentiments concerning all these acts; and such was their unanimity, that there was no difference of opinion about any one of them." So great an ascendant had this powerful prince gained over the minds of his greatest subjects. We meet with no protests or dissents in the journals of the house of lords in this reign. That was a measure too dangerous to be attempted. So great was the authority, and so dreadful the displeasure of this prince, that the boldest of his subjects trembled at the thoughts of opposition.

The forms of electing the members of the house of commons, and the laws for preventing undue elections and false returns, were the same in this as in the former period. Great pains were taken to secure the constant attendance of all the members from the beginning to the end of every session. At the beginning of a parliament a list of the members returned was made out and called over at the first meeting, and all who were not present to answer to their names were fined. A very distinct account is preserved in the journals of the house of lords, of the opening of the parliament that met at Westminster on Monday January 16th, A.D. 1542. On that day the duke of Suffolk, attended by many other lords in their robes, came into the parliament chamber, and commanded the clerk of the parliament to call the names of all the knights, citizens, and burgesses, who were standing without the bar, and every one answered to his name. The duke and the other lords then took their seats, waiting for the entry of the king, the commons still standing without the bar. No less care was taken to secure the attendance of all the members to the end, than their appearance at the beginning, of every session. By an act of parliament, A.D. 1541, it was declared, that if any member left the house without leave of the speaker before the end of the session, he should have no claim for wages from his constituents.

Though both houses of the parliament of England in this period on many occasions acted a very mean part, and shamefully sacrificed their own undoubted rights and liberties, and those of the people, by complying with the imperious mandates and impetuous passions of their sovereigns and their ministers, there is sufficient evidence that the commons now began to acquire a greater degree of weight in the scale of government, than they had formerly possessed or exercised. Of this it would be easy to produce many proofs, but a few will be sufficient.

We have already seen, that in former periods the commons did not take the lead in granting supplies

to the crown, but contented themselves with granting their own supplies and those of their constituents, while the peers in the house of lords, and the clergy in convocation, granted each their own aids, sometimes of a different kind from those granted by the commons. It plainly appears, however, that greater attention was now paid to the commons in this important business, and that their assent was necessary to every grant, though some of the money-bills still originated in the house of lords. Of this it will be proper to give one example out of several that might be given. A bill was brought into the house of lords February 22d, A.D. 1515, for granting the king tonnage and poundage during his life, was read a first time, and delivered to the king's attorney to be written out fair. It was read a second time on Friday the 23d, a third time on Monday the 26th, a fourth time on Tuesday the 27th, and passed. It was sent with eight other bills to the house of commons March 10th, where it was passed and returned to the lords March 28th. On some occasions, when the king, by his ministers, had applied first to the lords for a supply, and they had agreed to grant it; instead of bringing in a bill for that purpose, they appointed a committee of the principal lords in their house to wait upon the commons, to communicate to them the requisition and the consent of the lords, and to request them to take that business into their consideration, and then retire. This was a degree of attention and respect that had not been paid to the commons in any former period. The steadiness with which the commons sometimes declined complying with the king's demands, enforced by the consent of the lords, and the most earnest solicitations of the great Cardinal Wolsey in the zenith of his power, is another proof of the rising spirit of the house of commons. Both the king and the cardinal were so much disgusted with the opposition they met with in the house of commons to their exorbitant demands, that they formed the resolution of ruling without parliaments; to which they adhered almost seven years, and from which they did not depart till they had exhausted all the illegal arts of extorting money. Some of these arts were such, that if they had been successful they would have put an end to parliaments, and to all the rights and liberties of the people of England. Commissions were sent into every county in England, A.D. 1515, empowering and commanding the commissioners to levy from the laity the sixth, and from the clergy the fourth part of their goods. But these commissions excited such an universal alarm, and threatened so great a storm, that the king thought proper to disavow and recall them by proclamation.

In former periods, it has been observed that when the privileges of the commons were invaded, they applied to the king or to the house of lords for redress: but in this period they took the protection of their privileges, and the punishment of those who invaded them, into their own hands; which is another proof of their increasing power and consequence. A remarkable example of this occurred in the parliament that met at Westminster 16th January, A.D. 1543: George Ferrers, member for Plymouth, was arrested for debt, and imprisoned in the Counter, Bread-street; of which the speaker having acquainted the house, they sent their serjeant to demand the prisoner. But the clerks of the Counter were so far from complying with this demand, that they gave him very ill language, broke his mace, and knocked down his servant. In the

midst of this scuffle the two sheriffs of London arrived, to whom the serjeant applied; but they treated him with great contempt, and refused to deliver the prisoner. On his return to Westminster, his relation of the treatment he had received threw the house into a violent ferment. They declared unanimously, that they would do no business till they had recovered their member; went in a body to the house of lords, (according to an established custom of the two houses, communicating to each other any extraordinary emergency,) and by their speaker represented the indignity that had been offered them. The lords, after a short deliberation, replied by the chancellor, that the indignity was very great, but referred the redress of it, and the punishment of the offenders, entirely to the commons. The chancellor, at the same time, offered them his warrant for the liberation of their member, which they refused. The commons, on their return to their own house, sent their serjeant with his mace again, to demand their member. It being now known to the sheriffs how much their late treatment of the serjeant had been resented, they received him with the greatest respect, and immediately set the prisoner at liberty. But the serjeant, agreeably to the orders he had received, summoned the two sheriffs to appear at the bar of the house of commons next morning at eight o'clock, and to bring with them all who had been concerned in the late riot, and one Mr. White, at whose suit the member had been arrested. They appeared accordingly, and after a severe reprimand from the speaker, the two sheriffs, with White the prosecutor, were committed to the Tower, and three of their officers to Newgate; but on a petition from the lord mayor of London, they were liberated in a few days. This spirited conduct of the commons was applauded by the king.

But though it is certain that the house of commons acquired additional power and influence in the course of this period, it is no less certain, that both the houses of the parliament of England, on many occasions, discovered a spirit of servile submission to the imperious mandates and impetuous passions of their sovereigns, particularly of Henry VIII., very dishonourable to themselves, and very pernicious to their country. Nothing but a servile unmanly dread of the power of royalty could have induced them to give their assent to the many unconstitutional, unjust, absurd, contradictory, oppressive, and cruel laws that were enacted in the reign of that stern imperious tyrant; the chief of which have been already noticed.

When the opulence and power of the great barons (which had long formed a balance to the power of their sovereigns) were gradually declining, by the alienation of their lands and the loss of their retainers, and when the spirit of parliaments was sinking into servility, the power and prerogatives of the crown were gradually increasing in the same proportion, and at length threatened the destruction of the constitution, and the establishment of an absolute monarchy. The accession of Henry VII., however defective his right might be, was a very happy event. It put an end to a most destructive civil war, the horrors of which had made so deep an impression on the minds of the people, that they seem to have been determined to suffer and submit to any thing, rather than rekindle those flames which had threatened them with destruction. That artful prince availed himself of this disposition of the people, and obtained such a settlement of the

crown as he wished, and every thing he desired from parliament. His implacable hatred of the house of York and its partisans; his avarice, extortions, vexatious prosecutions on antiquated penal statutes, and the general severity of his government, created him many enemies, encouraged pretenders to his throne, and procured followers. But the great body of the nobility, gentry, and people, though secretly discontented, remained quiet; having the dreadful disasters of the late times fresh in their memories. The insurrections were soon suppressed, and served only to render the king more secure and arbitrary.

Henry VIII. at his accession was in the prime of youth, engaged in the most ardent pursuit of pleasures and amusements of the most splendid and expensive kind, by which he soon dissipated the immense treasure accumulated by his parsimonious father; and thereby parted with one instrument of increasing his power, about which at that time he had no anxiety. He committed the management of affairs to his ministers, who sacrificed Empson and Dudley, the two hated instruments of his father's extortions, to the resentment of the people, which rendered the young monarch exceedingly popular. He still continued to pursue his ostentatious expensive pleasures with unremitting ardour, in which he was encouraged by his favourite Wolsey, who formed, and by his great abilities had nearly accomplished, the base design of rendering the king absolute, and the crown independent of the people, by imposing taxes without the consent of parliament. Loans had been often solicited and obtained, though the repayment of them was known to be very uncertain. Free gifts, called benevolences, had been frequently demanded, and by many granted, though with much reluctance. Both these methods of raising money were contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and the last of them was contrary to an act of parliament; but as they did not avowedly extort money from the subjects without their own consent, they were by many complied with, and by all endured. But when Cardinal Wolsey proceeded to strike the last decisive blow for overturning the constitution, by sending commissioners into every county in England, A. D. 1526, to levy the sixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth part of the goods of the clergy, by the royal authority alone, the spirit of the nation was roused, and so great a ferment raised, that Henry found it necessary to disavow his minister and recal his commissioners.

But though Henry was foiled in this attempt, he was not cured of his avarice and ambition. He still wished to have the money of his subjects at his command, and the power of ruling them as he pleased. To accomplish this in the latter half of his reign, he pursued a more indirect, but more insidious and more dangerous method, by managing parliaments, and making them subservient to his designs against the rights and liberties of his subjects. In this he was too successful. The long parliament, and all the subsequent parliaments in his reign, were so managed, that they denied him nothing. The methods of managing parliaments were no secrets even in those times; and there was one circumstance that greatly facilitated their operation. After the disputes with Rome commenced, the nation was divided into two great parties; the partisans of the pope, and the friends of the reformation; and these parties, knowing the king's temper engaged in a formal contest which should flatter him



most, and comply with all his requisitions with the greatest alacrity, to gain him to their side. This seems to be the reason that bills passed both houses with little or no opposition, that were exceedingly disagreeable to many, if not to a majority of the members. They dared not oppose with any vigour, for fear of irritating the furious monarch, and throwing him into the arms of the opposite party. It was not so much policy as his natural temper that made him, between these two parties, sometimes promote, and at other times retard the reformation. He was a papist, though he had quarrelled with the pope. He hanged and beheaded those who acknowledged the papal authority, and burned those who denied the popish doctrines; and his obsequious parliaments gave their sanction to both. It was a parliament in which there were many, probably a majority, of zealous papists, that abolished the pope's authority in England; invested the king with the title of supreme head of the church in his dominions; dissolved the religious houses, and granted all their goods to the crown. It was a parliament in which we know there were many members in both houses who had cordially embraced the principles of the reformation, that made the cruel act of the six articles, which condemned to the flames all who had the courage to avow and defend these principles; nor do we hear of any considerable opposition that was made to that act, except by Archbishop Cranmer, and his opposition was considered as an extraordinary thing, and an act of the greatest heroism. Parliaments gave the force of laws to royal proclamations, and to succeeding princes the power of repealing all laws made before they were twenty-four years of age. Parliaments gave the king authority to regulate the religious opinions his subjects were to entertain, and the religious ceremonies they were to perform, and to change them as he pleased by proclamation from time to time. They gave him even the extraordinary power of settling the succession to the crown, by his letters patent or his last will. In a word, these parliaments complied with all Henry's caprices, followed him in all his turnings and windings, and enacted whatever he dictated with little hesitation. In these circumstances the constitution was on the brink of ruin, and England was in those times very nearly an absolute, with the outward form of a limited monarchy.

We hear of no very remarkable change in the constitution of the courts at Westminster, or in the ordinary administration of the laws in this period, except when the sovereign interfered. Then indeed the laws were basely perverted, and the most shocking acts of oppression perpetrated, under the pretence of executing the laws, and punishing offences. In the reign of Henry VII. these oppressions extended only to the imprisonment of many of the subjects on the most frivolous pretences, and detaining them in prison till they paid great compositions to obtain their liberty; to imposing exorbitant amerciaments for small delinquencies; exacting enormous reliefs from the royal wards; demanding excessive sums for pardons; and a most rigorous execution of antiquated statutes. By these and various other methods, the laws were made the instruments of oppression, the subjects harassed and plundered, and the king's coffers filled. In the reign of Henry VIII. (who was more jealous and vindictive than covetous) this perversion of law and the forms of justice took a more fatal turn, and deprived many persons of high rank, not only of their liber-

ties, honours, and estates, but also of their lives, on very defective evidence, and sometimes without any trial. On what slender evidence were Anne Boleyn, and her accomplished brother Lord Rochford, found guilty of high treason, condemned, and executed! On what trivial pretences did the convocation pronounce a sentence of divorce between Henry and his queen, Anne of Cleves, which was confirmed by parliament! How many noble persons were found guilty of high treason, without any trial, by acts of attainder in parliament, though they were in custody and earnestly entreated to be tried before they were condemned! Was not this a gross violation of the first and plainest principles of law and justice? Who after this will hesitate to pronounce Henry VIII. a tyrant, and his parliaments the servile executioners of his imperious and cruel mandates?

The courts of some of the popish bishops of this period were scenes of great cruelty, in which many good and virtuous persons of both sexes, and of all ages, were condemned to the flames, for reading the New Testament in English, or having it in their possession, or for any thing that indicated that they entertained opinions in religion different from the tenets of the church of Rome. But so much has been said on this subject in the body of the work, that it is not necessary to enter on any fuller particulars. A prodigious number of people, no fewer it is said than seventy-two thousand, were put to death as criminals in this reign. This account appears to be exaggerated, but the number was certainly very great.

The ordinary stated revenues of the crown of England flowed from the same sources in this as in the three former periods, which need not be again described. Its extraordinary and less certain revenues were derived from parliamentary grants of tenths and fifteenths, from loans, benevolences, forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, &c. That these revenues, with good management, were sufficient to support the dignity of the crown, and defray all the expenses of government, and even to yield a surplus, is evident from the great mass of money that was found in the coffers of Henry VII. at his death, amounting to 1,800,000*l.*, equal in the quantity and weight of the precious metals, to 2,700,000*l.*, and in real value and efficacy to 8,000,000*l.* of our money at present. All that treasure, the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the crown, the tenths and first fruits from the clergy, (which had been formerly paid to the pope,) together with the inestimable spoils of all the religious houses in England, whose value almost exceeded the bounds of calculation, came into the possession of Henry VIII. For the management of this great influx of revenue several new courts were erected; as the court of augmentations, the court of surveyors of the king's lands, the court of first-fruits and tenths: and if they had been well managed, they might have made the crown independent of the country, and enabled the king to have reigned for a long time without a parliament. But, fortunately for the people of England, Henry dissipated all those treasures, died poor, and transmitted the crown to his son and successor, as dependent on the people for their supplies in parliament, as at any former period. The wanton profusion of princes is always hurtful to themselves, but may accidentally, and in some circumstances, prove beneficial to their subjects, by preventing greater evils. If Henry had been more frugal, he would have been more dangerous.

It may not be improper to recapitulate from

Hume, the chief enactments of the parliament, and the conduct of the government under Henry VIII.

The abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy: the church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities: the privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon.\* But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy; it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason;† next in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason;‡ and it limited them in other particulars.§ The further progress of the reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects; and also abolished entirely the privileges of sanctuaries. These consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

The only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age, was the reviving and extending of some old laws enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow;|| butts were ordered to be erected in every parish;¶ and every bowyer was ordered for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wick for the service of the common people.\*\* The use of cross-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited.†† What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberds with them, by which they were enabled upon occasion to engage in close fight with the enemy. Frequent musters or arrays were also made by the people, even during time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete suit of armour or harness, as it was called. The martial spirit of the English, during that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, sufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an absolute power of commanding the service of all his subjects, he could instantly, in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleased. When no faction or division prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men. Discipline, however, was an advantage wanting to those troops; though the garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and Tournay first—Boulogne afterwards, served to increase the number. Every one who served abroad was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees.‡‡ A general permission was granted to dispose of land by will.§§

It was enacted by the parliament of 1542, that there should be trial of treason in any county where the king should appoint by commission. The statutes of treason had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and such an expedient saved trouble and

charges in trying that crime. The same parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom; and Henry henceforth annexed the title of King of Ireland to his other titles.

Hallam has the following remarks on the government of Henry VII. and his successor:—"It has been usual to speak of this reign (Henry VII.) as if it formed a great epoch in our constitution, the king having by his politic measures broken the power of the barons who had hitherto withstood the prerogative, while the commons had not yet risen from the humble station which they were supposed to occupy. I doubt, however, whether the change was quite so precisely referable to the time of Henry VII., and whether his policy has not been somewhat overrated. In certain respects his reign is undoubtedly an æra in our history. It began in revolution and a change in the line of descent. It nearly coincides, which is more material, with the commencement of what is termed modern history, as distinguished from the middle ages, and with the memorable events that have led us to make that leading distinction, especially the consolidation of the great European monarchies, among which England took a conspicuous station. But relatively to the main subject of our inquiry, it is not evident that Henry VII. carried the authority of the crown much beyond the point at which Edward IV. left it. The strength of the nobility had been grievously impaired by the bloodshed of the civil wars, and the attainders that followed them. From this cause, or from the general intimidation, we find, as I have observed in another place, that no laws favourable to public liberty, or remedial with respect to the aggressions of power, were enacted, or (so far as appears) ever proposed in parliament during the reign of Edward IV., the first since that of John, to which such a remark can be applied. The commons, who had not always been so humble and abject as smatterers in history are apt to fancy, were by this time much degenerated from the spirit they had displayed under Edward III. and Richard II. Thus the founder of the line of Tudor came, not certainly to an absolute, but a vigorous prerogative, which his cautious dissembling temper and close attention to business were well calculated to extend.

"The laws of Henry VII. have been highly praised by Lord Bacon as 'deep and not vulgar, not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence for the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy, after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroic times.' But when we consider how very few kings or statesmen have displayed this prospective wisdom and benevolence in legislation, we may hesitate a little to bestow so rare a praise upon Henry. Like the laws of all other times, his statutes seem to have had no further aim than to remove some immediate mischief, or to promote some particular end. One, however, has been much celebrated as an instance of his sagacious policy, and as the principal cause of exalting the royal authority upon the ruins of the aristocracy; I mean the statute of fines, (as one passed in the fourth year of his reign is commonly called,) which is supposed to have given the power of alienating entailed lands.

"In the first place it is remarkable that the statute of Henry VII. is merely a transcript, with very little variation from one of Richard III., which is actually printed in most editions. It was re-enacted, as we must presume, in order to obviate any doubt, however ill-grounded, which might hang upon the

\* 23 Henry VIII. c. 1.

† 32 Henry VIII. c. 12.

‡ 3 Henry VIII. c. 3.

§ Ibid.

|| 14 and 15 Hen VIII. c. 15.

¶ 26 Henry VIII. c. 13.

§ 22 Henry VIII. c. 14.

|| 3 Henry VIII. c. 3.

†† 3 Henry VIII. c. 13.

§§ 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.



validity of Richard's laws. Thus vanish at once into air the deep policy of Henry VII., and his insidious schemes of leading on a prodigal aristocracy to its ruin. It is surely strange that those who have extolled this sagacious monarch for breaking the fetters of landed property, (though many of them were lawyers,) should never have observed, that whatever credit might be due for the innovation should redound to the honour of the unfortunate usurper. But Richard, in truth, had no leisure for such long-sighted projects of strengthening a throne for his posterity which he could not preserve for himself. His law and that of his successor had a different object in view." This appears chiefly to have been the rendering entailed estates liable to forfeiture for treason. Our limits will not permit us to enter so deeply into the minute progress of the constitution as Mr. Hallam does, and we must therefore leave him; recommending such of our readers who desire to be perfectly acquainted with that branch of our history, to his learned, we might almost say, legal pages. We cannot quit the subject of Henry VIII.'s mixed ecclesiastical, and civil policy without recording the quaint saying of an old author, who very significantly styles him "a king with a pope in his belly."

## SECTION II.

HISTORY OF LEARNING, OF LEARNED MEN, AND OF THE CHIEF SEMINARIES OF LEARNING THAT WERE FOUNDED FROM A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547.

THE nature of our work will not permit us to enter on so extensive a subject in such an elaborate manner as some may desire; but though a brief account of the general state of learning may be of little use to the learned, it may be very instructive and entertaining to many other readers, who have neither leisure nor inclination to peruse more voluminous works on these subjects.

A glimmering of day after a long night of ignorance in which almost all Europe had been involved from the fall of the western empire, had already dawned on Italy, and some other parts of the continent, but had scarcely yet reached our sequestered island. The period that immediately preceded the present was here one of the dulllest and most illiterate. In every former age, the darkest not excepted, some extraordinary men arose; as the venerable Bede, Alfred the Great, Roger Bacon, Doctor Wickliff, &c., who, by the force of their genius and application, dissipated, in some degree, the gloom with which they were surrounded, and rendered their names immortal. But in the fifteenth century there were very few indeed who acquired, or deserved, a very extensive or permanent reputation by their writings.

But our present period presents us with a more agreeable prospect. A better taste, and a greater esteem and love of learning were introduced, and became gradually more general and more ardent. That we may have a distinct view of this happy change, which has been productive of so much innocent and rational pleasure to individuals, and of so many benefits to society, it will be proper to give a brief account, Of the sciences that were most successfully cultivated: Of the most learned men who flourished: and, Of the principal seminaries of learning that were founded in Britain in the present period.

*A brief Account of the Sciences that were most successfully cultivated in Britain, from A. D. 1485, to A. D. 1547.*

Great industry, and an enthusiastic attachment to literary pursuits, were as necessary as genius to the revivers of learning. They had many difficulties to encounter, and few things to animate and encourage them in their labours. Books were still very scarce and dear. The art of printing had been introduced into England a few years before. But the first productions of the English press were very poor performances, and contributed very little to the improvement of taste or revival of learning. Honest William Caxton, instead of printing the Latin and Greek classics in their original languages, with which he was unacquainted, printed his own degrading translations of some of them from French translations, no less degrading, which could give their readers no ideas of their beauties. Instructors were still scarcer than books. The path was untrodden, and guides could not be procured. Learning was not yet become the road to preferment. The nobility in general were illiterate, and despised, rather than patronized, learning and learned men. "It is enough," said a nobleman to Richard Pace, secretary to Henry VIII., "for noblemen's sons to wind their horn and carry their hawk fair, and leave study and learning to the children of mean people." Henry VII. was neither a learned nor a generous prince. He employed indeed several clergymen in his affairs, not on account of their uncommon learning, but of their skill in business and dexterity in negotiations, and to save his money, by rewarding them with benefices instead of salaries. After the reformation had commenced in Germany, and many began to favour it in Britain, those who deviated from the beaten track in their studies were suspected of heresy, and discouraged and persecuted on that account. But notwithstanding this, a number of ingenious and industrious men appeared in this period, who surmounted all these difficulties; and by their example, their exhortations, and the beauty and elegance of their writings, brought a better kind of learning into reputation, and gave a happy turn to the taste and studies of the age.

No province of literature was cultivated with so much care and success by the revivers of learning in the present period, as philology, or the accurate knowledge of languages, particularly of the Latin and Greek classics. The neglect into which the works of the philosophers, poets, and historians of Greece and Rome had fallen, was one great cause of the decline of learning, and of the bad taste and barbarism of the middle ages. The revivers of learning, therefore, acted wisely in beginning its revival, by removing one of the great causes of its decline. By acquiring a correct and critical knowledge of the language, style, and manner of those excellent writers, they obtained two great advantages; they had access to all the stores of wisdom and eloquence their writings contained, and to all the pleasure their perusal could afford; and by imitating such beautiful models, they acquired the art of communicating their own thoughts to the world in a perspicuous, elegant, and pleasing manner. In this art some of the revivers of learning, both in Britain and on the continent, succeeded to admiration, and wrote in Latin with a classical purity not unbecoming the Augustan age.\* The

\* Sir Thomas More, Doctor Linacer, William Lilly, George

success, exhortations, and example, of those eminent men, and of many others, brought the study of the Latin language into fashion; the barbarous jargon formerly used was despised; and to be able to speak and write pure and classical Latin, was considered as a valuable, and even a polite accomplishment, to which persons of high rank and of both sexes aspired. To assist youth in the acquisition of this accomplishment, the greatest scholars of the age, as Erasmus, Linacer, Sir John Cheke, and many others, did not disdain to spend their time in writing rudiments, grammars, vocabularies, colloquies, and other books. The haughty monarch Henry VIII., and his no less haughty minister Cardinal Wolsey, stooped to employ their pens in writing instructions to youth in the study of this favourite language. The king, it is said, wrote a treatise "de instituendâ pube," and an Introduction to Grammar; and the cardinal composed a system of instructions to be observed by the masters in the school he founded at Ipswich, his native town. James IV. of Scotland was a great admirer of a pure and classical style in writing Latin, and a zealous promoter of the study of that language. His own letters are written with greater purity and elegance than those of any other prince in Europe. He put his natural son, Alexander archbishop of Saint Andrew's, a most ingenious youth, under the care of the great Erasmus; and he procured an act of parliament to be made, A.D. 1496, "obliging all barons and freeholders that are of substance, to put their eldest sons to the grammar-schools at eight or nine years of age, to remain there till they were competently founded, and had perfect Latin." In a word, the Roman classics were now studied with so much diligence, and the capacity of imitating their style and manner was so much valued, that the sixteenth century may very properly be called the Latin age.

The restorers of learning found much greater difficulty in acquiring the knowledge of the Greek language themselves, and in persuading others that the knowledge of it was either necessary or useful. That copious and beautiful language, in which so many of the philosophers, poets, historians, and orators of antiquity had written, was almost unknown in Britain in the beginning of this period. The celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam, the most zealous and successful restorer of learning, came into England A.D. 1497, and went to Oxford with a design to teach Greek; but he met with much opposition and little encouragement. Many both of the secular and regular clergy declaimed against him in the schools, and even in the pulpit, with great bitterness. They railed particularly against his Greek New Testament, as a most impious and dangerous book. He continued, however, to teach there a considerable time, encouraged by a few ingenious men, who gladly received his instructions, and afterwards communicated them to others, by which a taste for the study of the Greek language was gradually excited, not only among the youth, but in some members of the university who were far advanced in life. In this, however, little progress was made for several years, owing to the unhappy state of the university, which was frequently visited and dispersed by the sweating-sickness, distracted by riots, and disgraced by the general ignorance and profligacy of its members.

The accession of Henry VIII. was an event favourable to learning, for which he had a taste, and in which he had made some proficiency. He was

at the same time rich and generous, and fond of praise, which made many entertain hopes that he would prove a liberal patron to men of literary merit. On this event the Lord Mountjoy, who was a great admirer and had been a pupil of Erasmus, pressed him to come into England; promising him the patronage of the king, of Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and of other great men. He complied with the invitation, and arrived in London A.D. 1509. After spending some time with his friend Sir Thomas More, he went to Cambridge with a design to promote the interest of learning, and particularly the study of the Greek tongue, which had been as much neglected in that as in the other university. But though he was patronized by the chancellor, Fisher bishop of Rochester, and appointed professor of Greek, he had little success, and found the academicians of Cambridge as ignorant and averse to study as those of Oxford. He explained the grammar of Chrysostoras to a few poor scholars, who could give him little or nothing for his labour, and his expenses far exceeded his gains. So difficult was it to rouse the students of those times from that lethargy into which they had fallen, and to correct the bad taste they had contracted.

The dissension between the friends and enemies of the Greek language and learning at Oxford did not terminate when Erasmus left that university. On the contrary, they were formed into two parties; one of which was called the Greeks, and the other the Trojans. As the Trojans were the most numerous, (almost all the monks being true Trojans,) they were the most insolent. When a poor Greek appeared on the street, or in any public place, he was attacked by the Trojans with hisses, taunts, and insults of all kinds. But the triumphs of the Trojans were not of long duration. The king and his great favourite Cardinal Wolsey having warmly espoused the cause of the Greeks, their numbers, their credit, and their courage daily increased, the Greek language became a favourite study, and the Trojans were obliged to quit the field.

But after the study of the Greek language had become fashionable, a controversy about the true pronunciation of it arose between Sir John Cheke, professor of Greek at Cambridge, and Stephen Gardiner, chancellor of that university and bishop of Winchester. This controversy (a minute account of which cannot be introduced into general history,) was conducted with great modesty and learning by the professor, who proved by many arguments, that the pronunciation which had been introduced in the dark ages was absurd and faulty in many respects; and in particular, that by giving the same sound to several different letters, it destroyed the beauty, variety, and musical sweetness of the language, which were restored by the new pronunciation. To all this the haughty chancellor replied by a thundering decree, denouncing very severe censures on all who dared to drop the old, and adopt the new pronunciation. On this occasion, reason proved too strong for mere authority. The decree was soon disregarded, and the new pronunciation prevailed, and still prevails. Thus in the space of about thirty years a great change was brought about in the state of learning and the taste of the learned in Britain, by the labours of a few active and ingenious men, in opposition to inveterate habits, strong prejudice, and the indolence, ignorance, dissolute manners, and bad taste that had long reigned in the seminaries of learning, and were not easily overcome. The Roman and Greek classics, which had been long,



neglected, and almost forgotten, were studied with the greatest ardour and success; and their style and manner admirably well imitated by several British as well as foreign writers in this period. Some attempts were made to revive the study of the Hebrew, but not with the same success.

The patronage and liberality of the great contributed no less than the labours of the learned to the revival of learning; nor was there in those times a more liberal patron of learning and learned men than the famous Cardinal Wolsey. This extraordinary man had a genius and a taste for learning, in which he had made great proficiency in his youth, and for which he retained a regard in his highest elevation. "Politer learning," says Erasmus, "as yet struggling with the patrons of the ancient ignorance, he upheld by his favour, defended by his authority, adorned by his splendour, and cherished by his kindness. He invited all the most learned professors by his noble salaries. In furnishing libraries with all kinds of authors, of good learning he contended with Ptolemaeus Philadelphus himself, who was more famous for this than for his kingdom. He recalled the three learned languages, without which all learning is lame." That all this was not flattery, is certain. When the cardinal visited Oxford, A.D. 1518, he founded no fewer than seven lectures; viz. in theology, civil law, physic, philosophy, mathematics, Greek, and rhetoric; and chose the most learned men he could procure to read those lectures. He at the same time intimated his intention of doing much greater things for the honour of the university, and the advancement of learning, which he executed in part, and, to his unspeakable sorrow, was prevented from executing fully, by his unexpected fall.

The time and thoughts of the restorers of learning in our present period were so much engaged in the study of the belles-lettres, that they could not pay the same attention to the sciences. These remained nearly in the same low and wretched state (a very few excepted) in which they had been in the three preceding periods. The philosophic age was not yet arrived. It would be very improper therefore to encumber the pages of general history with a dry detail of the trivial changes that were now made in logic, metaphysics, natural and moral philosophy, arithmetic, mathematics, astronomy, &c. No genius, art, or industry, could render such a detail either instructive or entertaining. The logic, metaphysics, and philosophy, of the schools, which were in high reputation in the beginning of this period, gradually declined as a better taste prevailed; and as the language of the philosophers of Greece and Rome came to be better understood, and their works more generally perused, the barbarous jargon, unintelligible subtleties, endless distinctions, and ponderous works of the schoolmen, came to be neglected and despised. Their volumes, which had been once highly prized and diligently studied, began to be treated with great contempt, and put to the most ignominious uses. The commissioners who were appointed to visit the university of Oxford, A.D. 1535, wrote thus to the Lord Cromwell: "We have set Dunce in Bocardo, and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses; and he is now made a common servant to every man, fast nailed up upon posts in all common houses of easement. The second time we came to New College, after we had declared your injunctions, we found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Dunce, (*Johannes Duns Scotus*,) the wind blowing them into every

corner." The works of the other schoolmen no doubt shared the same fate, those of Thomas Aquinas perhaps excepted, as he was the king's favourite author.

The theology of the schoolmen received as severe a blow, and underwent as great a change at this time, as their philosophy; and the study of the languages, particularly the Greek, contributed as much to the one as to the other. In the beginning of this period, very few theologians understood the original languages either of the Old or New Testament, or made the Scriptures their study. The Bible divines had been gradually decreasing in their credit and in their numbers from the thirteenth century, and in the fifteenth they were almost quite extinct. The professors of divinity read lectures only on the sentences of Peter Lombard, or on the summs, as they were called, of other schoolmen. But when the study of the Greek language began to prevail, in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, several of the clergy applied to that study, and became acquainted with the New Testament in the original; of which an edition was published by Erasmus, A.D. 1515. But these studies were thought to be dangerous, and were discouraged by the great body of the clergy, as tending to make those who applied to them heretics. It soon appeared that they had that tendency, and that they paved the way for the reformation that followed. The taste, however, that several ingenious men had contracted for this new learning, as it was called, was so strong, that they were not deterred by reproaches, threats, and dangers, from communicating the knowledge they had acquired, and recommending the same studies to others. Doctor John Collet, the founder of St. Paul's school, and one of the most zealous revivers of learning, read public lectures at Oxford, A.D. 1497, on St. Paul's Epistles, without fee or reward. These lectures excited great curiosity, and were attended by crowded audiences; but the lecturer was soon interrupted, by an accusation of heresy that was brought against him before Archbishop Warham, who had so great an esteem for him, on account of his virtue and learning, that he discouraged the prosecution, and suffered him to escape. After Doctor Collet was appointed dean of St. Paul's, A.D. 1505, he preached every Sunday in that cathedral, in an uncommon strain of eloquence, boldly condemning the cold unaffected manner in which the clergy in general read their sermons; the worship of images; the celibacy of the clergy; and several superstitious ceremonies of the church. He encouraged his friend William Grocyn, another of the revivers of learning, to read lectures on the New Testament in St. Paul's, which were well attended, and much admired. These sermons and lectures, and others of the same kind, together with the writings of Erasmus, and the other revivers of learning, diminished the reputation of scholastic divinity, and excited in the minds of many, both of the clergy and laity, a desire of becoming acquainted with the Scriptures, and of drawing their religious opinions from those sacred fountains, even before Luther began the reformation in Germany. The revivers of learning, therefore, contributed not a little to discredit the artificial theology of the schools, and to introduce the study of the Scriptures, by which they prepared the minds of men (some of them without intending it) for receiving the doctrines of the Reformation. Of this the enemies of the new learning were not ignorant; and they hated Erasmus, who they said had laid the egg

almost as much as they hated Luther, who they said had hatched it.

Physic, surgery, and all the branches of the healing art, were in a very imperfect state at the beginning of this period, and even at the accession of Henry VIII. This we learn from an act of parliament made A.D. 1511: "The science and cunning of physic and surgery (to the perfect knowledge whereof be requisite both great learning and ripe experience) is daily within this realm exercised by a great number of ignorant persons, of whom the greater part have no manner of insight in the same, nor in any other kind of learning; some also ken no letters on the book; so far forth, that common artificers, as smiths, weavers, and women, boldly and accustomedly, take upon them great cures, and things of great difficulty, in which they partly use sorcery and witchcraft, partly apply such medicines unto the disease as be very noxious, and nothing meet therefor, to the high displeasure of God, great infamy to the faculty, and the grievous hurt, damage, and destruction of many of the king's liege people, most especially of them that cannot discern the uncunning from the cunning." To prevent these evils it was enacted, That no person should act as a physician or surgeon in London, or within seven miles of it, till he was examined and approved by the bishop of London or the dean of St. Paul's, assisted by four doctors of physic or four expert surgeons, under the penalty of six pounds for every month he had acted; one half to the king, and the other to the informer; and that no person should practise in any other part of England, without a license from the bishop of the diocese, under the same penalty. The privileges and rights of the two universities were secured. This law seems to have given a check to quackery, and to have diminished the number of practitioners of surgery in London. For two years after, the incorporation of surgeons in London, which consisted only of twelve persons, petitioned parliament to be exempted from the obligation of bearing arms and of serving on juries, that they might be at all times at liberty to attend their practice. Their petition was granted, and that exemption is still enjoyed by the faculty. The parliament seems to have supposed that twelve regular surgeons would always be sufficient for London; as by the last article in the act the exemption is restricted to that number. How short-sighted are all such enactments.

To rescue the practice of physic out of the ignoble and unworthy hands by which it had been disgraced, and had done so much mischief, another design was soon after formed and executed. This was the institution of the Royal College of Physicians in London. This design, it is said, was formed by Doctor Thomas Linacer, physician to Henry VIII., and patronized by Cardinal Wolsey, at whose desire the king granted a charter, September 23, A.D. 1518, incorporating Doctors John Chambre, Thomas Linacer, Ferdinando De Victoria, his own three physicians, with Nicholas Hatswell, John Francisco, and Robert Yaxley, physicians, and the other gentlemen of the faculty in the city of London, into one body, community, and perpetual college. To this college Henry granted various rights, powers, and immunities, by his charter; such as, a right to elect a president annually for the government of the college; to have a common seal to purchase lands to a certain value; to sue and be sued by the name and title of The President and Community of the College of Physicians in London;

and to make laws and regulations for the good government of the college. He granted them a power to practise as physicians in London, and seven miles round it; and that none who were not licensed by the college should practise within that bounds, under the penalty of paying five pounds for every month they practised. He gave them power to choose four of their members annually, to superintend and discover all irregular practitioners, and to punish them by fines, amerciaments, imprisonments, and other fit and reasonable ways. They had also authority to visit all apothecaries' shops, and examine their medicines, as often as they thought it necessary or proper. Finally, the members of the college and their licentiates were exempted from bearing arms or serving on juries. This charter was confirmed by parliament, A.D. 1523. This institution was intended and calculated to raise the reputation of the medical profession, and prevent the people from being imposed upon by bold and ignorant adventurers, who sported with their lives, and robbed them of their money. These two acts of parliament, which were for some time strictly executed, had one remarkable effect:—by greatly diminishing the number of practitioners, they made the regular practice of physic and surgery exceedingly lucrative. "The most effectual security against poverty," says Erasmus, "is the art of medicine, which of all arts is the most remote from mendicity."

The act 3 Henry VIII., in favour of the incorporation of surgeons in London, proved very inconvenient and oppressive; and that incorporation prosecuted many well-meaning charitable persons, who endeavoured to assist their poor neighbours in distress, with so much severity, that parliament found it necessary to interpose. An act was accordingly made, 35 Henry VIII., A.D. 1543, representing in the preamble, "That since the act made in the third of that king, the company and fellowship of the surgeons of London, minding only their own lucres, and nothing the profit or ease of the diseased and patient, have sued, troubled, and vexed divers honest persons, as well men as women, whom God hath endued with the knowledge of the nature, kind, and operation of certain herbs, roots, and waters, and the using and ministering them to such as been pained with customable diseases; as women's breasts being sore, a pin and web in the eye, uncomely hands, burnings, scalding, sore mouths, the stone, strangury, saucelins, morpheus, and such other diseases; and yet the said persons have not taken any thing for their pains or cunning, but have ministered the same to poor people, only for neighbourhood and God's sake, and of pity and charity." To prevent these vexatious prosecutions, it was enacted, "That it shall henceforth be lawful to every person, being the king's subject, having knowledge and experience of the nature of herbs, roots, and waters, or of the operation of the same, by speculation or practice, to practise, use, and minister, in and to any outward sore, uncomely wound, apostemations, outward swelling, and disease, any herb or herbs, ointments, baths, pultices, and emplasters, according to their cunning, experience, and knowledge, in any of the diseases, sores, and maladies before said, and all other like to the same, or drinks for the stone, strangury, or agues, without suit, vexation, penalty, or loss of their goods." In this statute the parliament gave the surgeons of London a very bad character: "Most part of the said craft of surgeons have small cunning, yet they will take great sums of money and do little therefor; and by reason



thereof, they do often times impair and hurt their patients, rather than do them good. It is now well known, that the surgeons admitted will do no cure to any person, but where they shall know to be rewarded with a greater sum and reward than the cure extendeth unto: for in case they would minister their cunning unto sore people unrewarded, there should not so many rot and perish to death; for lack or help of surgery, as daily do." This odious character will not apply to their liberal successors of the present age.

*History of the most Learned Men who flourished in England, from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547.*

Among the learned men who have flourished in the same period, in any nation, many of them may have enjoyed a certain degree of celebrity in their own times, but few of them have had their names transmitted with honour to posterity in the annals of their country, on account of the superior excellence and utility of their works.

Though Erasmus of Rotterdam was not a native of Britain, he resided several years in England at different times; and by his teaching, his conversation, and his writings, he contributed as much, if not more, than any other man, to inspire a taste for the study of the Roman and Greek classics, which was the first stage in the restoration of learning. He was born at Rotterdam, A.D. 1467, and educated at an illustrious school at Davenport, where he began to display that extraordinary genius, and that ardent love of learning, which afterwards rendered him so famous and so useful. Having lost both his parents when he was only in his thirteenth year, his three unfaithful guardians conspired to make him a monk, that they might possess themselves of his patrimony. His aversion to that way of life was strong, and he long resisted all the means that were used to prevail upon him to embrace it. At length, however, he was overcome; and in the nineteenth year of his age he made his profession, in a convent of regular canons, with extreme reluctance. He was not long immured in his monastery. The genius of young Erasmus, and his aversion to the way of life he had reluctantly embraced, were not unknown to many; and at length Henry à Bergis, archbishop of Cambray, took him out of his confinement into his own family, when he was about twenty-three years of age. He continued to wear the habit of his order for some time, and was ordained a priest two years after he left his monastery, to which he was determined never to return; and, by the influence of the pope's secretary, to whom he wrote a most eloquent and pathetic letter, he obtained a "breve" from Julius II. releasing him from his monastic vows and habit. Being now at liberty, he applied with ardour to his studies, and visited France, Italy and England, to communicate and to increase his knowledge. In all these countries he was well received, and even courted, by persons of the highest rank and greatest merit, who solicited his friendship, and were proud of being numbered among his patrons. Attempts were every where made to retain him, by the offer of comfortable stations, and the promise of more splendid establishments. But he preferred liberty to every thing, and would accept of no preferment that laid him under the least restraint. For several years he led a wandering unsettled life, depending for subsistence on the pensions of his patrons, the occasional gifts of his friends, and the money he re-

ceived from his pupils. As he was a bad economist, and his income was precarious, he was sometimes reduced to straits, and forced to make complaints. "If I could get money," said he, in a letter to one of his friends, "I would first purchase Greek books, and secondly clothes." On the accession of Henry VIII., a young, rich, and generous prince, he was invited by his friend William Lord Mountjoy to come once more into England, and encouraged to entertain the most sanguine hopes. He complied with the invitation, and met with the most flattering reception, which afforded the fairest prospects. "The king himself," says he, "a little before his father's death, when I was in Italy, wrote me with his own hand a very friendly letter, and he now speaks of me in the most honourable and affectionate manner. Every time that I salute him, he embraces me most obligingly, and looks kindly upon me; and it plainly appears, that he not only speaks but thinks well of me. The queen hath endeavoured to have me for her preceptor. Every one knows, that if I would but live a few months at court, the king would give me as many benefices as I could desire. But I esteem all things less than the leisure which I enjoy, and the labours and studies in which I am occupied. The archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and chancellor of the kingdom, a learned and worthy man, loves me as though he were my father or my brother; and to show you the sincerity of his friendship, he hath given me a living worth about a hundred nobles, which, at my request, he hath since changed into a pension of a hundred crowns on my resignation. Within these few years he hath given me more than four hundred nobles without my asking. One day he gave me an hundred and fifty. From the liberality of other bishops I have received more than an hundred. Lord Mountjoy, who was formerly my disciple, gives me a yearly pension of an hundred crowns. The king and the bishop of Lincoln, (Wolsey,) who by the king's favour is omnipotent, make me magnificent promises." But all these magnificent promises came to nothing, and none of them were performed. The cause of this is not certainly known: but it disgusted Erasmus so much, that after a long residence of about five years, he left England in discontent, A.D. 1516, and never could be prevailed upon to return. During that residence, he contributed very much to diffuse and cherish a taste for the study of the Latin and Greek classics, and of other useful learning. As the subsequent events of this great man's life do not properly come within our plan, the reader must be referred to the works quoted below for a full account of them, and of his many learned, instructive, and entertaining publications, where he will also find the authorities for what is above related.\* Not to leave this article quite imperfect, it may be proper to mention a few particulars. Soon after Erasmus settled on the continent, Luther began his opposition to the church of Rome; and when the contest became serious and important, both parties endeavoured to engage him to espouse their cause. No man was more sensible of the corruptions of the church, or more sincerely wished for their reformation, which he flattered himself might be brought about by the gentle method of remonstrances, arguments, and persuasions. Being naturally timid, he was terrified at the violence he observed on both sides. He had not courage to join the reformers, who he believed would be crushed

\* Knights', Bayle's, Le Clerc's, and Dr. Jortin's Lives of Erasmus.

by the superior power of their adversaries. His sincerity would not suffer him to appear in defence of errors and absurdities which he detested and despised. This reserve was offensive to both parties, who attacked him in many publications; almost with equal severity. This led him, in the last years of his life, to spend too much of his time in repelling these attacks. At length this most eminent of the restorers of learning, to whose works millions have been indebted for entertainment and instruction, worn out with unremitting study, and a complication of diseases, died at Basil, a protestant city, in the arms of his protestant friends, July 12, A.D. 1536, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. In his person he was rather below the middle stature, elegantly but delicately formed, his complexion fair, his hair yellow, his eyes grey, his countenance cheerful, his voice low, his elocution agreeable, and his conversation exceedingly pleasant and facetious. He was a warm and steady friend, and a placable enemy, humane and charitable to the indigent, and to young scholars of whom he entertained a good opinion he was liberal and munificent. His reading was extensive, and his memory retentive almost to a miracle. To him the world owes the revival of the belles-lettres, of critical learning, and of a good taste. In a word, he was at once the greatest wit and the most learned man of the age in which he flourished.

Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor of England, the great friend and admirer of Erasmus, was, next to him, one of the most ingenious and learned men of his age, and one of the chief restorers of learning. He was born in London, A. D. 1480; and being the only son of Sir John More, one of the judges of the King's Bench, great pains were taken in his education, which he received partly at Cambridge, and partly in the family of Cardinal Morton archbishop of Canterbury. He gave early and striking proofs of an uncommon genius; and before he was nineteen years of age he had acquired a critical knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and had studied rhetoric and several other branches of learning. When he was about twenty, he became a kind of devotee, fasted frequently, wore a hair shirt, slept upon boards, and had a great inclination to enter into the Franciscan order. From this, however, he was diverted by his friends; and in obedience to the commands of his father, whom he never disobeyed, he applied to the study of the law. When he was called to the bar, he soon became conspicuous by the eloquence of his pleadings, and was retained in almost every cause of importance. At the age of twenty-one he made a distinguished figure as a member of the house of commons, in opposition to the court, when opposition was more dangerous than it has been in later times. In particular, he opposed a bill that was brought into the house, A.D. 1503, for a subsidy and three-fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret to the king of Scots, with such force of reasoning that it was rejected. At the accession of Henry VIII. More's reputation and business were both very great. But in the midst of the greatest hurry of business, in which the whole day was occupied, he stole time from his sleep to pursue his favourite studies, to correspond with many learned men at home and abroad, and to compose his *Utopia*, which was published A.D. 1516. It was universally admired, translated into several languages, and raised his reputation not a little. Soon after this, Cardinal Wolsey cast his eyes upon him as a proper person

to be employed in the service of the crown, and made him proposals for that purpose, which he at first declined; but afterwards complying, he was knighted, admitted a member of the privy-council, appointed master of requests, and treasurer of the exchequer, A.D. 1520. He was employed in several embassies, in which he acquitted himself with ability and success. When Henry VIII. became intimately acquainted with him, he was so charmed with his learning and the pleasantry of his conversation, that he sent frequently for him to entertain and divert him. This was very disagreeable to him, as it consumed too much of his time; and he made use of a stratagem to get rid of his royal interruption which few would have employed. He affected to be very dull and unentertaining several times successively, and was no more sent for. He had the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, A.D. 1526, and he probably retained it till he was advanced to a higher. At length, on the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, the king fixed upon Sir Thomas More as the most proper person to succeed him as lord chancellor of England; and he was the first layman that held that high office. The seals were delivered to him October 25th, A.D. 1530, and he accepted of them with real reluctance, for which he had good reason. The affair of the divorce, which he disapproved, was then in agitation; he knew the impetuous spirit of the king, that he would not hesitate one moment to sacrifice those who had been most dear to him, when they obstructed the gratification of a reigning passion; and he justly apprehended that holding so high an office in these circumstances would involve him in difficulties and dangers. He held this office about two years and seven months, and discharged the duties of it with great ability, integrity, and diligence. The reformers indeed complained, that when he was in power he encouraged and assisted the clergy in all their cruelties to those who were called heretics; and they give some examples of this that are truly revolting. These complaints may be exaggerated, but they are not without a just foundation. Sir Thomas More, with all his great and good qualities, had also great defects. It appears from his own words, that he was devoted to the pope and clergy in all things, and that his hatred to those who disputed any of their claims, or any of the tenets of the church, was excessive and inveterate; in a word, that he was a superstitious bigot; and there is nothing so apt to pervert the best natures, and prompt them to the worst actions, as superstition and bigotry. He resigned the seals May 16th, A.D. 1533, to avoid the storm which he saw approaching. By the resignation of his office he was reduced at once from opulence to an income of about 100*l.* a-year. This obliged him to part with his three daughters, their husbands and families, who had all hitherto resided with him, and to dismiss his unnecessary servants. Determined never to engage in public business, he lived with great privacy at his house in Chelsea, spending most of his time in his studies and devotions. But he was not long permitted to enjoy this privacy. The act of supremacy passed A.D. 1534, and the oath enjoined by that act being tendered to him, he refused to take it, and he was sent prisoner to the Tower. While he lay in the Tower, many endeavours were used by his friends to prevail upon him to take the oath; and when arguments failed to persuade, both threats and promises were employed; but he remained inflexible. An account of his trial and execution has been already given, and



need not be repeated; and for a more circumstantial relation of his actions, his writings, his manners, his virtues, and his failings, than the nature and limits of this work will admit, the reader is referred to the works quoted below.\*

If the exact order of time had been observed, William Grocyn would have been first introduced, as he was in that respect one of the first restorers of learning in England. He was born in Bristol A.D. 1442, educated in grammar at Winchester-school, made perpetual fellow of New College A.D. 1467, and presented by that college, A.D. 1479, to the rectory of Newton Longville in Buckinghamshire. His love of study made him still reside at Oxford, where he was appointed divinity reader in Magdalen College A.D. 1483. Having a very strong desire to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, which was then almost quite unknown in England, he left his country A.D. 1488, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and travelled into Italy. There, in company with several of his countrymen who had come for the same purpose, he studied Latin under Angelo Politian, and Greek under Demetrius Chalcondylas, one of those learned men who had fled from Constantinople when it was taken by the Turks. Under these two excellent instructors he made himself master of those languages in about two years, and returned into England to communicate the knowledge he had acquired. He taught Greek publicly at Oxford, A.D. 1491, and was the first who introduced the new pronunciation of that language. He had the famous Erasmus for one of his hearers, with whom he contracted an intimate friendship, and kept him a considerable time in his house. When he left Oxford he came to London, and read lectures on divinity in St. Paul's. He resigned the rectory of Dipden A.D. 1503, and of Newton Longville the year after: for what reason we do not know. He was elected, A.D. 1506, master of the collegiate church of Maidstone in Kent, where he died A.D. 1522, in the eightieth year of his age. Grocyn's reigning passion was the love of learning, particularly of the Greek, and to inspire his countrymen with the same taste. Some years before his death he formed the design of giving a correct and elegant Latin translation of all Aristotle's works; in which he was promised the assistance of his learned friends Linacer, Latimer, Lily, Collet, and More. But the avocations of his friends, and his own infirmities, prevented the accomplishment of that design.

Doctor Thomas Linacer, or Linacer, one of the great revivers of learning, and the most polite and elegant scholar of his age, was born at Canterbury, A.D. 1460, and educated in the cathedral school of that city, under the learned Mr. William Tilly, who was not a mere schoolmaster, but a man of business, and an able negotiator. Being appointed by Henry VII. his ambassador at the court of Rome, he carried his favourite pupil Linacer with him, and introduced him to the most famous professors then in Italy, where he spent several years in the study of belles-lettres and of medicine. He acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek under Chalcondylas, and he even excelled his master Politian in the classical purity of his Latin style. His proficiency in medicine was so conspicuous, that he was appointed a professor of it in the university of Padua. On his return home, he was incorporated doctor

of physic at Oxford, and soon after he was appointed physician and preceptor to Prince Arthur and his sister Mary. He came into great practice, and was successively physician to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. To show his love to his profession he founded two lectures of physic at Oxford and one at Cambridge. He contributed more effectually to rescue the healing arts from the wretched state in which he found them, by his strenuous and successful efforts for the establishment of the royal college of physicians in London, of which he was the first president, and to which he gave his own house for their place of meeting. In the midst of all this business he did not neglect his favourite studies; and his friend Erasmus often rallied him for spending so much of his time in the study of philology. On this subject he wrote the *Rudiments of Grammar*, for the use of his pupil the Princess Mary, afterwards queen of France; and a much larger work, "*De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis, libri sex*," which was much admired, and passed through many editions. For the benefit of those of his own profession he translated several of Galen's tracts into pure and classical Latin, and in so masterly a manner, that they had the appearance of an original work. When he was advanced in life he applied to the study of theology, was ordained a priest, and obtained several livings and preferments in the church. He died of the stone, October 20th, A.D. 1524, at the age of sixty-four, and was buried in St. Paul's, where a monument was erected to his memory thirty years after, by his great admirer, Doctor John Caius. If we may rely on the character given to Doctor Linacre, by his learned contemporaries who were most intimately acquainted with him, his genius for learning was not his greatest excellence, and his virtues were at least equal to his abilities; in a word, he was a benefactor to mankind, an honour to literature, and an ornament to human nature.

Doctor John Collet was one of those ingenious men who contributed by their united labours to the revival of learning in Britain in this period. He was the first-born of the eleven sons and eleven daughters of Sir Henry Collet (who was twice mayor of London) by his wife Christian, and was born in London, A.D. 1466. After he had received the first part of his education in his native city, he spent seven years at Oxford in the study of the logic and philosophy of those times. Not satisfied with the acquisitions he had made at home, he travelled into France and Italy, and spent about four years in those two countries, where he perfected himself in the Latin and Greek languages, and cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of the learned. He entered very early into holy orders, and before he went abroad he had been presented to two livings, and before he returned home he was preferred to a prebendary in York, and to another in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London. When he returned into England he was not only an excellent scholar, but an accomplished gentleman; and being naturally high-spirited, amorous, gay, and sprightly, he seemed fitter for the court than the church. But having a lively sense of the obligations of virtue and religion, and an ardent love of learning, he subdued those propensities which might have betrayed him into a course of life unbecoming his profession, and became as conspicuous for the purity as the politeness of his manners. In Italy he had applied to the study of theology, had perused the New Testament in the original with care, and had read the works of

\* Roper's Life and Death of Thomas More. Stapleton, vita T. Mori. Heidenstadius's Life and Death of Sir T. More. *Biographia Britannica*, article Sir T. More.

several of the Greek and Latin fathers. After he had stayed a few months in London with his friends and family, he went to Oxford, and read a course of lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, which were received with great applause by crowded audiences. By the influence of his numerous friends, without any solicitation of his own, he was promoted to several prebendaries in different churches, and to the deanery of St. Paul's, A.D. 1505. Of this last office he discharged the duties with uncommon zeal, by introducing a more strict and regular discipline; by his preaching in the cathedral every Sunday; and by procuring some of his learned friends to read lectures in divinity there on other days. In his sermons on public occasions he censured with great freedom the ignorance and vices of the clergy and the corruptions of the church, which drew upon him a prosecution for heresy, to which he would probably have fallen a sacrifice, if he had not been preserved by the primate, who put a stop to the prosecution. He had been three times seized with that terrible plague the sweating sickness, which threw him into a consumption, of which he died, September 16th, A.D. 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. As Doctor Collet possessed a plentiful fortune and generous heart, many were benefited by his bounty. His noble foundation of St. Paul's school will be hereafter mentioned. He made many presents to his friend Erasmus, and to other scholars who stood in need of his assistance. He composed much, and published little. Several treatises that were found in an obscure corner of his library were published after his death, and some are still unpublished. In his person he was tall and handsome, in his deportment graceful and engaging, in his manners he was regular without austerity, and his preaching was plain and popular. He saw and condemned many of the corruptions of the church, particularly the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, the worship of images, and other superstitions. Like his friend Erasmus, he entertained several of the opinions of the reformed before the Reformation, and by his preaching and conversation, he prepared the minds of many for their reception.

William Lily was another of those ingenious and industrious men who were the instruments of reviving learning in Britain, by introducing the study of the Greek and Latin classics. He was born at Odiham the same year (1466) with his great friend and patron Doctor Collet. When he had finished his school education he went to Oxford, and became a student in Magdalen College. But his stay at the college was not long. Prompted by the reigning superstition of the times, he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which he accomplished. On his journey home, he resided five years in the island of Rhodes; and with the assistance of some learned refugees from Constantinople, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue. From thence he went to Rome, and perfected himself in the Latin language, under two of the most celebrated professors in that city. On his return to England, he opened a school in London for teaching rhetoric, poetry, and the Greek and Latin languages, which soon became famous. When Dean Collet had built and endowed his school at St. Paul's, he appointed his friend Mr. Lily its first master, A.D. 1511, who presided in it about twelve years with great reputation and success. Among other things, he composed a grammar for the use of that school, which is well known by the name of Lily's Grammar. In this, however, he was assisted by Erasmus,

Doctor Collet, and Thomas Robinson, three of the best linguists in Europe; and it was published with a preface composed by the great Cardinal Wolsey recommending it to universal use. Of such importance did the education of youth in classical learning appear to the greatest men of that age. He composed many other tracts both in prose and verse. This most useful man died of the plague A.D. 1523.

Richard Paice cultivated the belles-lettres with great ardour and success, and contributed to introduce a taste for that kind of learning into England. He was born of poor parents in Worcestershire and was taken when he was very young into the family of Thomas Langton bishop of Worcester. That prelate observing the ingenuity of young Paice, became his friend and patron, and sent him to Italy, then the seat of polite learning, with a proper exhibition; and in his last will he bequeathed to his scholar Richard Paice 10*l.* a-year (equivalent to 100*l.* of our money at present) for seven years, to enable him to pursue his studies abroad. Supported by this exhibition, he studied several years at Padua, Bononia, and Ferrara, where he acquired a critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and a tincture of other learning. On his return home he resided some time at Oxford for his further improvement, and was then taken into the family of Cardinal Bainbridge archbishop of York, whence he was called to the court, and appointed Latin secretary to Henry VIII. Being in priest's orders, he obtained several prebends in different churches, and in October A.D. 1519, he succeeded Doctor Collet in the deanery of St. Paul's. While he was secretary to the king, he was employed in several embassies, in which he acquitted himself with great ability and success. In his last embassy to the republic of Venice, A.D. 1525, he was seized with a disorder for which the physicians were of opinion his native air would be the only cure; and at his departure the doge sent a letter to the cardinal, highly commending the ambassador for his ability, fidelity and diligence, which concludes thus:—"Finally, I assure your most reverend domination, that the reverend lord ambassador hath been most faithful and most diligent in all the affairs of his royal majesty, and that he hath been most attentive and most studious to please your most reverend domination." But alas! how precarious is court favour! Having in some way or other offended the cardinal, he was sent prisoner to the Tower; with which he was so much affected, that he became insane, and died in that condition A.D. 1532. He appears to have been a worthy man, as well as an excellent scholar, as he lived in the most intimate friendship with Erasmus, More, Tunstal, Linacer, Collet, and other eminent men, both at home and abroad. He learned languages with peculiar facility, and not only spoke several of the modern languages, but understood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic. Though he was much engaged in public employment, he wrote many treatises on theological, political, and other subjects. One of the most curious of these is his tract *De fructu qui ex Doctrina precipitur*—"Of the benefits that are derived from learning."

It is pleasant to remark, that all these restorers of learning in this period were virtuous men and sincere friends; that they co-operated most cordially in promoting the object they had in view; assisted each other in their labours, and in repelling the attacks that were made upon any of them; and that they advanced the fame of one another by mutual



and well-founded commendations. This reflected honour on literature, and contributed not a little to the success of their efforts for its restoration.

Several other men of distinguished abilities flourished at this period, but our space is too limited to admit of a particular notice of them.

*History of the principal Seminaries of Learning that were founded in England from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547.*

Though many superb and richly endowed schools and colleges for the education of youth and encouragement of learning had been already established in Britain, particularly in England, their numbers and riches still continued to increase. In our present period of only sixty-two years, three colleges were founded in Oxford, and five in Cambridge, and the two illustrious schools of Ipswich and St. Paul's. Of all which foundations and their founders a very brief account shall now be given.

Brazen-nose College in Oxford was founded on the site of Brazen-nose Hall (from which it derived its name) by William Smith bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton of Presbury in Cheshire. These two founders having purchased certain contiguous halls, houses, and gardens, in Oxford, obtained a charter from Henry VIII. A.D. 1511, authorizing them to build their intended college, and to purchase and endow it with lands to the value of 300*l.* a-year. The buildings were then begun, but Bishop Smith, one of the founders, died before they were finished. The foundation-charter for the college, to consist of a principal, twelve fellows, and sixty scholars, was executed by Sir Richard Sutton, the surviving founder, February 1st, A.D. 1517. The revenues of this college, as well as those of all the other colleges in Oxford, were very much increased by a succession of benefactors.

Richard Fox, successively bishop of Exeter, Bath, Durham, and Winchester, was the founder of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. This prelate acted an important part both in church and state in the reigns of Henry VII. and of Henry VIII. When he was prosecuting his studies at Paris, he became acquainted with Cardinal Morton, (then in exile,) who prevailed upon him to join Henry earl of Richmond in his expedition into England, A.D. 1485. He had no reason to repent of that step. The expedition was successful, the earl mounted the throne, Doctor Fox was immediately admitted into the council, and appointed keeper of the privy seal. Few were more employed or better rewarded by Henry VII., in whose reign he was successively promoted to the sees of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. In his old age, he began to consider how he should dispose of the riches he had accumulated, and his first intention was to build a small college in Oxford, to be a seminary for the education of the novices of the priory of St. Swithin, his cathedral in Winchester. But when the building was far advanced, he was persuaded by Hugh Oldham bishop of Exeter, to change his plan, and to found a much larger college, for the benefit of studious youth in general, to which he promised to become a benefactor. In compliance with this advice, he founded, by a charter dated March 1st, A.D. 1517, a college for a principal and thirty scholars, to be called "Corpus Christi" College, in Oxford. He founded also three lectureships in the college; one for the belles-lettres, of which John Ludovicus Vives was the first reader; one for the

Greek language, and one for theology. Bishop Oldham performed his promise, by contributing 1000 marks to the buildings, and by the grant of an estate. His example was followed by many other benefactors.

Cardinal Wolsey was one of those men whose minds expand with their fortunes. Though his birth was humble, when he attained to power and opulence he displayed a most magnificent and princely spirit. Of this the noble plan he formed, and the splendid, extensive preparations he made, for founding a college in Oxford, which, for the magnificence of its structure, the richness of its furniture, the number of its members, and the greatness of its revenues, would have exceeded every seminary of learning in the world, afford a sufficient proof. To accomplish this, he obtained two bulls from Pope Clement VII. empowering him (with the king's consent) to dissolve the priory of St. Frideswade in Oxford, and as many other small religious houses as he thought proper, and to apply their revenues, lands, and goods to the endowment of his intended college. To the execution of these bulls the king gave his consent, and granted him a charter, dated July 3d, A.D. 1525, authorizing him to found a college in Oxford, to be called Cardinal College, and to endow it with lands and revenues to the amount of 2000*l.* a-year; a very great revenue in those times. The year after, the king granted the cardinal for the benefit of his college no fewer than five charters, containing a great number of privileges and immunities, with a power of appropriating about seventy rectories, in addition to its revenues. The cardinal having thus provided ample revenues for the members of his college, the foundation of it was laid July 15th, A.D. 1525; and, as great numbers of artificers of all kinds were employed, the building advanced with great rapidity. As soon as apartments were ready for their reception, he introduced a dean and eighteen canons, which he designed afterwards to increase to one hundred and eighty, or two hundred. In the mean time he expended prodigious sums of money, not only on the buildings, but in providing statues, pictures, plate, jewels, books, vestments, furniture, and every thing that could be either useful or ornamental to his favourite establishment. He prepared also a book of statutes for its government; from which it appears that it was to have consisted of a dean, a sub-dean, sixty canons of the first class, forty canons of the second class, (who were all to devote themselves to study,) thirteen chaplains, twelve clerks, sixteen choristers for performing the service in the college church, four censors, three treasurers, four collectors, and twenty servants. In a word, the cardinal omitted nothing to render his college (which he expected would transmit his name with honour to posterity) superior in all respects to every other college. But he neglected one thing, which proved fatal to the whole. Being under no apprehension of his disgrace, which fell upon him suddenly, he neglected to execute the foundation-charter, and to convey the revenues, lands, and goods to the college, which he had provided for it with so much care. All these, therefore, being still his own property, when he was found in a premunire, they were forfeited to the king. The spoil was great, and it was seized with eagerness. The lands were sold, or granted to craving courtiers, and all the precious moveables dissipated. Thus fell Cardinal College before it was half finished, to the no small regret of the friends of learning; as it prevented the execution of a design

which the cardinal had formed, of procuring copies of all the MSS. in the Vatican for the library of his college.

After all the works of Cardinal College had been interrupted about four years, and the unfinished buildings were falling to ruin, the king was prevailed upon to found a college in the same place, to be called the College of King Henry VIII. But though this was a royal foundation, it was on a much smaller scale than that of the Cardinal; as it consisted only of a dean and twelve secular canons. Nor was this college of much longer duration than the former. Doctor John Oliver, the second dean, resigned his college and all its revenues to the king May 20th, A.D. 1545

Henry having thus dissolved his own college, he soon after made it the seat and cathedral of the bishop of Oxford, by the name of the Cathedral of Christ's Church in Oxford, founded by Henry VIII. This new society was composed of a bishop, a dean, and eight canons. To the dean and canons he granted all the buildings, lands, and revenues of his late college, on condition that they paid the following stipends to the following persons: to eight minor canons, each 10*l.*; to a gospeller, 8*l.*; to a postellor, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to eight clerks, each 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to the master of the singing boys, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; to the organist, 10*l.*; to eight singing boys, each 7*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to three public professors in the university, one of theology, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek, each 40*l.*; to sixty scholars or students, each 8*l.*; to the first schoolmaster, 20*l.*; to the second schoolmaster, 10*l.*; forty school-boys.

The number of colleges founded in Cambridge in this period exceeds that of those founded in Oxford, if we reckon Cardinal College, the College of Henry VIII., and Christ's Church, only one foundation.

The nuns of St. Radigund in Cambridge had become so profligate that they were expelled, and their house, with its revenues and lands, (which were of considerable value,) were granted by Henry VII. A.D. 1496, to John Alcock, bishop of Ely, who converted the nunnery into a college, for one master, six fellows, and six scholars, and dedicated it to Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and St. Radigund. The revenues of this college were afterwards increased by many benefactors.

The Lady Margaret countess of Richmond, and mother to Henry VII., founded Christ's College in Cambridge, A.D. 1505, for one master, twelve fellows, and forty-seven scholars, and endowed it with lands of considerable value in several counties.

The same illustrious lady founded St. John's College in this university, A.D. 1508, but did not live to see it finished; the works however were carried on and completed by her executors. Several of the estates that had been granted to this college, to the amount of 400*l.* a-year, were ejected from it in the reign of Edward VI., whether justly or unjustly cannot now be discovered, though Mr. Ascham affirms it was owing to the rapacity of some avaricious courtiers. This loss, however, was repaired by a long train of forty-eight benefactors, which enabled this foundation to support a master, fifty-four fellows, and eighty-eight scholars, with officers and servants.

Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, one of the greatest subjects in England, designed to have enlarged the buildings and revenues of an old house called Monk's College, and to have given it the name of Buckingham College. But before he had proceeded far in the execution of this design, he

was tried, condemned, and executed for high treason, May 17th, A.D. 1521. After the buildings had been several years suspended, Thomas Lord Audley, chancellor of England, founded and endowed a college on the same site, which he named Magdalen, commonly called Maudlin College.

Henry VIII. having got possession of three adjacent halls, razed them to the ground, and erected on the area, and richly endowed, a large, regular, and magnificent college, A.D. 1536, dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity, and thence called Trinity College. Great additions have been made to the revenues of this college by subsequent benefactors, which have rendered it one of the greatest, richest, and most noble foundations of the kind in Europe. Henry at the same time founded four professorships in Cambridge; one of theology, one of law, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek; with each a salary of 40*l.* a-year.

### SECTION III.

HISTORY OF THE ARTS IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. A.D. 1485, TO THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI. A.D. 1547.

#### *History of the Necessary and Useful Arts.*

FROM the accession of the Tudors, and the union or extinction of those factions that distracted England, a period of comparative tranquillity commences; a long period, protracted almost to the middle of the seventeenth century, during which the English nation was neither exhausted by its wars abroad, nor much disquieted by domestic commotion. Such repose was propitious to arts and commerce; and the country, recovering from the calamities of internal discord, continued afterwards in a state of slow, but progressive improvement.

To the devastations produced by the civil wars may be justly attributed the decay of population, and in some measure the decrease and disappearance both of predial and domestic servitude. The bondsmen, so numerous formerly, were either consumed in battle, emancipated for their services, or enabled, by the frequent fluctuations of property, to regain their freedom. Proprietors were obliged to convert into pasturage those demesnes which their slaves and cottagers had formerly cultivated; and while the estates of either party were alternately wasted, it was soon discovered that flocks and herds were better adapted, than the produce of agriculture, to such troublesome times. They might be removed with ease on the irruption of an enemy, or disposed of secretly, if the proprietor were involved in the misfortunes of his party. A measure recommended by its expediency was generally adopted, and continued prevalent when no necessity required such precaution. When government, under Henry VII. and his son, had attained to stability, when its vigour repressed the depredations of the barons, and precluded the danger of a future revolution, the conversion of arable lands into pasture, increased through England to a dangerous extreme. Enclosures were multiplied, demesne lands were extended, till the farms of the husbandmen were appropriated to pasture; their houses were demolished or permitted to decay, while a few herdsmen, fewer than are usually allotted to pasturage, supplanted the yeomen, and occupied, by means of enclosures, the largest estates. Landlords, it is probable, were still de-



sirous of retaining the management of those lands, the culture of which they had formerly conducted by their villeins or cottagers; and their tenants, accustomed hitherto to the most moderate rents, were unwilling to submit to an unusual advance. But the circumstances most detrimental to agriculture may be discovered in the restrictions attending the exportation of grain, and the constant, perhaps the increasing consumption of English wool. At a former period, the exportation of corn had, in certain circumstances, been permitted, and its importation regulated by different statutes; but by these statutes a discretionary control was committed to the king; and there is reason to believe that the operations of prerogative were seldom favourable, or exerted, unless for the purpose of partial monopolies and pernicious restraints. During the present period, the manufacture of cloth was encouraged and augmented, by the refinement of Europe in taste and dress; and although the manufactures of England were now considerable, those of the Netherlands were still supported by large exportations that increased the demand, and enhanced the value of English wool. A system of management, lucrative but pernicious, was thus promoted; lucrative to landholders, but pernicious to the country.

The system was severely felt in its consequences; in the beggary and diminished population of the peasants. Hamlets were ruined by oppressive encroachments; townships and villages of a hundred families were reduced to thirty, sometimes to ten. Some were desolate, demolished by the avarice of unfeeling proprietors: others were occupied by a shepherd and his dog. These representations are transmitted by cotemporaries, and perhaps are exaggerated; yet a country appropriated to pasturage is thinly inhabited, and must be depopulated, by enclosures multiplied for the purpose of rearing sheep, and retrenching herdsmen. England, at a subsequent period, was regarded as better adapted for grazing than tillage; and in the reign of Elizabeth, the lands in culture were computed at a fourth of the kingdom; yet the legislature were never inattentive, but interposed repeatedly (with what success may be justly suspected) to enforce cultivation, and repress the inordinate increase of pastures. Early in Henry the Seventh's reign, a statute was enacted for the future support of those houses of husbandry, to which twenty acres had been formerly annexed; sanctioned by the forfeiture of half the rents, till the lands were occupied, and the houses rebuilt. Severe forfeitures are not easily exacted; and it appears that a practice dictated by private gain, was neither suppressed by the vigilance of law, nor counteracted by the legal extortion of the monarch. A statute enacted under his successor, expatiates in the preamble, with apparent truth, on the extent of the mischief, and feelingly enumerates the complicated miseries which the increase of sheep, and extension of pastures, had inflicted on the poor. The flocks of individuals, which sometimes exceeded, and often amounted to twenty thousand sheep, were restricted to two thousand; an inadequate remedy, frustrated apparently by the partial exception of hereditary opulence. Had the restraints imposed on the exportation of corn been transferred to wool, the internal consumption would have soon regulated the respective prices of those articles; the proportion between arable and pasture lands would soon have been adjusted, and the declining cultivation of the country prevented. An improved cultivation was reserved however, for a future period, when perse-

cutions extirpated manufactures from the Netherlands; when the exportation of English wool had subsided, and its price diminished, the farmer or landholder, disappointed of his former exuberant profits, discovered the necessity of resuming the plough, and again restoring his pastures to culture.

While husbandry suffered such general discountenance, much improvement in its operations is not to be expected. A treatise of husbandry, ascribed to Fitzherbert, judge of the Common Pleas to Henry VIII., explains those operations chiefly practised and most approved. The more simple instruments, such as scythes, sickles, spades, &c., were nearly the same with ours; and as they have continued, during successive generations, with little alteration, are probably not susceptible of much improvement. The operations of husbandry were conducted apparently with more skill than in former periods. Directions are given for draining, clearing, and enclosing a farm; and for enriching and reducing the soil to tillage. Lime and marl are strongly recommended, but appear to have seldom been employed as manure. Fallowing was practised as preparatory to wheat, but not that rotation of crops and fallows which invigorates the soil or preserves its nutrition. When a field was exhausted by successive harvests, the farmer suffered it to rest till recruited, and proceeded to cultivate a fresh field from a part of his pastures. An improved cultivation is produced by the skill and traditional knowledge which farmers accumulate; and the produce of their labour may enable us to estimate with sufficient precision their knowledge and skill. Sixteen and twenty bushels are assigned by Hollinshed as the usual return of an acre of wheat; a poor return, that argues a sordid degree of cultivation; yet let us remember that at present, in the fertile and beautiful vale of Gloucester, eighteen bushels are the common produce obtained from an acre. The prices were various; in years of scarcity seldom exceeding the present rates; but in those of abundance, from a restricted exportation, too low perhaps to afford an adequate recompense to the farmer. The greatest dearth appears to have happened in 1486, when the quarter of wheat sold at 1*l.* 4*s.* (equal to 1*l.* 17*s.* of our present coin); but in subsequent years the prices subsided sometimes to 4*s.* (equal to 6*s.* of our modern coin). Famine and pestilence afflicted the country in 1521, and raised the quarter to 20*s.* (about 1*l.* 11*s.*); but in 1527, though many perished in London from hunger, a large and seasonable importation from Dantzick restricted the price to 15*s.* It is observable, that the dearths so frequent in former times, are generally attributed by our ancient chronicles to the rigour of the seasons; and with some truth, for whenever the culture is languid, every unexpected alteration of weather must influence the harvest, and produce an immediate deficiency of grain.

Leases, though not uncommon, were hitherto precarious; neither protecting the tenant from the entry of purchasers, nor securing his interest against the operations of fictitious recoveries. To reinstate him when expelled by a new proprietor, an action of ejectment was sustained, about the 14 Henry VII. in courts of law; but to restore him against a recovery required and obtained the authority of a statute.\* Leases for three existing lives are recommended by Fitzherbert, to enable tenants whose sole

\* The action of ejectment was perhaps of an earlier date; but its benefit was not extended to tenants till this period.—Blackstone.

stock is their personal labour, to surround their farms, and divide them by hedges into proper enclosures; by which operation, he says, "if an acre of land be worth six pens or it be inclosed, it will be worth eight pens when it is inclosed, by reason of the composting and donging of the cattell." But the advantage which he chiefly proposes to the farmer is more economical, the preservation of his corns without the expense of maintaining herdsmen. England, it is probable, to a sordid practice introduced into pasturage and adopted in husbandry, is indebted for those enclosures and minute subdivisions which distinguish its appearance from other countries, which increase its fertility, and bestow on its plains the interchangeable diversity of rich culture and luxurious woodlands.

Gardening, during the distractions of the civil wars, had been much neglected; but now it was prosecuted with more assiduity, and with such success, that to the present period is ascribed the introduction of various fruits and vegetables which had been formerly produced in England. The fruit-garden was enriched indeed by large accessions from foreign countries, and apricots, melons, and currants from Zante were introduced, for the first time, in the sixteenth century, about the middle of Henry the Eighth's reign. That salads, cabbages, and other vegetables were unknown till then, is a general, but probably a mistaken opinion. Salads are mentioned early in Edward the Fourth's reign: and if we may credit Hollinshed, cabbages, turnips, and other roots, the produce of the garden, had been known and cultivated, but afterwards neglected. The introduction of the cherry is also ascribed to the latter part of the present period, but it was known in the thirteenth century; nor was it afterwards extirpated or forgotten in England.\*

Gardening, however, was practised more for utility than pleasure, and consisted chiefly in the culture of esculent herbs and fruits. The pleasure-garden was reserved for Elizabeth's reign, when a square parterre was enclosed with walls, scooped into fountains, and heaved into terraces. Yet the large and numerous parks of the nobility may be regarded either as contracted forests, or extended gardens. Their extent comprehended several miles, and their number, in Kent and Essex alone, amounted to a hundred.† Such large enclosures were peculiar to England, and better entitled to the appellation of pleasure-grounds than those gardens of a future period, that exhibited in the vegetable, the mimic appearance of the animal creation.

The culture of hops in the present period was either introduced or revived in England; and flax was attempted, but without success, though enforced by law. Legislation at that time endeavoured to execute, by means of penalties, those national improvements which have since been fostered and cherished by bounties.

\* It appears to have been common, from the following rude verses, printed anno 1496, but composed, perhaps, at an earlier period:

"Who, that mannyth hym wyth his kyne,  
And cloysthy his croffe wyth cherry trees;  
Shall have many hegges brokynne,  
And also full lytill good serveys."

HERBERT'S Typographical Antiquities.

† Hollinshed, p. 204. The earl of Northumberland possessed in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire, twenty-one parks, containing five thousand seven hundred and seventy-one red and fallow deer, from which his table was supplied with twenty bucks in summer, and twenty-nine does in winter. Setting Lent aside, this was more than a deer a-week. Besides these, he had several parks in Sussex, and other southern counties.—Northumberland Household Book

To the passion of the age, and the predilection of the monarch for splendid tournaments, may be attributed the attention bestowed on a breed of horses, of a strength and stature adapted to the weight of the complicated panoply with which the knight and his courser were both invested. Statutes of a singular nature were enacted, allotting for deer parks a certain proportion of breeding mares, and enjoining, not the prelates and nobles only, but those whose wives wore velvet bonnets, to have stallions of a certain size for their saddle. The legal standard was, fifteen hands in horses, thirteen in mares, and "unlikely tits" were, without distinction, consigned to execution. James the Fourth of Scotland, with more propriety, imported horses from foreign countries, to improve the degenerate breed of his own. Artificial grasses for their winter provender were still unknown; nor were asses propagated in England till a subsequent period.

There is a certain perfection in art to which human genius may aspire with success, but beyond which, it is the apprehension of many, that improvement degenerates into false taste and fantastic refinement. The rude simplicity of Saxon architecture was supplanted by the magnificence of the "ornamental" Gothic; but magnificence itself is at last exhausted, and it terminated during the present period in a style which some, with an allusion to literature, denominate the "florid." Its characteristics are a profusion of ornaments, minute yet delicate; a finishing light and slender, from which apparent strength and solidity recede; walls surmounted by latticed battlements; windows less pointed, but broad and open; roofs divided by slight ribs into numerous compartments, fretted curiously like rich embroidery, interspersed with sculpture, and spangled with pencil and clustering decorations, like those grottoes where the oozing water is petrified before it distils from the vault. It is a style censurable as too ornamental, departing from the grandeur peculiar to the Gothic, without acquiring proportional elegance; yet its intricate and redundant decorations are well calculated to rivet the eye, and amaze, perhaps to bewilder, the mind. In Somersetshire, a county devoted to the cause of Lancaster, several churches were rebuilt in this style by the gratitude or policy of Henry the Seventh; but the superb chapel which he erected in Westminster exhausted, it is probable, every ornament that taste could dictate, or piety accumulate. The expense amounted to 14,000*l.* in quantity upwards of 20,000*l.* but in efficacy equivalent, perhaps, to 100,000*l.* of our modern coin; and the fabric exhibits a splendid specimen of Gothic architecture, in its latest, perhaps most degenerate period. Christ Church College was built by Wolsey in the same style, and with similar taste; but the genius of Gothic architecture languished after the death of that favourite, and expired with his sovereign. Grecian architecture was then introduced, but its orders, till a purer taste was created, were intermixed promiscuously with those of the Gothic, producing a discordant and barbarous assemblage.

The sacred, imparted to civil architecture a character well suited to the profuse magnificence of Henry the Eighth. His predecessors had resided in castles, or in houses constructed with few ornaments and little conveniency;\* but after the invention of cannon, and during a long season of pro-

\* The Old Palace of Westminster, burnt in Henry the Eighth's reign, was a fortified place



found repose, the utility of castles had ceased; the nobles solicited better accommodation, the king and his minister superior elegance. Whitehall, Nonsuch, and Hampton Court were erected, the former by Henry, the last by Wolsey, in the florid style of the present period. Whitehall and Nonsuch have perished, but Wolsey's magnificence is still attested by Hampton Court; a residence, says Grotius, befitting rather a god than a king. Ancient buildings, the property of the crown, were either repaired or renewed by Henry; but his taste and rapacity were both gratified by the dissolution of the monasteries, and the conversion of religious structures into royal abodes. Dartford was appropriated to his use, and St. James's transformed from a nunnery to a palace. His nobles began to remove the martial fronts of their castles, and endeavoured to render them more commodious; but in architecture the nation participated neither in the spirit nor the taste of its sovereign. The mansions of gentlemen were still sordid; the huts of the peasantry poor and wretched. The former were generally thatched buildings, composed of timber, or, where wood was scarce, of large posts inserted in the earth, filled up in the interstices with rubbish, plastered within, and covered on the outside with coarse clay. The latter were slight frames, prepared in the forests at a small expense, and, when erected, probably covered with mud. In cities, the houses were constructed mostly of the same materials, for bricks were still too costly for general use; and the stories seem to have projected forward as they rose in height, intercepting sunshine and air from the streets beneath. The apartments, Erasmus observes, were stifling, lighted by lattices, so contrived as to prohibit the occasional and salutary admission of external air. The floors were of clay strewn with rushes; but in the scanty renewal of these (they remained for years a foul receptacle of every pollution) we discover nothing of the scrupulous cleanliness that attends the English. A more pleasing picture is exhibited in an ancient ballad, of a rustic habitation on the borders of England. The house was divided into two apartments: the outer for servants; the inner a chamber for the peasant and his wife; and on this simple plan, which is still retained in a part of Scotland, farmers' houses were generally constructed. Chimneys were appropriated to larger mansions; but the fire was kindled against a "reredosse" in the middle of the hall, and the smoke escaped through a perforation in the roof.

In military architecture, whatever improvements were produced on the continent, few alterations were adopted in Britain. Ancient castles were much diminished, nor was it the policy of the crown to rebuild them. As fortresses, they were dangerous yet not secure; dangerous to public tranquillity, yet not secure against regular sieges. Neither their strength nor construction was calculated, after the invention of artillery, to annoy besiegers, or resist the continued impression of cannon. Low batteries instead of turrets, and instead of square or circular, angular ramparts, were, after the application of artillery to sieges, improvements requisite in military architecture; yet, except some platforms of cannon for the protection of the Thames, and a few block-houses, too insignificant to acquire a name, no new fortifications were erected in England by either of the Henries. Their vigilance repressed or prevented internal discord, and the castles upheld on the borders were sufficient to resist the incursions of the Scots.

In manual operations skill and dexterity increase insensibly; nor is it possible, nor is it the scope of this history, to mark, in the progress of the arts, the silent improvement acquired by the artist. We may remark, however, that the increasing refinement of the period was conducive to the perfection, as well as to the increase of the metallic arts. The luxury of the table descended to citizens, requiring so generally the use of plate, that there are few, says Polydore, whose tables are not daily provided with spoons, cups, and a salt-cellar of silver. Those of a higher sphere affected a greater profusion of plate;\* but the quantity accumulated by Cardinal Wolsey, though the precious metals are now so copious, still continues to excite our surprise. At Hampton Court, where he feasted (1528), the French ambassadors and their splendid retinue, two cupboards, extending across the banquet-chambers, were piled to the top with plate and illuminated; yet without encroaching on these ostentatious repositories, a profuse service remained for the tables.† From the complaints of the people, reiterated even in parliament, we may infer that the artificers were often foreigners; yet in one art, the manufacture of pewter, such merit was imputed to English workmen, that they were prohibited by statute from quitting the realm, or imparting their "mystery" to foreign apprentices. Carving, gilding, embroidery, the making of clocks, and probably other ingenious metallic arts, had been practised in monasteries; and their suppression furnished a considerable accession of useful artists. Pins, such as are used at present, were fabricated in the latter end of the present period; yet it is observable that the legislature, whose interference in manufactures is seldom salutary, attempted for a time to suppress this trivial but useful art.

The clothing arts, if retarded formerly by the civil dissensions, were now promoted by various circumstances,—the tranquillity of the period, the policy ascribable to Henry VII., the magnificent court which his son supported, and the gaiety, taste, and refinement of the age. There were few insurrections, and these insufficient to subvert the government. Henry VII. was attentive, next to his own, to the national interest; and when he laboured, both by treaties and private assistance, to encourage the spirit of commercial adventure, we may presume that manufactures, the true source of commercial intercourse, were not neglected. It is said, but on what account has not been discovered, that the woollen manufacture was improved and extended by workmen whom his bounty allured from Flanders, and it is certain that the period of English prosperity commences after the decline of Bruges, the removal of its commerce, and the dispersion of

\* Polydore Virgil. His testimony is explicit. Yet the scarcity, or rather total want of plate in the Northumberland family, as stated in the "Northumberland Household Book," is a singular exception. "Treen," or wooden plates, were used in the family, and pewter vessels were hired on solemn festivals. The luxury of London, and the southern counties, had certainly not extended to the north, where old families, whose journeys to court were only occasional, and never voluntary, affected to retain the manners of the former age. (See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. i.) Besides, the Northumberland family were seated long near the borders, and its castles were too frequently plundered by the Scots, for any quantity of plate to be accumulated or purchased.

† Two hundred and eighty beds were provided for the guests. "Every chamber," says Stowe, "had a basin and an ewer of silver, a great livery pot of silver, and some gullit; yea, and some chambers had two livery pots with wine and beer; a silver candlestick, having in it two sizes, yet the cupboards in the two banquetting chambers were not once touched."

its artists. The splendid dissipation of his son's reign was, if possible, more propitious to manufactures than the father's prudence. His policy was seldom judicious; but his example served to diffuse and to countenance a taste for magnificence. The nobility and gentry, renouncing their former rustic hospitality, frequented his court, where their fortunes were dissipated in a mutual emulation of costly equipage and rich attire. Nor was this peculiar to courtiers, or confined to the English; refinement had already pervaded Europe, and, instructing every rank to aspire to a better situation and to superior enjoyments, re-acted on commerce from which it originated, and redoubled the produce of those manufactures by which it was gratified.

It must be confessed, however, that in England the dress of the wealthy, and in some measure the homely clothing of the poorer orders, were supplied from abroad. Silks, velvets, and cloth of gold, an article at that time in high estimation, were imported from Italy; coarse fustians from Flanders, of a texture so durable that the doublet lasted for two years. The manufactures were judiciously confined to woollens, the extent of which is attested in different statutes, by the varieties fabricated and the quantities exported. Of a slighter texture or inferior quality thirteen different cloths are enumerated; but the fabrication of broad-cloth was adjusted and regulated with an anxious precaution. The repeated provisions that regard exportation, may convince us that the quantity exported was then considerable; but a better proof is discovered in the constant and otherwise unaccountable increase of prices. The exportation of cloth was restrained by statute, till "shorn, rowled," or completely manufactured; but an exception was granted in 1486, for rays, vesses, and white woollens, whose prices exceeded not forty shillings. At the distance of twenty-seven years, cloths of the same description and quality acquired an exemption when below five marks, and after an interval of twenty years the exception was again extended to four pounds. It is true, the voice of the legislature is not always the organ of truth, but credit is due to its information wherever the times extort a reluctant concession. The manufactures of a nation are commonly estimated by its positive situation at different periods; a juster measure may be obtained from the relative situation of other states, its competitors and rivals. At a time when the manufactures of the Netherlands were prosperous, and those of Spain still considerable, England, indebted to neither for her internal consumption, appears to have furnished from the surplus of her manufactures a large exportation. Her sales were chiefly confined to the Netherlands, then the emporium of exchange through Europe; but her foreign commerce was daily extended; her traders, early in the sixteenth century, diffused her manufactures through the Grecian Isles, and discovered, in the middle of the same century, a new market in the Russian empire.

Such were the woollen manufactures of England, more extensive than those of Spain, and rivalled only by those of Flanders. Their prosperity resulted from natural causes, not from systems concerted by the legislature, whose regulations are rarely dictated by a judicious policy. Regulations operate as restrictions; but the wisdom of Henry VII. is chiefly conspicuous in the few restrictions imposed on trade. Under his successors the interposition of parliament was frequent, often injurious, and sometimes productive of pernicious monopolies. The prepa-

ration of Yorkshire coverlets was confined to York, an ancient city, depopulated, says the statute, by the neighbouring villages; but in Worcestershire the woollen manufactures were all restricted, for a similar reason, to five towns.\* At a former period the exportation of wool had been prohibited, apparently without effect; but a power devolved on prerogative, of dispensing with the statute, operated, it is probable, in occasional monopolies. A patent obtained by the city of York for shipping wool, to the exclusion probably of the whole county, required a formal abrogation in parliament. The exportation of wool was immense; in one year sixty cargoes were dispatched to the Netherlands from Southampton alone. To agriculture the consequences were ruinous; to manufactures perhaps they were salutary. The rude produce exceeded the quantity employed at home; the surplus therefore was wisely exported; and every exportation enabled the kingdom, by increasing its capital, to enlarge the circle, and increase the produce of its own manufactures. But for an early and lucrative exportation of wool, England might still have been poor and wretched, without cultivation, and destitute equally of arts and of commerce.

The smaller manufactures were still inconsiderable; consisting principally of ribands, laces, and similar articles prepared by the silk company; and felt hats, a coarse manufacture established in London after the accession of Henry VIII.† Cottons occur in the statute-book; an appellation bestowed, perhaps, on a species of woollen; for linen, even the coarsest dowlas, was derived from Flanders. Hemp was introduced, and its culture recommended; not however for the weaver's benefit, but to furnish materials for cordage and cables. Tapestry-weaving was attempted, with what success is uncertain. Among the smaller manufactures those of Scotland might probably be included; yet Hector Boethius, partial perhaps to his birth-place, celebrates the woollen-manufactures of Dundee, and assures us that cloths of the whitest and most delicate texture were fabricated at Dumfries, and exported to England, Flanders, France, and Germany. But whatever was the progress of Scotland in arts and commerce, her historians, regarding the subject as ungracious, have maintained a guarded and ambiguous silence.

The English are classed by Erasmus, with some truth, among those barbarians that are prone to war. Is it the genius or the peculiar misfortune of the nation, when secure at home, to search abroad for military glory, to reject the tranquillity which their insular situation has always proffered, and in the wars of others, to which they ought to have no accession, to spend profusely their strength and treasures? Henry VII. had no inclination, his imprudent successor had no call, to unsheath the sword. His example is the first of an English monarch interposing to regulate the balance of Europe; but his victories were barren, his conquests transient, and succeeding princes who have imitated his example, have seldom failed to inherit his fortune. His frequent levies preserved the national arms and discipline, but his foreign expeditions served merely to inure the English to the recent improvements in the art of war.

\* The towns were Worcester, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Broomsgrave.

† Hats, however, are of greater antiquity; they are mentioned in the letters published by Fenn, and were probably imported by the Flemish so early as Henry VI.



Military services had passed into desuetude, or were seldom exacted from the feudal tenants, unless for the purposes of pecuniary extortion. Forces were levied for the defence of the kingdom by commissions of array, for expeditions abroad by indentures for soldiers. When an invasion was apprehended from France or Scotland, commissions were issued through the different counties, for "mustering" the inhabitants in arms, selecting those that were fitted for service, and "arraying" them according to their rank and weapons. Foreign wars were conducted by troops of mercenaries, raised by mutual indenture between the king and his officers. An indenture between the earl of Kent and Henry VII. provides, that the former shall furnish six men at arms, including himself, each attended by a page and custrel; sixteen demilances, sixty archers on foot, and twenty-one mounted on horseback; at the daily pay of 6*d.* (equivalent to 2*s.* 6*d.* of our present money) for each of the archers; 9*d.* (equal to 4*s.*) for the demilances; and 1*s.* 6*d.* (in its efficacy equal to 7*s.* 6*d.*) for the men at arms, their attendants and horses. Such indentures are numerous, and were certainly lucrative; for the principal nobility, on the same terms, contracted to furnish the army with soldiers. Their service was temporary, limited commonly to the space of a year; for unless the yeomen of the guard, instituted by Henry VII., and the gentlemen-pensioners by his son, (a band of archers and a troop of horse,) a military establishment was unknown in England.

Their weapons and armour were, with little variation, such as the assize of arms had formerly appointed. Men at arms, whose prowess was most conspicuous, held the highest estimation; but the strength of the army still consisted in archers, now more formidable by the addition of halberts, which they pitched on the ground till their arrows were exhausted, and with which they resisted the impression of cavalry. Sometimes they fought intermixed with the common soldiers, who were armed indiscriminately with bills and spears. The troops were distinguished by scarfs and badges; but the diversity both of their dress and arms, must have given their arrangements a motley appearance.

Two hundred years had elapsed since the discovery of gunpowder, and its first application to the art of war; but fire-arms of a portable construction were a recent invention, that gave no promise of supplanting the bow. Hand-guns were first introduced; a species of small culverin without a stock, fastened to a tripod, and managed like a swivel; but the musket, mounted on a stock, and discharged from the shoulder, was employed in 1521, at the siege of Parma, and probably soon adopted in England. Its form was clumsy, and its weight inconvenient; it was placed on a rest, and discharged by a match-lock; but the different operations requisite for the management of the rest and match (for adjusting the one, and blowing, fixing, and removing the other), perplexed the soldier, and rendered his discharges slow and irregular. Muskets, to facilitate their management, were then reduced to a diminutive size, till a statute prohibited those the length of whose stock and barrel was less than a yard. But the bow was still preferred for its greater dispatch, and in the hands of an English archer it possessed, within a determinate range, a steadier aim and a greater execution. The musketeers were defective in skill; their muskets probably were ill-constructed, yet their fire was formidable to the men at arms, whose harness never resisted the stroke of a bullet.

The improvements produced on artillery are, at this distance, neither perceptible, nor of much importance. Brass and iron ordnance had been procured from the continent, till a foundry for cannon was established in 1535, by Owen, an Englishman. Such a foundry had been attempted in Scotland at an earlier period, with some success, by Borthwick, an artist in the service of James IV. Mortars and bombs were invented in 1544, by foreigners whom Henry VIII. employed.

The necessary or useful arts may be concluded with printing, the utility of which is acknowledged, not merely as subservient to science, but as conducive to the perfection of whatever ministers to comfort or elegance. Its introduction by Caxton has been noted in the last appendix; its improvement under his successor was such, that the types of Wynken de Worde have served, it is asserted, for Saxon characters, to the present times. The books which he printed are numerous; but Pinson, Rastell, and others his competitors, contributed equally to the improvement of printing. The publications of these early printers were chiefly of a popular nature, legends, romances, religious discourses; books necessarily popular at every period, because they are calculated to agitate the passions, or amuse the untutored taste of the multitude. Some Latin grammars were also printed; but it is observable, that after the revival of letters, at a time when the ancients were studied, their languages adopted, and their elegance imitated, Terence, Virgil's Eclogues, and Tully's Offices, were the only classical productions of the English press. But the printers were either translators or authors; their literature seldom extended to Latin; they had few classical readers to gratify, and their own vernacular composition coincided happily with the national taste. The Germans were diverted from improving their language, by their numerous presses, conducted by scholars, and teeming with classics; but the books that issued from the English press were adapted to those who were neither learned nor untinctured with letters, and promoted, more perhaps than the study of the ancients, the early refinement of the English language.

These printers have yet a merit of compiling the materials, and recording the annals of English story. Grafton, who printed the Bible, completed the Chronicles of Hall and Harding; and of those published by Hollinshead and Harrison, much must be ascribed to the previous collections of Wolfe, a printer, whose life was consumed in historical researches. Their presses, however, were confined to black letter, (the Roman character was seldom employed,) and were still inferior to those on the continent. The Reformers printed abroad, a circumstance imputable to Henry's imperious supremacy; but the Bible which he authorized was attempted first at Paris, where workmen, it is said, were dexterous, and paper abundant. A paper-mill had been erected at Hartford, Anno 1507; but its paper probably was much inferior to that of the French. Printing was also introduced into Scotland; but missals and statutes were the only productions of the Scottish press.

*History of the Fine Arts, from A.D. 1485, to A.D. 1547.*

There are certain imitative arts that solicit retirement, others that sicken in the shade, and only expand to the sunshine of courts, or the genial

influence of popular favour. Poetry has prospered in obscurity, or under discountenance; but sculpture and painting are more dependent on the public regard, and require, particularly in an age emerging from rudeness, more immediate protection and patronage. None was to be obtained or expected from Henry VII., who had neither taste to relish, nor spirit to remunerate distinguished merit. His chapel may be ascribed to a pious solicitude for his future welfare, or regarded as an instance, a solitary instance, of vanity predominating over his avarice: but his tomb originated solely from vanity, and its merit is exclusively due to his successor, by whom it was erected, and the expense defrayed.

The tomb was executed, according to Stowe, by Peter T., a native of Florence; and in this obscure appellation, antiquaries have discovered Pietro Torregiano, a sculptor, once the competitor of Michael Angelo. That artist's pre-eminence he had resented by a hasty blow, for which he was expelled, or departed, from Florence; and after some vicissitudes of life, was retained as a sculptor by Henry VIII., and employed in erecting his father's monument. His reward was liberal; 1000*l*. for the materials and workmanship (equivalent now to 5000*l*.); but it is easier perhaps to trace his history than pronounce on his merits. The tomb was probably designed by another, as its taste is Gothic, and adapted, particularly in the outward shrine, to the style of the chapel. The minute and florid decorations of architecture, which often serve to distract the attention, are applied with peculiar advantage to monumental shrines, where the whole is comprehended at a single inspection, and of which the parts are susceptible of an exquisite polish. The small statues that embellished the sepulchre are partly decayed; those of Henry and his consort remain; but whatever be their merit, it would be difficult to recognise in the sculptor a competitor worthy of Michael Angelo.

Sculpture seems to be a rarer talent, its perfection more unattainable than painting; and in the patronage of the latter, Henry certainly was more successful. Mabuse, a profligate Flemish painter, but of some merit, appears to have been employed in his father's court, whither he was probably driven by his own distresses, rather than allured by the monarch's bounty. The art, however, was little regarded till the son's reign, who endeavoured, it is said, to procure from Italy, Raphael and Titian; and under whose protection several Flemish and Italian painters frequented England. But their merit is obscured by that of the celebrated Holbein, who, for the softness and richness of his colouring, was preferred to the first Italian painters, at a time when painting had attained in Italy to its meridian splendour. He was first established in Basil, afterwards (1526) recommended by Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, and passed the subsequent part of his life, with more security than his unfortunate patron, in the service of Henry VIII. and his son. His pencil, among its other employments, portrayed the beauties of Henry's wives, or of those whom Henry intended to wed; and to procure a just report of the latter, he was twice dispatched to the continent as the secret emissary of Henry's love. But he was not always a faithful emissary; his pencil, if impartial to the duchess of Milan, imparted unmerited charms to Anne of Cleves, and ensnared his master into a distasteful marriage; for which, while the painter escaped unpunished, Cromwell the minister lost his head. Holbein lived in England without a competitor, and died (1554)

without a successor to eclipse his memory. His works, of which many are lost or dispersed abroad, are justly celebrated as dear to connoisseurs for the perfection of their colouring, dear to antiquaries for their age and scarcity.

To painting may be added a subordinate art, that copies and serves to diffuse its designs. Engraving was coeval in England with printing; a rude kind being employed as a substitute for illuminating, to decorate the titles and initials of books. Some copper-plates were produced at the end of this period; but these are only memorable as the first specimens in England of an art that aspires to imitate, though unable to emulate, the perfection of painting. Poetry and painting will still retain this material difference, that the works of the latter cannot be multiplied like those of the former, not at least in their original lustre; but the disadvantage is in some measure recompensed by this, that the productions of poetry are more local, confined to a district, a nation, a language; while those of painting, expressive only of natural appearances, are intelligible in every region, to every nation.

The age of Henry VII. and his predecessor Richard is characterized by Warton, the historian of English poetry, as fertile in versifiers, but productive only of one that merits the name of poet; yet even in this exception there is some reason to suspect that the historian's judgment was bribed, or his taste perverted, by a love of antiquity. Stephen Hawes, a groom of the chamber to Henry VII., composed, among other poems of obscure merit, the Temple of Glass, and the Pastime of Pleasure; but the one is a transcript from Chaucer, the other a prolix and tedious allegory; the conception of which required little invention, and of which the imagery is apparently of little value. His versification, however, improves upon Lydgate's, and is far superior to Barclay's or Skelton's, contemporaries, curious for the manners of the period, but as poets beneath attention. The truth is, that with every advantage derived from learning, with a language that approached, though it had not attained to its present state, English poetry, till refined by Surry, degenerated into metrical chronicles or tasteless allegories.

Poetry revived in England under Henry VIII. and was cultivated by his courtiers as a vehicle of gallantry; but by none more than the brave but unfortunate Surry, who had taste to relish the Italian poets, and judgment to reject their affected, though splendid conceits. His sonnets were once celebrated, but are now neglected; unjustly neglected, for their merit is considerable, and their influence imparted a new character to English poetry. Surry was inspired by a genuine passion, and his sonnets breathe the unaffected dictates of nature and love. Tenderness predominates in the sentiment, ease and elegance distinguish the language. From these sonnets, the earliest specimens of a polished diction and refined sensibility, succeeding poets discovered the capacity and secret powers of the English tongue. They are not numerous, though sufficient to effect a reformation in poetry, nor discriminated always from the sonnets of others; but of those whose authenticity is certain, the complaint uttered in confinement at Windsor, touches irresistibly the heart with woe. Blank verse, now peculiar to English poetry, had been recently attempted in Italian and Spanish, and was first transplanted by Surry into some translations



from Virgil, which discover rather the concinnity of rhyme than the swelling progression of blank verse. As a specimen of his poetry, our limits only admit of a sonnet, selected for the variety, choice, and compression of its images.

The soote season that bud and blisome fourth brings,  
With grene hath cladde the hyl, and eke the vale,  
The nightingall with feathers new she singes;  
The turtle to her mate hath told her tale :  
Somer is come for every spray now springes,  
The hart hath hunge his olde hede on the pale,  
The bucke in brake his winter coate he flinges;  
The fishes flete with new repayed scales :  
The adder all her slough away she flynges,  
The swift swallow pursueth the flyes smalle,  
The busy bee her honey now she mynges :  
Winter is wome that was the flowers bale,  
And thus I see among these pleasant thynges,  
Eche care decays, and yet my sorrow sprynges.

In the refinement of poetry, the elder Wyatt is supposed to have co-operated with Surry, as both studied in the Italian school; but he follows at a submissive distance, with an unpliant genius and untunable numbers. His verses are amatory and satirical, or rather didactic; but in the first, as his passion was fictitious, its utterance is harsh. With the taste he adopted the affectation of the Italians, and in his sonnets labours perpetually at some hopeless conceit. Yet his numbers burst sometimes into melody, and his satires exhibit, with much obscurity, an occasional strength and propriety of thought and diction.

Dramatic poetry was attempted after the revival of letters, or rather mysteries of the church were converted in the universities into regular dramas. Plays on historical or religious subjects were composed in Latin for the students to perform; and the authors probably succeeded better in their observance of the rules, than in their imitation of the divine spirit, of the Grecian stage. These spectacles could never be popular; but occasional "interludes" were written in English, and performed by students in the inns of court, or by itinerant minstrels in the halls of the nobility. The poetry is worthless, memorable only as the first productions of the English drama. *Philotus*, a comedy in the Scottish language, is ascribed to the close of this period, and some interludes were written by Lindsay of the Mount, a Scottish poet, whose laurels are faded.

The imitative arts, as their primary object is the gratification either of sense or passion, are not necessarily allied to religion, to which occasionally they have been rendered subservient; and accordingly at peculiar periods some are rejected by the orthodox, others retained as instrumental to devotion. Painting and sculpture were proscribed as idolatrous, poetry and music cherished as sacred; nor did the Reformation produce in England an immediate alteration on the music of the church. Counterpoint, the invention of a former period, was improved, in the present, particularly by the introduction of discords, to provoke attention, or relieve from satiety. The plain chants of the church were selected by composers, as a basis for florid counterpoint and figurative harmony—recent improvements, constructed on the continent with all the artificial perplexity of fugue and canon. Such artifices as the last were disregarded, or seldom adopted by English composers, whose masses and other choral productions are characterized as grave in their style, and according to the rules at that time established, correct in their harmony, free from imitations, and marked with an originality apparently

national. Compared with the recent perfection of music, they are deficient however in measure and melody, design and contrivance; but perhaps it is the misfortune of music, that its refinement terminates in a fastidious delicacy, unwilling to be pleased, and in its desire of novelty rejecting whatever has already delighted. The productions of these early masters have preserved their names; and now that flattery is silent, Taverner, Shepherd, and Parsons, have obtained, in the annals of music, the precedence of their sovereign. Henry VIII., from the skill of a performer, aspired to the merit of an original composer; his instruments were the recorder, the flute, the virginals; and his genius sometimes condescended to furnish his courts with ballads, and his chapel with masses. His name is forgotten among poets, but his music seems to have survived his reign; yet of two productions, a motet and an anthem, ascribed to his finger, the one from its mediocrity is admitted to be genuine, the other is supposed to exceed the capacity of a royal musician.

It is difficult to speak with precision of secular music, of which the written specimens are few, and the traditionary antiquity vague and uncertain. Popular melodies were originally simple, acquired with ease, and transmitted without the assistance of notation, till adopted by composers, disfigured by a multiplicity of new variations, and so perplexed by a redundancy of notes, that their difficulty constituted their only merit. Such was the employment of secular composers, who, instead of attempting invention in air or melody, produced, it is said, from simple songs, an elaborate assemblage, to the execution of which the skill and dexterity of modern performers are confessedly unequal. The melodies peculiar to Scotland escaped such torture, and some of them, from their style or the subject of their verses, are ascribed by conjecture to the present period. New songs are adapted daily to former tunes, and whatever be the antiquity of Scottish music, (ancient it is, and perhaps the produce of different periods,) the poetry is recent; but conjectures are not admissible as a substitute for historical certainty.

The improvement of secular music was perhaps retarded by the imperfect construction of musical instruments. The organ was appropriated to the church; the clavicord, virginals, and harp, to the chamber. Wind instruments are described as of various constructions; but it is observable of instruments played with keys, or blown by reeds, that the intonation is defective, and not susceptible of nice modulation. The viol was in much request; but its finger-board was fretted, its intonation limited; and it is asserted that, before the adoption of the violin, perfection in harmony was unknown to mankind.

## SECTION IV

THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE, COIN, AND SHIPPING  
IN ENGLAND, FROM A.D. 1485, TO A.D. 1547.

THE accession of Henry VII. to the throne of England was an event favourable to the commerce of the kingdom in several ways. It put an end to a long and ruinous civil war, which had thrown every thing into confusion, and inflamed the minds of one half of the people with the most violent hatred against the other; a situation in which commerce

could not flourish. It placed on the throne a prince in the prime of life, of a sound and good understanding, improved by the observations he had made in foreign countries, and fully convinced of the great importance of commerce, both to the crown and to the people, by increasing the revenues of the one and the riches of the other. Accordingly we find, that Henry was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to turn his thoughts to trade, to remove the obstructions by which it had been interrupted, and to procure the English merchants and mariners a free course to and favourable reception in all parts of the world. With this view he cultivated peace with all his neighbours, and concluded commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe. Nothing can give our readers a more distinct idea of the trade of England in this reign, than by laying before them the substance of those commercial treaties in as few words as possible.

The trade between England and France had been interrupted in the late reign, and Henry made so much haste to terminate all disputes with that kingdom by a truce, in which freedom of trade and commercial intercourse were stipulated, that it was proclaimed in the beginning of October, A.D. 1485, even before his coronation. This truce, which was only for one year, was prolonged for three years more, January 17th, A.D. 1486, with additional securities for the freedom of trade.

About the same time Henry dispatched his almoner into Italy, with a very extensive commission, to negotiate commercial treaties with the king of Naples, and with all the other princes and states of that country. In that commission, he discovers that he had very just and liberal sentiments of trade, as beneficial to all nations, by procuring them what they wanted in exchange for what they could spare. "The earth (says he) being the common mother of all mankind, what can be more pleasant and more humane than to communicate a portion of all her productions to all her children by commerce?" We have no account of the success of this commission, but it could not be unsuccessful. The maritime states of Italy could have no reason to decline a commercial intercourse with England.

This prudent prince lost no time to accommodate all differences with his nearest neighbours the Scots, and to lay open the trade between the two British dominions for their mutual benefit. He concluded a truce for three years from July 1st, A.D. 1486, with James III.; the chief object of which was, besides the cessation of all hostilities by sea and land, to procure the free admission and friendly treatment of the merchants and mariners of the one country in the other. He had it also much at heart to establish a more cordial peace between the two nations by several intermarriages between the two royal families. But in that he was unhappily disappointed, by the untimely death of King James.

Henry granted, June 8th, A.D. 1486, a free-conduct to Michael De Seprello, Mark Stroz, and all other merchants of Florence, for ten years, to come into his dominions with their ships, to dispose of their goods as they pleased, to purchase and export wool, woollen cloths, tin, lead, and other merchandise, without danger or molestation, upon paying the usual customs. Such a safe-conduct was not unnecessary, as the Italian and other foreign merchants had often been insulted and plundered in the ports of England.

Henry, in the same first year of his reign, concluded a commercial treaty with Francis duke of

Brittany, (who had been his protector in his distress,) to continue in force during their joint lives, and no longer. In this treaty many stipulations are made that discover a thorough knowledge of trade, and an anxious concern to render it mutually beneficial to the subjects of the contracting parties.

A similar treaty was made about the same time with Maximilian king of the Romans, as guardian to his infant son Philip duke of Burgundy and Brabant and earl of Flanders. The object and stipulations in this were the same with those in all other commercial treaties, and a very great trade was carried on between England and the Low Countries.

The Italian and other foreign merchants paid double custom in England on goods they imported and exported, which was no small discouragement to trade. Though Henry certainly loved money too well, and was not very apt to exact less than his right, he wisely considered, that by lowering the customs payable by foreign merchants, he would encourage a greater number of them to frequent his ports, and thereby rather increase than diminish his revenues. He made the experiment, and granted, February 18th, A.D. 1488, to the merchants of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, and of all other Italian cities, for three years, a considerable abatement of the customs on some articles of export. We are not particularly informed of the success of this experiment; but we know that the commercial intercourse between England and Italy was at this time very great, and that the Italian merchants took off great quantities of English cloth, lead, tin, &c. for which they returned velvets, silks, gold lace, with the spices, and other precious commodities of the East.

Henry concluded two commercial treaties with John king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, A.D. 1490, by which he procured several privileges to his subjects who traded to these countries, and particularly to the English fishers on the coasts of Iceland and Norway. In a word, this active and intelligent prince had the interest of commerce so much at heart, that in the four first years of his reign he renewed old, or formed new commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe, and thereby procured his trading subjects a favourable reception and friendly treatment in all places, which revived the trade of England from that languor and decline into which it had fallen by the confusions of the late times.

This was not the only method by which Henry VII. contributed to revive and increase the trade of England. He procured several laws to be made to promote the same patriotic purpose. The greatest part of the foreign trade of England had hitherto been carried on by foreigners in foreign bottoms. Henry was sensible that this prevented the increase of English ships and English sailors; and to remedy this in part, he procured a law to be made in his first parliament, that no Gascony or Guienne wines (to which the English had been long accustomed, and of which he knew they were very fond) should be imported into any part of his dominions, except in English, Irish, or Welsh ships, navigated by English, Irish, or Welsh men, which obliged them to build ships and go to sea, or want their favourite liquor. This law was enforced and enlarged by an act made in the third parliament of Henry VII. A.D. 1487, to which the following preamble was prefixed; "That whereas great minishing and decay hath been now of late time of the navy of this realm



of England, and idleness of the mariners within the same, by the which this noble realm, within short process of time, without reformation be had therein, shall not be of ability, nor of strength and power to defend itself." To prevent this, it was enacted, that no wines of Gascony and Guienne, or woads of Thoulouse, should be imported into England, except in ships belonging to the king, or some of his subjects; and that all such wines and woads imported in foreign bottoms should be forfeited. From this act we may observe, that Henry VII., so early as A.D. 1487, had ships of his own, which he either employed in trade, or freighted to his merchants; a practice which he pursued during his whole reign, by which he gained much money, while he increased the shipping, sailors, and trade of his dominions.

It was, says Hume, on the second of August, 1492, a little before sun-set, that Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the western world; and a few years after Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. These great events were attended with important consequences to all the nations of Europe, even to such as were not immediately concerned in those naval enterprises. The enlargement of commerce and navigation increased industry and the arts every where: the nobles dissipated their fortunes in expensive pleasures; men of an inferior rank both acquired a share in the landed property, and created to themselves a considerable property of a new kind, in stock, commodities, art, credit, and correspondence. In some nations the privileges of the commons increased by this increase of property: in most nations the kings, finding arms to be dropped by the barons, who could no longer endure their former rude manner of life, established standing armies, and subdued the liberties of their kingdoms: but in all places the condition of the people, from the depression of the petty tyrants by whom they had formerly been oppressed rather than governed, received great improvement; and they acquired, if not entire liberty, at least the most considerable advantages of it. And as the general course of events thus tended to depress the nobles and exalt the people, Henry VII., who also embraced that system of policy, has acquired more praise than his institutions, strictly speaking, seem of themselves to deserve on account of any profound wisdom attending them.

It was by accident only that this king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which the present age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage, and Columbus meanwhile having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprise.

But though the improvement of navigation, and the discovery of both the Indies, was the most memorable incident that happened during this or any other period, it was not the only great event by which the age was distinguished. In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom some remains of learning were still preserved, being scattered by these barbarians, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admira-

ble language, a tincture of their science, and of their refined taste in poetry and eloquence. About the same time the purity of the Latin tongue was revived, the study of antiquity became fashionable, and the esteem for literature gradually propagated itself throughout every nation in Europe. The art of printing, invented about that time, extremely facilitated the progress of all these improvements: the invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war: mighty innovations were soon after made in religion, such as not only affected those states that embraced them, but even those that adhered to the ancient faith and worship: and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world; and men gradually attained that situation with regard to commerce, arts, science, government, police, and cultivation, in which they have ever since persevered.

Though Henry had been deprived of the honour of being the first discoverer of the New World, he was determined to have a share in the discovery. John Cabot, a Venetian, had resided several years in Bristol as a merchant and mariner, in which last capacity he had acquired great knowledge by many voyages. Having heard of the fame and success of Columbus, he presented proposals to Henry VII., for attempting similar discoveries. His proposals were readily accepted, and the king granted letters patent, March 5th, A.D. 1496, to him and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, to sail with five ships under English colours for the discovery of unknown countries, which had never been visited by any Christians, and granting to them and their heirs all the countries they discovered, to be held of the crown of England, reserving to himself and his heirs a fifth part of the nett profits. Besides this, he fitted out a ship for this expedition at his own expense, and some merchants of London and Bristol provided four smaller vessels. With this little fleet John Cabot sailed from Bristol in spring, A.D. 1497, and directing his course to the north-west, on June 24th he discovered the island of Newfoundland, and soon after the island of St. John. He then sailed down to Cape Florida, and returned to Bristol with a good cargo and three natives of the countries he had discovered on board. He was graciously received, and knighted by Henry on his return. From this well-attested account it would appear that the English were the first discoverers of the continent of America; and therefore, according to the political casuistry of those times, had a better title than any other European nation to the possession of that quarter of the globe. That title, however, at the best, is very questionable.

Though Henry VII. was thus disposed to encourage and assist his subjects in making foreign discoveries, he was not the less attentive to the concerns of commerce nearer home. A misunderstanding having arisen between him and Philip duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders, A.D. 1493, all the Flemings were banished from England, and all the English from Flanders, and a total stop was put to the trade between these two countries. This was equally disagreeable and distressful to the people of both countries, who had long carried on a great trade with one another, to their mutual advantage. This pernicious interruption of trade was not of long duration. A very correct and comprehensive commercial treaty, between Henry and Philip archduke of Austria, and sovereign of the Netherlands, was signed at London, February 24th, A.D. 1496, in which every precaution was used to

render the intercourse between the subjects of the two princes secure, permanent, and profitable to all concerned. It was called *intercursum magnus*, (the great commercial treaty,) and gave no little joy to the merchants and manufacturers of both countries. When the English returned to Antwerp (to which they had removed their factory from Bruges a few years before), they were conducted into that city in triumph, and were received with every possible demonstration of joy.

On this occasion a violent contest broke out between the merchants residing in the capital, who had been long incorporated under different names, and now called themselves The Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, and the merchants, who resided in other cities and towns, who called themselves The Merchant Adventurers of England. The London Company had long been accustomed to impose a kind of tax or composition on the English merchants residing in other places, for liberty to buy and sell in the great fairs of Flanders, Brabant, and other countries on the continent. This tax was at first only half an old noble (3s. 4d.), and was demanded by the London merchants, who then called themselves The Fraternity of St. Thomas à Becket, on a religious pretence, to enable them to do honour to their favourite saint, and thereby gain his protection. But by degrees this imposition was raised so much, that it now amounted to twenty pounds, to the great discouragement of trade. The merchant adventurers therefore, who resided in the out-ports, applied to parliament for a redress of this grievance, and an act was made A.D. 1496, reducing that fine to ten marks sterling.

Henry VII. still continued to encourage the trade of his subjects by new commercial treaties with foreign states, and even with particular towns. He concluded such a treaty with the magistrates of Riga in Livonia A.D. 1498, in which it was stipulated, that the English should pay no tolls or customs in the port of Riga, and that the merchants of Riga should pay the same tolls and customs in the ports of England with other merchant strangers. They also engaged to remit a debt of 10,637 gold nobles due to them by England. The stipulations in this treaty were very unequal, and so were the contracting parties.

It would be tedious to mention all the commercial treaties of Henry VII. It will therefore be sufficient to remark, that, in his negotiations and treaties with foreign princes and states, he never forgot the concerns of commerce, or neglected to procure some advantage to his mercantile subjects. He was particularly complaisant to the citizens and merchants of London, to whom he communicated the earliest intelligence of all important events and transactions; and by the punctual payment of his debts his credit in the city was unbounded. He even lent considerable sums of money to merchants, to enable them to extend their trade, and sometimes he became a partner in their adventures, and received his proportion of the profits.

Henry VII. was no less attentive to the internal than to the external, or foreign trade of his dominions, and procured several wise laws to be made for regulating their commercial intercourse with one another. Of these it will be sufficient to mention only one, whose salutary effects were extensive and of long duration. The great diversity of weights and measures in different parts of England was very perplexing and inconvenient, and several laws had been made to reduce them to uniformity; but inve-

terate custom had hitherto proved too strong for all these laws. An act was made therefore in the fourth parliament of Henry VII. A.D. 1494, which promised to be more effectual, because greater care was taken to secure its immediate execution. It was enacted, "That unto the knights and citizens of every shire and city, assembled in this present parliament, barons of the cinque ports, and certain burgesses of burgh towns, before they depart from this present parliament, be delivered one of every weight and measure, which now our sovereign lord hath caused to be made of brass, for the commonwealth of all his subjects and lieges within this his realm of England, according to the king our sovereign lord's standard of his exchequer of weights and measures." These knights, citizens, and burgesses are directed to deliver these brass weights and measures to the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns which they represented, according to a schedule annexed to the act, containing their names, in number forty-three. The inhabitants of all these cities and towns, and the districts around them, are commanded to provide themselves before the feast of St. John Baptist with weights and measures, exactly agreeable to those brass standards, and sealed with the letter H. crowned, and from thenceforward to use no other weights or measures. The mayors and bailiffs in the several cities and towns are required to call in all the weights and measures of the people within the jurisdictions twice a-year, to examine them by the standards, to break and burn such as were found defective, and to fine their proprietors, for the first offence, 6s. 8d.; for the second 13s. 4d.; and for the third, twenty shillings and the punishment of the pillory. (Though the king and parliament had been at great pains and no little expense in making this law and providing for its execution, it was soon after found that a mistake had been committed, and that the weights and measures which had been sent to the several cities and towns were not exactly agreeable to the standards in the exchequer. This mistake was rectified by an act made by the next parliament 1496. By that act the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns to which weights and measures had been sent, were commanded to return them to the exchequer, there to be broken in pieces, and new ones more correct to be sent in their room. While these laws were strictly executed they were not ineffectual. But as the strict execution of them was attended with no little trouble, and various inconveniences to the magistrates of towns and cities, it was gradually relaxed, and the former irregularities in weights and measures in time returned.

Though Sir John Cabot had discovered the isles of Newfoundland and St. John, and the coast of North America, and had taken possession of them in the name of the king of England so early as A.D. 1497, no attempt was made to establish colonies in any of these countries. But Henry VII. soon after began to entertain thoughts of forming colonies in the New World, or at least to encourage his subjects to form them. This appears from a commission which he granted A.D. 1501, to Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants in Bristol, John Gunsalus and Francis Fernandus, natives of Portugal, "To sail with as many ships and mariners as they thought proper, with English colours, into the parts and countries of the eastern, western, southern, and northern seas, to discover, recover, and investigate any islands, coasts, and countries of heathen and infidel parts of the world, and to set up the king's



banners and ensigns in whatever town, castle, island, or continent they should discover, and to hold the same for our use as our lieutenants. 2. Whenever any discovery shall be made, it is our will that men and women from England be freely permitted to settle therein, and to improve the same, under the protection of these grantees." From hence it appears, that it was the intention of these adventurers to establish a colony in the country they hoped to discover, and that the king approved of their design. What discoveries they made we are not informed, but it is certain they did not plant a colony; no permanent colony was established by the English in any part of the New World for a whole century after the date of this grant.

Henry VII. was too fond of money not to be a friend to trade, which added to his own revenues, as well as to the riches of his subjects; and there is sufficient evidence that the commerce and wealth of England increased considerably under his government. The chronicler Hall thus concludes his character of Henry VII.: "Surely this good prince did not devour and consume the substance and riches of his realm; for, by his high policy, he marvellously enriched his realm and himself, and yet left his subjects in high wealth and prosperity. The proof whereof is manifestly apparent, by the great abundance of gold and silver yearly brought into this realm, both in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants passing and repassing out and into this realm with merchandise, to whom he himself of his own goods lent money largely, without any gain or profit, to the intent that merchandise, being of all crafts the chief arte, to all men both most profitable and necessary, might be the more plentifully used, haunted, and employed in his realms and dominions." Henry was possessed of those qualities which contribute most effectually to render their possessors rich. He was well acquainted with all the arts and pretences of exacting money from his subjects, and insisted on whatever he pretended to be his right with unrelenting rigour; at the same time he was an anxious economist, and kept most exact accounts of all his expenses, even the most trifling. But with all his arts of getting and saving money, he could not have accumulated so great a mass of treasure as he left in his coffers at his death, if his subjects, particularly his mercantile subjects, had not been opulent for those times. The accounts we have of the amount of these treasures are very different. Lord Chief Justice Coke affirms, that they amounted to the enormous sum of five millions three hundred thousand pounds. Sir Robert Cotton states them at four millions and a half, besides wrought plate, jewels, and rich furniture. These accounts, though seemingly well attested, are hardly credible. One would rather be inclined to think that there was not so much money in the kingdom in those times, before any of the precious metals from the New World had reached England. The account given by Lord Bacon is probably more correct.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne of England was no disadvantage to trade, though he did not understand it so well nor attend to it so much as his father had done. He was young, ostentatious, and fond of pleasure; possessed of a prodigious mass of treasure, and unboundedly expensive in his household, dress, tournaments, disguisings, and diversions of all kinds. He was too well imitated in this splendid expensive way of living by those of the nobility and men of fortune, who frequented the court, and aspired to the notice and fa-

vour of the youthful monarch. This occasioned a great demand for many costly commodities, as cloths of gold and silver, velvets, silks, embroideries, jewels, plate, wines, spices, &c., and that demand was supplied by trade. This trade was for some time chiefly carried on by the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and Florence, to whom the strongest assurances were given of safety and friendly treatment in the ports of England. By degrees, however, these foreigners became so unpopular, that it was hardly in the power of government to protect them; and this trade came gradually into the hands of the English merchants. We may form some idea of the great importation of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, vanderkin, velvet, damask, satin, sarcenet, sarston, camelot, and other cloths of silk, and of silk and gold and silver, in the beginning of this reign, from an act of parliament A.D. 1513, in which it is said, "that three or four thousand pieces of these cloths were commonly imported in one ship." This trade was more profitable to the merchants than to their country.

That spirit of mercantile adventure which had sprung up in the preceding reign still continued and increased, and the circle of trade was gradually enlarged. The trade of the English in the Mediterranean was become so considerable, that it was found necessary to establish a consul in the island of Chios, in the Archipelago, A.D. 1513. Though no English colonies were as yet settled in any part of the New World, it appears that the merchants carried on a trade with these countries, and even with the islands in the West Indies, which had been seized and settled by the Spaniards; and that they had agents residing in some of these islands, particularly in the great island of Cuba, for the management of their trade. Many voyages were undertaken in this reign for the discovery of unknown countries, in order to enlarge the circle of trade; but the accounts we have of these voyages are very short and imperfect. It appears that Henry VIII. fitted out a fleet, for making discoveries in the South Sea, A.D. 1516, and gave the command of it to Sir Thomas Pert, Vice-admiral of England, and the famous Sebastian Cabot; but all we know further of this expedition is, that it was unsuccessful, owing to the cowardice of Sir Thomas Pert. A merchant of the name of Thorne, of Bristol, was one of the greatest traders and boldest adventurers in England in this reign. He had not only factors residing in Cuba, but he sent agents in the Spanish fleets, furnished with great sums of money, to bring him exact descriptions and charts of the seas, rivers, and lands, visited by these fleets. By his letters, he earnestly entreated Henry VIII. not to be discouraged by the ill success of his first attempts to make discoveries, but to persevere and to direct his searches towards the north, for which his dominions were most conveniently situated. He gave the king also some very prudent advice for conducting his future voyages of discovery; but what regard was paid to the entreaties and advice we are not informed. William Hawkins, of Plymouth, father of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, made three very successful voyages in a ship of his own to the coast of Brazil, and in his passage he traded with the negroes of Guinea. Hawkins became so great a favourite of the Brazilians, that one of their kings came voluntarily with him into England, and being presented to Henry VIII. at Whitehall, excited great admiration by the strangeness of his dress and appearance. A merchant, named Hore, of Lon-

don, who was an accomplished gentleman, as well as an adventurous merchant, was not so fortunate as Hawkins. Having prevailed upon thirty young gentlemen to accompany him in a voyage of discovery, they sailed from Gravesend in April A.D. 1536, with two ships, the Trinity and Minion, and about one hundred and twenty men. After a tedious voyage of about two months, they discovered the island of Cape Breton, and some time after, arrived at the island since called Newfoundland. They sailed along the coasts of that island, endeavouring, but in vain, to gain some communication with the natives, till their provisions began to fail, and they were by degrees reduced to such extreme distress, that they came to a resolution to determine, by casting lots, which of them should be first sacrificed to the preservation of their companions. But a French ship approached, which the perishing English immediately assaulted and seized, and, to their inexpressible joy, found her almost loaded with provisions. They removed a sufficient quantity of the provisions into their ships, and set sail for England. They arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall in October the same year; but so emaciated, that their nearest relations could hardly recognise them. Other evidence, if it were necessary, might be produced, to prove that the English in this reign enlarged the circle of their trade, by visiting several countries with which they had formerly been unacquainted.

Henry VIII. endeavoured to encourage commerce by various other methods. He made commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe; in which, and in his other treaties, he took care to secure certain privileges to his mercantile subjects. In his reign, and most probably by his influence, several acts of parliament were made for removing all obstructions to navigation out of the great rivers, and for deepening smaller ones, to make them navigable. He repaired the harbours of Scarborough, Southampton, and several other towns; and on the port of Dover alone he expended between sixty and seventy thousand pounds. He built a great many strong forts at the mouths of rivers, and the most exposed parts of coasts, for the security of shipping and of the country. Great pains were taken in this reign to clear the surrounding seas of pirates; and the king on some occasions discovered the greatest anxiety for the safety of his merchants' ships. For the improvement of navigation, the famous maritime guild or fraternity called the Trinity-house of Deptford, was instituted, A.D. 1512; and similar fraternities were soon after established at Hull and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for the instruction and examination of pilots, erecting of beacons, light-houses and buoys, and for various purposes, to prevent shipwrecks. But it is the peculiar glory of Henry VIII. that he may be styled the founder of the royal navy of England, by appointing a board of commissioners of the navy, and by erecting storehouses for all manner of naval stores, and making yards and docks at Woolwich and Deptford for building and equipping ships of war. From these and other facts that might have been mentioned, it plainly appears that Henry VIII. paid no little attention to trade, and that his endeavours to promote and encourage it were not altogether in vain.

But though the intention of Henry and his ministers were favourable to commerce, their knowledge of it was so imperfect, that not a few of their laws and regulations were rather hurtful than beneficial. Of this it would be easy to give many examples, but

a few will be sufficient. What could be more unreasonable in itself, or more obstructive to the freedom of commerce, than that law, which was so frequently renewed and so strongly enforced, against the exportation of gold or silver in coin or bullion, and commanding all native merchants to import a certain quantity of these precious metals in every ship; and obliging foreign merchants to invest all the money they received for the goods they imported in the commodities of the country? Several corporations obtained monopolies by acts of parliament, which must have been hurtful both to trade and manufactures; and they obtained them on very strange suggestions. The bailiffs and burgesses of Bridport in Dorsetshire presented a petition to parliament A.D. 1529, representing that the people of their town had been in use, time out of mind, to make the most part of the great cables, hawsers, ropes, and other tackling for the royal navy, and for the most part of all other ships within the realm, by which their town was right well maintained. But that of late years certain evil-disposed persons in the neighbourhood had begun to make cables, hawsers, and ropes, by which their town of Bridport was in danger of being ruined, and the prices of cables, hawsers, and ropes, were greatly enhanced. The first of these allegations might be true; but the second was certainly a most impudent and glaring falsehood. The increase of manufactures could not raise the price of the goods manufactured. It must have had a contrary effect, which was undoubtedly the real grievance of the good people of Bridport. On this false and absurd suggestion, an act was made that all the hemp that grew within five miles of Bridport should be sold only in that town, and that no person within five miles of Bridport should make any cables, hawsers, ropes, hilters, &c., on pain of forfeiting all the goods they made; an act no less imprudent than it was unjust. One other example will be sufficient to convince us, that very pernicious laws were made in this period, on very absurd pretences. The city of Worcester, the towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromesgrove, represented to parliament, A.D. 1533, that the said city and towns were well inhabited, and their inhabitants well maintained, by making woollen cloths of various kinds; but that of late years, divers persons dwelling in the hamlets, towns, and villages of the shire of Worcester, for their own lucre, had begun to exercise cloth-making of all kinds, to the great decay, depopulation, and ruin of the said city and towns. Upon this representation, an act was made, that no person of any degree in Worcestershire should make any cloth to be sold, except such persons as resided in the city of Worcester, or in the towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, or Bromesgrove. That such restrictive laws were unfriendly and hurtful both to trade and manufactures is obvious, though it was certainly not the intention of the legislators to hurt them. But notwithstanding these and several other obstructions to trade which might have been mentioned, there is sufficient evidence that the commerce of England was considerably extended during this period.

As money and ships are two great instruments of commerce, without which it cannot be carried on, it is necessary to give a brief account of the state of them.

Though a pound is one of the most common denominations of money, it never was a real coin, either in gold or silver, in any age or country



Such large and ponderous coins would have been in many respects inconvenient. But for many ages, both in Britain and in other countries, that number of smaller coins which was denominated a pound in computation, or a pound in tale, really contained a pound of silver; and they might have been and frequently were weighed, as well as numbered, to ascertain their value. If the number of coins that were denominated a pound in tale did not actually make a pound in weight, an additional number of coins were thrown into the scale to make up the weight. This was a fair and honest practice; the departure from which occasioned many difficulties, mistakes, and impositions in money transactions, both in foreign and domestic trade.

About the beginning of the fourteenth century, Edward I., having exhausted his treasures by his long and expensive wars with Scotland, coined a greater number of pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, out of a pound of silver than formerly; which gave rise to the distinction between the pound in weight and the pound in tale. The difference at first was very small, and hardly perceptible; but it gradually increased in every succeeding reign; and at the accession of Henry VII. the nominal pound, or the pound in tale, was little more than half a real pound in weight, and contained only as much silver as thirty-one shillings of our money at present.

Groats, weighing each forty-three grains, had been hitherto the largest silver coins: but Henry VII., A.D. 1504, coined shillings, then commonly called festoons, each weighing 144 grains, equal to three groats, and to twelve pennies. They were fair and beautiful coins for those times; but they are now become so exceedingly rare, that it is imagined that no great numbers of them were coined.

Henry VII. made several alterations in the form and devices of the coins of England. Instead of the full face that appeared on the coins of former kings, and which bore little or no resemblance to the prince intended to be represented, his face appears in profile, and bears a great resemblance to his real countenance. Still further to distinguish his coins from those of preceding or subsequent kings of the same name, the number VII. was added immediately after the name; this practice has been followed by all his successors. He laid aside the open crown of former kings, and appears upon his coins with an arched imperial crown, surmounted by the globe and cross. To prevent clipping, he caused a circle to be made at the very edge of his coins. The silver coins of Henry VII. were shillings or festoons, groats, half-groats, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, of the same weight and value with those of his two predecessors, Edward IV. and Richard III.

Henry VII. coined a great deal of gold as well as of silver; but his gold coins in general bore the same names, and were of the same weight and value with those of his two predecessors, which have been already described. He was however the first king of England who coined those large and beautiful pieces of gold called sovereigns, value forty-two shillings of those times, and half-sovereigns, value twenty-one shillings; he coined also quadruple sovereigns, weighing each an ounce of gold; but these last were undoubtedly designed for medals, and not for current coins. The gold coins of Henry VII., as they are enumerated in an act of parliament A.D. 1503, were sovereigns and half-sovereigns,

ryals, half-ryals, and quarter-ryals, nobles and half-nobles. All the coins of Henry VII., both of gold and silver, were of standard purity.

Henry VIII. coined a great deal of money in his long reign. In the former part of it, his coins were of the same kinds and of the same weight and fineness with those of his predecessors, which have been described. But towards the end of his reign, after he had squandered all his father's treasures, the grants he had received from parliament, and the great sums he had derived from the dissolution of the religious houses, he began to diminish his coins both in weight and fineness. This diminution at first was small, in hopes perhaps that it would not be perceived; but after he had got into this fatal career, he proceeded by rapid steps to the most pernicious lengths. In the thirty-sixth year of his reign, silver money of all the different kinds was coined, which had only one half silver and the other half alloy. He did not even stop here; in the last year of his reign he coined money that had only four ounces of silver and eight ounces of alloy in the pound weight; and the nominal pound of this base money was worth only nine shillings and three-pence three farthings of our present money. He began to debase his gold coins at the same time, and proceeded by the same degrees. But it would be tedious to follow him in every step. In this degraded and debased condition Henry VIII. left the money of his kingdom to his son and successor Edward VI. This shameful debasement of the money of his kingdom was one of the most imprudent, dishonourable, and pernicious measures of his reign; it was productive of innumerable inconveniences and great perplexity in business of all kinds, and the restoration of it to its standard purity was found to be a work of great difficulty.

It had long been a great obstruction to trade and to improvements of every kind, that lending money upon interest was declared by the church to be usury, and highly criminal in Christians. This prevented laws being made for regulating the rate of interest; and the money-lenders (many of whom were Jews) took advantage of the necessity of the borrowers, and exacted most exorbitant interest. They had invented also several curious devices to elude the penalties of the laws against usury. Of these evils many complaints had been made; and by an act of parliament A.D. 1545, the interest of money was fixed at ten per cent; and if any person took more, he was to forfeit three times the sum lent, the one-half to the king, and the other to the informer. In the same act, the various tricks and devices that had been practised by the money-lenders, to escape the penalties of the laws against usury, are enumerated and prohibited.

As money was certainly more plentiful in Britain, and the prices of provisions and the other necessaries of life were higher in this than in the preceding period, we have reason to believe that the expense of living was nine or ten times cheaper in nominal pounds than it is at present. By an act of parliament, A.D. 1545, it was provided, that when the church of a small parish, whose benefice did not exceed six pounds a-year, was situated within a mile of another church, the small parish might be annexed to that other church. For this two reasons are assigned: 1st, That it would save the expense of keeping up two churches. 2d, That six pounds a-year was too scanty a living for a parish priest. And certainly the same is said of almost ten times six, or sixty pounds at present.

By another clause in the same act it is provided, that if the parishioners of the small parish annexed, shall within a year raise their benefice to eight pounds a-year, the annexation shall be dissolved; because, in the opinion of this parliament, eight pounds was a competent living for the minister of a small parish. And can more be said of ten times eight, or eighty pounds a-year in our times? If we wish therefore to form a judgment of the real riches of persons in the different ranks in society at two different and distant periods, we must not only take into the account the quantity of money which they possessed, but chiefly the quantity of all other things which that money could have purchased. And we must also consider the various wants which civilization introduces, the relative situation of various classes, and the general alteration of rights and expectations which new modes of life create. Thus, for example, the wages of a common labourer in the present period were only threepence a-day; but he was really as rich, and could live as well, or better than a labourer in our times who earns thirty-pence a-day. The same reasoning will hold good with respect to persons in all the other ranks in society. Money is not only a capital article in commerce, but it is a kind of commercial barometer. When money is scarce it is dear, and all other things are cheap. When money abounds, it is cheap, and all other things are dear. This bears hardest upon stipendiaries, who have a certain fixed income in money; because, as money increases, the value of their income gradually decreases, and in time becomes quite incompetent.

As ships are no less necessary to foreign and even to coasting commerce than money, the state of shipping requires some of our attention in every period.

The ships that had been formerly employed by the merchants of Britain in foreign trade were in general small, many of them under fifty, and few of them above one hundred and fifty tons. A few ships of greater burthen are mentioned by our historians, but they are mentioned as a kind of prodigies. But after the discovery of the New World, when more distant voyages were undertaken, the merchants of England began to build larger and stouter ships. In this they were assisted and encouraged by Henry VII., who built several large ships, which he freighted to the merchants when they were not employed in the public service. The ship in which Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth made three successful voyages to the Brazils and the coasts of Guinea, (the first in 1530,) is represented as a ship of uncommon magnitude, a stout ship, of two hundred and fifty tons.

But if the merchant ships were now in general larger and better built than those of preceding times, the ships designed for war were, it is said, augmented in size and strength in a much greater proportion. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the great importance of superiority at sea was well understood; and the sovereigns of the several maritime states of Europe began to vie with each other which of them should have the largest and stoutest ships of war. Henry VIII. built several large ships, particularly one named the *Regent*, of 1000 tons, which required a crew of 800 men. The king of France had also a number of great ships, of which the *Cordelier* was by far the greatest, and contained accommodation for 1100 men. These two noble ships, the *Regent* and *Cordelier*, having grappled with

one another in a sea-fight off the port of Brest, A.D. 1512, they were both burned, with every person on board. To replace the *Regent*, Henry VIII. soon after built another ship of the same burthen, but far more splendid and ornamental, called the *Henry Grace de Dieu*. King James IV. of Scotland, we are told, engaged also in this noble contest, and resolved to build a greater ship than any that had yet appeared. Lindsay of Pitcottie, who gives the most circumstantial description of this famous ship, which was called the *Great Michael*, says, that he received his information from Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, who was her quarter-master, and Robert Bartyne, who was master-skipper. As this writer seems to have been so well informed, it may not be improper to give his description of this famous ship in his own words, changing only a few of them that would be unintelligible to an English reader.

"In the same year (1512) the king of Scotland bigged a great ship, called the *Great Michael*, which was the greatest ship and of the most strength that ever sailed in England or France: for this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oak wood, besides all timber that was gotten out of Norway; for she was so strong and of so great length and breadth, to wit, she was twelve-score feet of length, and thirty-six feet within the sides. All the wrights of Scotland, yea and many other strangers, were at her device, by the king's commandment, who wrought very busily in her; but it was year and day ere she was complete. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to the sea. From that time that she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with robes and ancores effiering thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expences, besides her artillery, which was very great and costly to the king, and besides all the rest of her furniture.\* She had three hundred mariners to sail her; she had six-score gunners to use her artillery, and had a thousand men of war, besides her captains, skippers, and quarter-masters. If any man believe that this description of the ship is not of verity as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tillibarden, and there before the same ye will see the length and breadth of her planted with hawthorn by the wright that helped to make her." Such is the description of this ship given by Pitcottie, and he certainly believed it to be true. It is probable, however, that he was misinformed in some things, particularly that she had a thousand fighting men on board, which is hardly credible.

King James sent this great ship, with two other gallant ships, the *Margaret* and the *James*, and a fleet of smaller vessels, having an army on board, to the assistance of the king of France, against a threatened invasion of that kingdom by the English, which soon after took place. The *Great Michael* never returned to Scotland, but was sold by the duke of Albany to the king of France, A.D. 1514, for 40,000 francs; a very great sum in those times. James IV., who had a taste for maritime affairs, appears to have formed the design of raising a royal navy; but, by his untimely death, that design was blasted. Henry VIII., who may be justly styled the founder of the English navy, had formed the same design about the same time; but as he survived King James upwards of thirty years, and was at

\* 30,000*l.* Scots at that time contained as much silver as 15,000*l.* sterling at present.



the head of a much greater, more powerful, and opulent nation, he made much greater progress in the execution of that design; and at his death he left a fleet greatly superior to that of any of his predecessors, and not inferior to that of any other prince in Europe. Some of Henry's predecessors had a few ships, which they employed sometimes in trade, and sometimes in war; but they did not deserve the name of a navy. At the death of Henry VIII. the navy of England was on a very different footing; it consisted of fifty-three ships belonging to the crown, and only equipped for war. Some of these ships were of great magnitude: the *Henry Grace de Dieu* was of 1000 tons; she carried 19 brass and 103 iron guns; and her complement of men consisted of 349 soldiers, 301 mariners, and 50 gunners. There was another ship of 700 tons, two of 600, and two of 500, and the tonnage of the whole fleet was 6255 tons. More evidence, if it was necessary, might be produced to prove, that the ships employed in England, and even in Scotland, both in trade and war, in this period, were in general larger, stronger, and better built than in any former time; which is a strong presumptive proof that the commerce and opulence of the country had increased.

The trade of England was still carried on, for the most part, by two great companies; the company of the German merchants of steelyard, and the company of the merchant-adventurers of England. The first of these companies was the richest, the most ancient, and for several ages the most favoured by the kings of England, to whom they made valuable presents. This company was composed almost wholly of foreigners. They became at length so unpopular, that their persons were often insulted, and their goods plundered by the populace of London. The company of merchant-adventurers consisted wholly of Englishmen, and every English merchant was admitted a member of it on paying a small fine. It appears to have been the intention of government to divide the trade of England between these two companies; and certain branches of it were allotted to each of them in their charters, with strict prohibitions not to exceed their bounds. But the love of gain is not to be restrained by the prohibitions of charters. These two companies encroached on each other's privileges, and brought bitter complaints against one another before the king and council. The complaints of the merchant-adventurers were well founded; the injuries they had received from the other company were very great, and ought to have been redressed; but their antagonists had powerful protectors at court, which enabled them to repel all attacks during the whole reign of Henry VIII. In the succeeding reign, the complaints of the merchant-adventurers prevailed, and the privileges enjoyed by the merchants of the steelyard were, after mature deliberation, revoked, and their corporation abolished, by the privy-council. It appeared that they had exported in one year 44,000 pieces of cloth; and as they enjoyed an exemption from alien duties, they had defrauded the revenue, and injured the private adventurers, by colouring, or passing under their own names, the merchandise of other foreigners to a large amount.

Of the animosity shown by the English artificers to the foreign, and of the general state of commerce, Hume has the following statements.

Foreign artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality: hence the violent animosity which the latter, on many oc-

casions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. The English artificers complained, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and, in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed some of his servants, and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor Sir Thomas More, late under-sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened Cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he thought it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; he dismissed them without further punishment.

So great was the number of foreign artisans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when Henry became jealous of their favour for Queen Catherine. Henry himself confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed among the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives; and obliged them, from idleness, to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities. He also asserts, that the vast multitude of foreigners raised the price of grain and bread. And to prevent an increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited from having above two foreigners in their house, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealousy arose against the foreign merchants, and, to appease it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties imposed upon aliens. The parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artisans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their skill. The prisoners in the kingdom for debts and crimes are asserted, in an act of parliament, to be 60,000 persons and above, which is scarcely credible. Harrison asserts that 72,000 criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery, which would amount to nearly 2000 a-year. He adds, that in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not punished capitally 400 a-year. If these facts be just, there has been a great improvement in morals since the reign of Henry VIII. And this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increase of industry and of the arts, which have given maintenance and, what is almost of equal importance, occupation, to the lower classes.

There is a remarkable clause in a statute passed near the beginning of this reign, by which we might be induced to believe that England was extremely

decayed from the flourishing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II., that no magistrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep assize, should, during the continuance of his magistracy, sell, either in wholesale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law seemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the assize: yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reason assigned is, that "since the making of that statute and ordinance, many and the most part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within the realm of England, are fallen into ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by merchants, and men of such substance as at the time of making that statute: for at this day, the dwellers and inhabitants of the same cities and boroughs are commonly bakers, vintners, fishmongers, and other victuallers, and there remain few others to bear the offices." Men have such a propensity to exalt past times above the present, that it seems dangerous to credit this reasoning of the parliament, without further evidence to support it. So different are the views in which the same object appears, that some may be inclined to draw an opposite inference from this fact. A more regular police was established in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any former period, and a stricter administration of justice; an advantage which induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolsey, in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the increase of riches, that the customs had increased beyond what they were formerly.

But if there were really a decay of commerce, and industry, and populousness in England, the statutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, and retrenching holidays, circumstances of considerable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted;\* luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes;† and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter.‡ A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal.§ Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound: mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute says, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed.||

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen-pence of our present money. This is at least ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants; one of the circumstances in government which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

## SECTION V.

HISTORY OF MANNERS, &c., FROM A.D. 1485, TO A.D. 1547.

AMONG nations whose government is monarchical, the supreme magistrate is exalted to a power, and invoked by titles scarcely compatible with human nature; while the people, from whom his authority originates, and on whose breath his existence depends, are in history regarded only as subservient to him. Their annals are adjusted and marked by his reign, filled with his public transactions or secret policy; and as every achievement is ascribed to his auspices, it is his life rather than their history that is recorded for the benefit of succeeding generations. From the public transactions, or the dark and dishonest intrigues of princes, the transition to the private character of the people is grateful; yet there our attention is still irresistibly attracted to the sovereign, whose example either extends to society, or whose court is an index to the manners, customs, and tastes of the age.

It is observable that the spirit of a nation is subject to frequent and sudden vicissitudes; that it passes from the extremes of religious frenzy, or civil discord, to a state of inactive and cold indifference. The English, after a long interruption, obtained by the union of the rival roses, the blessings of a permanent government and domestic concord, and were unwilling to forfeit these by the rash renewal of their former troubles. The power of the nobles was broken, and their numbers diminished; the policy of the crown had suppressed their retainers; war, or the progress of society, had either destroyed or enfranchised their bondsmen; nor were armies ready to start, as formerly, at the sound of their trumpets. Their depression, and the disusage of slavery, produced a salutary alteration on the ranks of society, removing the materials as well as the causes of future commotions; but on the removal of these, an important change is perceptible in the spirit both of the government and people. The regal power, counteracted hitherto by that of the nobles, subsisted, after the decline of their influence, without opposition and without restraint. Government was sanguinary, the people were passive, submissive to rapacious vindictive tyrants, at whose pleasure the laws were either superseded or perverted. The scaffold streamed with the blood of the nobles, and the flames of persecution consumed the religious; but the people suffered with patience, resigned the constitution to their monarch, and received as their religion whatever his caprice or his passions might dictate. Other nations, amidst the remains of chivalry, (the force of which was not yet exhausted,) discovered in their government much of their present moderation and lenity; and the contemporary reigns of the great princes, Charles and Francis, exhibit despotic authority mitigated by refinement, mild in its exercise, and unstained by sanguinary exertions of power. In England, a tyrannical government argues a more barbarous state of society. The people were inured to bloodshed by the civil wars; and while their own security remained unaffected, beheld the fate of their superiors with supine indifference, or perhaps with a malignant pleasure. Government, it is true, was always vigilant to suppress their murmurs; and Henry VIII. condescended repeatedly to court their affect-

\* 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. † 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7. ‡ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2. § 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3. || 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11.



ions; religious contests served to balance their hopes and their fears; and the religious parties into which they were divided, applauded alternately every tyrannical action of Henry's reign. Perhaps they esteemed his character; but theirs is marked by a tame servility, unexampled hitherto in the annals of England.

Their manners, though comparatively rude, attained in the present period to a considerable refinement; of which, however, it is difficult to ascertain the precise degree, and impossible to distinguish the minute gradations. Foreigners who visited the country, have transmitted a favourable report of the inhabitants; and Polydore Virgil, with a visible partiality, pronounces that theirs resembled the Italian manners; but Erasmus informs us, that their manners participated of those nations from whom they originated, exhibiting a mixture neither so refined as the French, nor so rude as the German.\* The resort of foreigners was considerable, and apparently acceptable to all ranks, the plebeians excepted, who, like their own mastiffs, are still noted for their antipathy to strangers. The nobility and gentlemen of opulence began to travel for improvement through Europe, to study the languages, and acquire the refinement of different courts;† and this intercourse with foreigners at home and abroad contributed, without supplanting, to correct the rudeness of the national manners. If the character, however, of a court be assumed from the sovereign, these manners, in the court of Henry VII., must have been rude indeed. On arriving at a village where Catharine of Arragon, after landing in England, was lodged for the night, Henry was told that the Princess had already retired to rest; but he announced his intention of visiting her bed-side, obliged her to rise and dress to receive him, and affianced her that evening to his son Prince Arthur. Henry VIII. affected more gallantry, and his court was distinguished by superior politeness; but that romantic gallantry, which was congenial to Francis and to James IV., was adopted through emulation, and sat with visible constraint upon Charles, who disregarded, and upon Henry who forgot his youthful professions of respect for the fair. His passions were impetuous, his gallantry was indelicate; yet his character, brave, frank, and generous, like his grandfather Edward—though, like his father Henry, rapacious and jealous—attracted the nobility, and encouraged a magnificence unknown till then in the English court. The nobility who had formerly shunned the court, unless at seasons when their appearance was necessary,‡ began to frequent it in Henry's reign; they exchanged their solitary dignity for social intercourse, exhausted their revenues in ostentatious magnificence, and while their existence literally depended on the smiles or frowns of a capricious master, acquired the frivolous, the pleasing refinement of courtly manners.

But the polish of courts is imparted only to a portion of society, and the refinement of the people may be estimated perhaps by their means of im-

provement, their early education, and domestic manners. Their education in the present period was extremely defective. Schools were rare; and before the reformation, young men were educated in monasteries, women in nunneries; where the latter were instructed in writing, drawing, confectionary, needle-work, and, what were regarded then as female accomplishments, in physic and surgery. The acquisitions of the former were confined to writing, and a tincture probably of barbarous Latin: but ignorance was still so common, that Fitzherbert recommends to gentlemen unable to commit notes to writing, the practice of notching a stick to assist their memory. When removed from these seminaries to the houses of their parents, both sexes were treated in a manner that precluded improvement. Perhaps the best criterion of civilized society is the free intercourse, and reciprocal confidence between parents and their offspring; a situation in which an indulgent equality supersedes authority, and conciliates mutual esteem and affection. But domestic manners were severe and formal; a haughty reserve was affected by the old, and an abject deference exacted from the young. Sons, when arrived at manhood, are represented as standing uncovered and silent, in their father's presence; and daughters, though women, were placed like statues at the cupboard; nor permitted to sit, or repose themselves otherwise than by kneeling on a cushion, till their mother departed. Such austere manners were prevalent even in France, and peculiar rather to the age than to the nation; but the English discover a latent, and too often unfeeling ferocity in the relentless rigour of their domestic tribunals. Omissions were punished by stripes and blows; and chastisement was carried to such excess, that the daughters trembled at the sight of their mother, and the sons too frequently avoided and hated their father. These circumstances indicate that the manners of the people were ceremonious and stately, their refinement artificial, adopted only in their external intercourse, not habitual, nor retained to purify domestic life.

Chivalry, though its influence diminished daily, still subsisted as a splendid spectacle, supported by the mutual emulation of princes, their enthusiastic gallantry, or their predilection for arms and exploits of valour. Francis and James IV. imbibed the genuine spirit of chivalry; and in an age when craft began to predominate in politics, their conduct was often preposterously adjusted by the precipitate dictates of romantic honour. The introduction of refinement and taste in Scotland is ascribed to the espousals of James and Margaret: but although the people were fierce and untractable, the court was polished, and the king, whose deportment during the celebration of his nuptials was remarked and recorded, displayed the courtesy of an accomplished knight, and a dexterity far superior to the English monarchs. Henry VIII. delighted in chivalry; its spirit neither perverted his judgment, nor improved his heart; but his tournaments gratified his taste for magnificence and his passion for arms. On these amusements, in which he engaged as a constant combatant, his father's treasures were profusely expended. His weapons sometimes were unusual, at least at tourneys—the battle-axe, and two-handed sword; but these probably were "rebaté," or blunted, as the spears were with which the combatants were furnished. Yet on one occasion his life was endangered by his favourite Brandon, who shivered a spear on his helmet, without perceiving

\* Erasmus promised a description of English inns, which it is to be regretted he did not execute.

† Surry, Wyatt, and others, had travelled: and it is said that the first of the Bedford family distinguished at court was a Mr. Russell, who had acquired by travelling, the languages of the continent, and was employed by Sir John Trenchard, no known man, to attend on Philip of Austria as an interpreter during his journey to court.

‡ During parliament, or once a-year, to perform their homage.

that his vizar was open, and his face exposed to a mortal blow. At his interview with Francis in "the field of the cloth of gold," his strength and dexterity were both conspicuous in a tournament perhaps the most splendid of the age. The two kings, who, with fourteen companions, had undertaken to encounter all who challenged, entered the lists with their assistants, sumptuously arrayed in the richest tissues; and in the presence of their queens awaited the appearance of those knights whom the fame of their tournament was supposed to have attracted. Their opponents were ready, twelve gentlemen richly habited. Francis began; and after performing successive courses, and breaking several spears with applause, was succeeded by Henry, who shivered his spear at the first encounter; at the second, demolished his antagonist's helmet. Their justings were continued for five days with equal splendour and similar success; and the minute descriptions of the attire of the knights, and the trappings of the horses, of their quaint devices and feats in arms, assure us that these spectacles were highly estimated. The mock encounters of princes appear at present unimportant and trivial as those of the mimic monarchs of the stage; yet if a servile or brutal exhibition delighted, by its massacre, the refined and rational nations of antiquity, how superior, as a spectacle, is the image of war, where kings and heroes are the only combatants.

These, inspected at a distance, were magnificent times, yet diversified withal, when examined closely, with simplicity of manners, and plainness or penury in the chief comforts of modern life. Margaret, on her marriage with James IV., made her public entry into Edinburgh, riding on a pillion behind the king. The apartments of Hampton Court had been furnished, on a particular occasion, each with a large candlestick, a basin, goblet, and ewer, of silver; yet the furniture of Henry's chamber, independent of the bed and cupboard, consisted only of a joint-stool, a pair of andirons, and a small mirror. The halls and chambers of the wealthy were surrounded with hangings, sometimes of arras, and replenished with a cupboard, long tables, or rather loose boards placed upon trestles, forms, a chair, and a few joint-stools. Their beds were apparently comfortable, often elegant; but those of inferior condition slept on a mat, or a straw pallet, under a rug, with a log for a pillow. Glass windows were confined to churches and mansions, and carpets were only employed to garnish the cupboard. The floors, composed of clay, and covered either with sand or rushes, were foul and loathsome, collecting and retaining for twenty years the offals of the table, and the dirt of dogs and men; and Erasmus, from whom this description is taken, attributes justly to the uncleanness of the English, the frequent and destructive visitations of the plague.

The morals are less flexible than the manners of a people; and those virtues that in former ages distinguished the British, subsisted in the present with little alteration. The English were generous and brave as formerly, fond of war and intrepid in danger. Their hospitality continued, not indeed in its former profusion, but corrected rather than abated by the changes produced on the modes of life. Their active virtues have already been enumerated in the former appendices, in a manner that renders repetition unnecessary. Their predominant vices afford a more copious and ungrateful subject; for the reformation detected the prodigal lives of the monks and clergy, and the eloquence of the

pulpit, acquiring from the reformers a new direction and additional vigour, touched with freedom or asperity the vices of the people.

Ignorance, a venial imperfection in the laity, becomes criminal in those who profess to teach or to discover the way to salvation; but perhaps the ignorance formerly conspicuous both in the monastics and the secular clergy, diminished after the dawn of reformation and letters. Their depravity did not diminish however, but resisted, at least in England, the censures of their enemies, and the sense of their own impending danger. The visitations that preceded the suppression of the monasteries, discovered, if credit be due to the inspectors, crimes the most degrading to human nature. Hypocritical sanctity and holy frauds are congenial to every monastic institution; and the counterfeit relics imposed on the vulgar, or the artifices practised to support their credit, are to be regarded as the established trade and profession of religious orders. Intemperance is also to be expected wherever ascetics have obtained a relaxation from rigid discipline; nor is their guilt inexpiable, if, after indulging in evening collations, they assembled irregularly, and drank to matins. But the reports are replete with other crimes of a deeper complexion; the licentiousness of the monks and nuns, the abortions forcibly procured by the latter, and the monstrous lusts in which the former indulged. The particulars would stain our page; yet an historian, anxious for the dignity of human nature, might wish to believe, that the reports of the visitors were inflamed by zeal, and perverted by an interested and malignant policy. It is difficult to conceive that they would venture, unsupported by evidence, to accuse a community of crimes repugnant to human nature; and their veracity seems to be vindicated by their extreme solicitude to preserve some convents whose conduct was exemplary. But these crimes were apparently notorious; nor is their existence doubtful, or the licentious lives of the regulars disputable, when their debaucheries had already attracted the papal indignation, and their crimes incurred the censures and menaces of Morton the primate. If, at the commencement of this period, the monks of St. Alban's had begun, in different convents, to displace the nuns, and substitute prostitutes, it is not probable that their morals were afterwards improved or their discipline re-established.

The monks, however, had a merit in their liberal hospitality and charity. Their tables were open to strangers, and as the cheer was excellent, much frequented by the neighbouring gentlemen. At St. Alban's, and probably at other abbeys, every traveller found a hospitable reception for three days; and was then permitted, if his conduct was satisfactory, or his business important, to protract his stay. The fragments of their luxury furnished an extensive charity; and their indulgence to their tenants, whose rents were always moderate, endeared them to the peasants. In Scotland, where the regulars were not so dissolute, similar hospitality was supported in monasteries; and in the abbey of Aberbrothick, about nine thousand bushels of malt seem to have been annually expended in ale. But these communities were prejudicial, even by their charities, to the increase of industry; and their dissolution assures us that the most venerable institutions, however sanctioned by time or supported by prejudice, may be suppressed, when useless, without detriment or danger to society. It is probable that forty thousand were discharged from different religious houses;



and it is certain that a number, superior to that of the clergy at present, was absorbed with facility into the mass of the people.

From the morals of the clergy, the transition to those of the laity is natural; and Henry, after dislodging vice from the cloisters, proceeded, in the same strain of reformation, to cleanse the stews. These were a range of buildings in Southwark, on the banks of the Thames, privileged by patent as brothels, regulated by statute, and tolerated as a necessary drain for corruption, from the reign of Henry II. to the last year of Henry VIII. The wretched prostitutes were then expelled, the stews were "put down" by sound of trumpet, and their suppression was perhaps attended with more solemnity than that of the convents. Their suppression failed however to extirpate licentiousness; and Latimer, whose sermons are replete with barbarous eloquence, inveighs bitterly at its subsequent prevalence. The vices obnoxious to clerical censures are not always pernicious to society, nor is their magnitude certain, when transmitted through the medium of intemperate zeal. But Latimer's proposal, in a court sermon, for restraining adultery by a capital punishment, attests its prevalence.

The vices and follies peculiar to the age are necessarily the chief topics of pulpit eloquence; and, if credit were due to this severe reformer, the statesmen and judges were corrupted by bribery, the people profligate, destitute of charity, immersed in vice, and devoted to perdition. Wherever government is arbitrary, the administration of justice is perverted and partial; and judges subservient to regal influence are certainly not inaccessible to secret corruption. The unmeaning oaths to which the English have in every age been addicted are peculiarly offensive to pious ears, and in some minds generate a persuasion, that a people habituated to profane swearing are disaffected to the Deity whose name they dishonour, impervious to religion, and insensible of virtue. It may be observed, however, with more propriety, that habitual swearing diminishes our sense of the obligation attached to judicial oaths. Perjury was still the predominant vice that tainted the morals of every rank, and infected even the breast of the sovereign. Juries were perjured; their verdicts were generally procured by bribery; their corruption was notorious, and encouraged openly by Henry VII. in the iniquitous prosecution of his own subjects. Princes claim and obtain an exemption from vulgar honesty; and that which is fraud and perfidy in private life, is dignified, in their transactions, by the appellation of policy; yet the reader must observe, with some surprise, the repeated examples contained in this history, of princes corroborating, by mutual oaths and the rites of religion, those treaties which they had previously determined to frustrate or violate. Their treaties are at present neither more permanent nor more secure; but the intervention of oaths is wisely omitted as a superfluous adjection, not obligatory on the lax morals peculiar to princes.

To these crimes may be added theft and robbery, which were still very prevalent. Robbery was seldom attended with murder, and was probably still regarded as an occupation, of which the guilt might be extenuated by courage and success. Murders and assassinations are frequent, however, in Scottish history, for the people were cruel, fierce and ungovernable; and, to judge from the desperate crimes of the nobility, their manners were neither more softened, nor their passions better controlled

and regulated. But whatever be the crimes of a people, there is in human nature a reforming principle that ultimately corrects and amends its degeneracy; and history furnishes repeated examples of nations passing from even a vicious effeminacy to an enthusiasm that regenerates every virtue. Such a change was effected, in a partial degree, by the reformation; which, recalling its proselytes from the errors and abuses of the Romish superstition, taught them to renounce the dissipation and vices of the age, to assume the badge of superior sanctity and more rigid virtue, to suffer in adversity with patience, and to encounter persecution and death with fortitude. Sectaries, from the constant circumspection requisite in their conduct, contract an habitual and gloomy severity; and foreigners, ever more observant than natives, discovered, in the present period, symptoms of that puritanical spirit which, at the distance of a century, was destined to give liberty to England and law to kings.

The reformation might reflect discredit on recent miracles; but the period is still distinguished by excessive credulity. The astrologers, in 1523, from the approach of eclipses and planetary conjunctions, predicted incessant rains and destructive inundations: the people were alarmed; many retired to the high grounds for safety; the abbot of Bartholomew in Smithfield built a house, which he stored with provisions, on Harrow-of-the-Hill; and those who reposed in the promise to Noah, were still apprehensive of a partial inundation, and collected meal sufficient for subsistence till the waters subsided. But the year elapsed with little rain, and the astrologers redeemed their credit, by confessing a mistake in their calculations of a hundred years. The reformers were probably less credulous; but, believing that the Pope was antichrist, they expected, as his power was partly broken, the speedy arrival of Christ in judgment; and, in every unusual appearance of the heavens, perceived, with a mixture of hope and trepidation, those signs supposed to announce the cessation of time, and destruction of the world. An Egyptian experiment repeated by James IV. exhibits the superstitious credulity of the Scots. Whether to discover the primitive language of the human race, or to ascertain the first formation of speech, he enclosed two children with a dumb attendant in Inchkeith, an uninhabited island of the Forth; and it was believed that the children, on arriving at maturity, communicated their ideas in pure Hebrew, the language of Paradise.

The belief of a monstrous production of the human species might be mentioned as an instance of credulity, but grave historians attest and render the fact indisputable; and the not very distant exhibition of the Siamese twins, renders its possibility certain. This double being was born in Scotland, and its appearance suggested the idea of twins fortuitously conjoined in the womb, united at the navel into a common trunk, and terminating below in the limbs of a male, but disparted above into two bodies, distinct and proportioned in all their parts, each endued with separate members, and animated each by a separate intelligence. Their sensations were common when excited in the loins or inferior extremities; peculiar to one, and unfelt by the other, when produced on the particular body of either. Their perceptions were different, their mental affections unconnected, their wills independent, at times discordant, and again adjusted by mutual concession. They received, by the direction of James IV., such

liberal education as the times afforded; attained in music to considerable proficiency, and acquired a competent knowledge of various languages. Their death was miserable: at the age of twenty-eight the one expired; and his body corrupting, tainted and putrified his living brother.

The feudal system was productive, among other preposterous customs, of early marriages, formed without disparagement of rank or birth, but without regard to disparity of age or repugnance of sentiment. Vassals, during their wardship, were at the absolute disposal of their lord, who literally sold them, while minors, in marriage; and prudent fathers, to frustrate his rapacity, were careful to accelerate, before their death, the nuptials of their offspring. Chivalry was the season of romantic love; yet, as mankind are actuated chiefly by interest, marriage, with few exceptions, has in every age been a sordid bargain.

The mode which was peculiar to Britain, of saluting ladies, appears to have excited the surprise of foreigners; and Erasmus, who approved of it as a laudable custom, avers with pleasantry, that whether you visit, depart, or return, whether you assemble by concert, or encounter by accident, you cannot stir in England without an interchange of kisses. An interchange not so disinterested was supported at court, where, on the new year, the king accepted, from his nobles and clergy, of gifts from five to fifty pounds, and repaid them either with smiles or occasional presents of gilt plate. On solemn festivals, the king and his nobles bestowed each his "largess" on the guards or attendants, and a herald proclaimed the different donations with much solemnity; but James IV. delicately suppressed at his marriage the mention of his own, when his queen's was published. Marriages, christenings, and established festivals furnished frequent occasions for convivial intercourse; but the gentlemen are described as assembling at other times in fields or forests, with hawks and hounds, and bugles suspended in silken baldricks. There, under the pretext of hunting, they had often concerted rebellions, or convoked their military retainers to arms; and an early statute of Henry the Seventh's prohibited their hunting in vizards, or during the darkness and concealment of night.

The mutability of language seems somewhat to be counteracted by the art of printing, which, in proportion as it disseminates a taste for letters, re-acts as a model on colloquial speech, and operates, if not to repress innovation, at least to preserve the stability, and perpetuate the radical structures of language. Such stability the English language has acquired from printing, and at the distance of three centuries, still exhibits the same phraseology and syntactical form, varied only by those alterations essential to the progressive refinement of speech. The language of the period, if necessary to discriminate its peculiar style, was unpolished and oral; its character is rude simplicity, neither aspiring to elegance, nor solicitous of ease, but written, as it was spoken, without regard to selection or arrangement. Reduced to modern orthography, it is only distinguishable from the common colloquial discourse of the present period, by a certain rust of antiquity, by phrases that are abrogated, or words that are either effaced or altered. These, however, are not numerous; and we may conclude, from the compositions of the learned, that the language of the people differed little from the present, unless in pronunciation, which, to judge from orthography, was

harsh, and such as would now be denominated provincial or vulgar. Whatever has been since super-added, either by a skilful arrangement, or the incorporation of foreign or classical words and idioms, is more the province of critical disquisition than historical research; yet it merits observation, that the first attempts at elegance are ascribable, in poetry to Surry, in prose perhaps to Sir Thomas More, whose English style, as it was modelled on his Latin, is constructed with art, and replete with inversions, approaching to that which, in contradistinction to the vulgar, may be justly denominated a learned diction.

This history has already furnished sufficient specimens both of the Scottish and English languages, which, descended from the same Gothic original, and nearly similar in former periods, divaricated considerably during the present. This is to be attributed to the alteration and improvement of the English, for the Scottish was more stationary; nor is there in the language a material difference between the compositions of James the First and those of Bellenden, Dunbar, and Douglas; each of whom, by the liberal adaptation of Latin words, enriched and polished his vernacular idiom. But for the union of the crowns, which in literature rendered the English the prevalent language, the Scottish might have risen to the merit of a rival dialect, different rather in pronunciation than structure; not so solemn, but more energetic, nor less susceptible of literary culture.

Dress, submitted to the guidance of taste or vanity, is first displayed in magnificence; then, when the improvement of manufactures has rendered magnificence cheap and common, in the incessant change and variety of fashion. The dress of the period was costly, and in its fashions subject to frequent fluctuation; so costly, that the wardrobes of the nobility in fifty years had increased to twenty times their former value; so changeable, that the capricious inconstancy of the national dress was quaintly represented by the figure of an Englishman naked in a musing posture, with shears in his hand, and cloth on his arm, perplexed amidst a multiplicity of fashions, and uncertain how to devise his garments. These fashions it is impossible now to discover, but the general dress of the period may be described from prints and pictures with sufficient precision.

The dress of the nobility, during the reigns of Richard and Henry the Seventh, was grotesque and fantastical, such as renders it difficult at first to distinguish the sex. Over the breeches was worn a petticoat; the doublet was laced, like the stays of a pregnant woman, across a stomacher, and a gown or mantle with wide sleeves descended over the doublet and petticoat down to the ancles. Commoners were satisfied, instead of a gown, with a frock or tunic shaped like a shirt, gathered at the middle, and fastened round the loins by a girdle, from which a short dagger was generally suspended. But the petticoat was rejected after the accession of Henry the Eighth, when the "trauses" or tight breeches, that displayed the minute symmetry of the limbs, was revived, and the length of the doublet and mantle diminished. The fashions which the great have discarded, are often retained by the lower orders, and the form of the tunic, a Saxon garment, may be still discovered in the waggoner's frock; of the trause, and perhaps of the petticoat, in the different trowsers that are worn by seamen. These habits were again diversified by minute decorations



and changes of fashion: from an opinion that corpulence contributed to dignity, the doublet was puckered, stuffed, and distended around the body; the sleeves were swelled into large ruffs; and the breeches were bolstered about the hips, and had an artificial protuberance, which at a future period was retained in comedy as a favourite theme of gross merriment. The doublet and breeches were sometimes slashed, and, with the addition of a short cloak, to which a stiffened cap was peculiar, resembled the national dress of the Spaniards. The doublet is now transformed into a waistcoat, and the cloak or mantle, to which the sleeves of the doublet were transferred, has been converted gradually into a modern coat; but the dress of the age was justly censured as inconvenient and clumsy. "Men's servants," to whom the fashions had descended with the clothes of their master, "have suche pleytes," says Fitzherbert, "upon theyr brestes, and ruffles upon theyr sleeves, above theyr elbowes, that yf theyr mayster, or theym selfe, hadde never so greatte neede, they coulde not shoote one shote to hurte theyr ennemyes, tyll they had caste of thyr cotes, or cut of theyr sleeves." The dress of the peasantry was similar, but more convenient, consisting generally of trunk hose, and a doublet of coarse and durable fustian.

The materials employed in dress were rich and expensive; cloth of gold, furs, silks, and velvets, profusely embroidered. The habits of Henry VIII. and his queen, on their procession to the Tower, previous to their coronation, are described by Hall, an historian delighting in shows and spectacles. "His Grace wared in his upperst apparell a robe of crimsyn velvet, furred with armyns; his jacket or cote of raised gold; the placard embroidered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche stones; a greate bauderike about his necke, of large balasses. The Quene was appareled in white satyn embroidered, her haire hanging downe to her backe, of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a coronall, set with many riche orient stones." The attire of females was becoming and decent, similar in fashion to their present dress, but less subject to change and caprice. The large and fantastic head-dresses of the former age were superseded by coifs and velvet bonnets beneath which the matron gathered her locks into tufts or "tussocks;" but the virgin's head was uncovered, and her hair braided and fastened with ribands. Among gentlemen, long hair was fashionable through Europe, till the Emperor Charles, during a voyage, devoted his locks for his health or safety;\* and in England, Henry, a tyrant even in taste, gave efficacy to the fashion by a peremptory order for his attendants and courtiers to "poll their heads." The same spirit induced him, probably by sumptuary laws, to regulate the inordinate dress of his subjects. Cloth of gold or tissue was reserved for dukes and marquises; if of a purple colour, for the royal family. Silks and velvets were restricted to commoners of wealth or distinction; but embroidery was interdicted from all beneath the degree of an earl. Cuffs for the sleeves, and bands and ruffs for the neck, were the invention of this period: but felt-hats were of earlier origin, and were still coarser and cheaper than caps or bonnets.† Pockets, a convenience

unknown to the ancients, are perhaps the latest real improvement on dress; but, instead of pockets, a loose pouch seems to have been sometimes suspended from the girdle.

The diet of the peasantry is subject, in different periods, to few alterations; because it consists of the common produce of the soil, prepared in the simplest manner for food. Their bread-corn in England was rye or barley, sometimes oats mixed with pulse; a food preferred for its nutrition to wheat, which, till rendered by a better cultivation cheap and abundant, was usually confined to the tables of the wealthy. These tables were more luxurious and expensive than formerly; distinguished by the variety of delicate viands, as well as by the quantity of substantial fare;\* and Polydore expatiates with visible complacency on the various pleasures of those tables at which he had feasted; on the juicy flavour of the mutton, and the sweetness of the beef, especially when slightly salted; on the tenderness of the young geese and the Kentish hens; the delicacy of the partridges, pheasants, and quails; and the fatness of the larks, thrushes, and blackbirds, of which incredible numbers were caught in winter, and presented almost at every table. But his taste was peculiarly gratified by the varieties and abundance of excellent fish, which, to a churchman, renders the mortification even of the appetite luxurious; he discriminates the gurnard, whiting, mullet, turbot, bream, and sturgeon; depreciates the mackerel as dry, the shad as insipid; extols the rich and delicious oysters, and approves of the recent translation of the pike from fens and lakes into gentlemen's ponds. To these the carp might be added, introduced from the continent in the present period as store for ponds;‡ and from these particulars, to a foreigner important, we may conclude that few delicacies were wanting at feasts. Vegetables, however, were sparingly provided; and as regular markets were not general, country families killed a number of beeves at Michaelmas, and subsisted till Whitsuntide on salted meat.

Their cookery cannot now be appreciated, or distinguished otherwise than by a profusion of hot spices with which every dish was indiscriminately seasoned.‡ Dinner and supper were served in the hall, where the first table was placed in a sort of recess, or elevation, at the upper end, and reserved for the landlord and his principal guests, while visitors less respectable were seated with the officers of the household, at long and narrow tables that occupied the sides and middle of the hall. The rank of the guests was again discriminated by their arrangement, by their situation above or below the saltcellar, which was placed invariably in the middle of the table, and the usher was carefully instructed to displace such as might seat themselves unmanfully above their betters. The chief servants attended always above the saltcellar, beneath which the table was probably crowded with poor dependents, whom the guests despised, and the servants neglected. The servants were marshalled, and the dishes served, by orders issued aloud from the usher;§ and at table none presumed to taste of the dishes

\* According to Fitzherbert, the table was four times more expensive than in former times.

† Anderson quotes the following distich.

"Turkeys, carps, hops, picarel, and ocer,

"Came into England all in one year."

‡ Above 100lb. of spices were employed annually in the Northumberland family.

§ This mode of living was retained by some great families till the middle of the 17th century.

\* Whether in consequence of a vow or a headache is disputed by historians.

† In Henry VII. & A., by which the price of the best hats is limited to 20s.; of the best caps to 2s. 10s.

ill they were drawn successively upwards to the principal personage, from whom they descended again to the rest of the company. Churchmen affected peculiar ceremony, and the abbot of St. Alban's dined with greater state than the nobility themselves. His table was elevated fifteen steps above the hall, and in serving his dinner, the monks, at every fifth step, performed a hymn. He dined alone at the middle of his table, to the ends of which guests of distinguished rank were admitted; and the monks, after their attendance on the abbot was over, sat down to tables at the sides of the hall, and were served with equal respect by the novices. At Wolsey's entertainment of the French ambassador, the company were summoned by trumpet to supper, and the courses were announced by a prelude of music. The second course contained upwards of a hundred devices or subtleties; castles, churches, animals, warriors justing on foot and on horseback; others dancing with ladies; "all as well counterfeited," says the historian, "as the painter should have painted on a cloth or wall." Such entertainments were not of a short duration; the dinner-hour was eleven in the forenoon, the supper six in the evening; but the dinner was often prolonged till supper, and that protracted till late at night. Breakfast seems to have been a solitary meal, not universal, but, like the collation after supper, confined to a few in their private apartments. But it was not probably an unsubstantial meal; and the collation, the slightest repast of the age, consisted often of brawn, jellies, sweetmeats, ale, brandy, and spiced wines.

Ale and Gascony wines were the principal liquors; but mead, cider, and perry, were not uncommon. Hops were still scarce, and seldom employed in ale, which was brewed therefore in small quantities, to be drank while new. At the king's table, ale was prohibited as unfit for use till five days old. Erasmus complains repeatedly that good wine was unknown in England. The wine was still circulated in a large cup, from which the company drank alternately. The English were sober, the Scotch intemperate; they are accused at least by their own historians of excessive drinking; an imputation long attached to their national character.

Martial diversions have been already described, and the sports of the field are, in different ages, pursued with an uniformity almost permanent. In England hunting has ever been a favourite diversion, and hawking has only been superseded by the fowling-piece; but it was still practised with unabating ardour, and cultivated scientifically as a liberal art. Treatises were composed on the diet and discipline proper for the falcon; the genus was discriminated for social life, and a species appropriated to every intermediate rank, from an emperor down to a knave or peasant; nor were gentlemen more distinguished by the blazoning of heraldry, than by the particular hawks they were entitled to carry. The long bow was also employed in fowling, a sport in which much dexterity was requisite; but archery was even a female amusement; and it is recorded that Margaret, on her journey to Scotland, killed a buck with an arrow in Alnwick Park. The preservation of the feathered game was enforced in the present age by a statute.

During the present period several games were invented or practised to the disuse of archery, for the promotion of which, bowls, quoits, cales, tennis, cards, and dice, were prohibited by the legislature as unlawful games. Tennis, however, was a royal

pastime, in which Henry VIII. in his youth delighted much: an a match is recorded between him and the emperor, the prince of Orange, and the marquis of Brandenburg. But the favourite amusements of court, next to tournaments, were masques and pageants; the one an Italian diversion subservient to gallantry, the other a vehicle of gross adulation. The masques were destitute of character, humour, and dialogue; they were conducted in dumb show, and their merit consisted in the grotesque disguises of a part of the company, who entered as strangers to dance with the ladies. The masque and pageant were often united; for the pageant was properly a piece of machinery, an artificial mountain, a ship, a castle, in which the masquers were introduced into the hall, or from which, in solemn processions, allegorical personages recited pedantic and long panegyrics.

Curiosity is naturally excited concerning the present state, which is properly the origin, of the English drama; that state which preceded its youthful vigour, when Shakspeare delineated human nature, even in the wildness of a fairy creation. But historical informations are not satisfactory, and we can only conclude that the revival of letters discredited mysteries, and propagated a purer taste for dramatic composition. We discover that a comedy from Plautus was performed at court, where, at Christmas, plays, or rather short interludes, were often represented. But the revival of letters introduced the drama into schools and colleges; plays were composed by professors, and performed by their pupils; nor did grave lawyers, at their annual festivals, disdain the laurels acquired on the stage.\* These, however, were temporary stages; but the church is still to be regarded as an established theatre, licensed, not indeed by divine permission, for the gratuitous exhibition of religious spectacles. Dispossessed by the reformers, or interdicted from preaching by the king's supremacy, the popish clergy seceded to secular stages, and endeavoured to discredit the gossellers by farces more efficacious and popular than their former sermons. The reformers retaliated, by converting the mysteries of the church into a satirical representation of the corruptions of popery; and repeated ordinances were afterwards necessary to suppress these ludicrous polemics of the church and stage. In churches the performers were chiefly the choristers; at court they were probably minstrels, of whom a company followed Queen Margaret from England, and exhibited several plays or mysteries at the Scottish court.† The minstrels, who disappeared under Henry VIII., were probably converted, by the prevalence of theatrical amusements, into itinerant players; in the succeeding reign, an established and apparently a numerous profession.

The following extract from a dialogue on the English stage, published at the latter end of the seventeenth century, contains the following quaint particulars as to the dramatic literature of this time.

"*Trueman.* I will produce but one example more of this sort of action, or representation, and that is of later time, and an instance of much higher nature than any yet mentioned: it was at the marriage of Prince Arthur, eldest son of King Henry VII. to

\* At Gray's Inn, during the celebration of Christmas, a play was exhibited by the students, so offensive to Wolsey, that he imprisoned the author, a Serjeant Roe, and deprived him of his coat.

† Twenty-pence was the established price of each play exhibited at Christmas in the Northumberland family, and the annual expense of such representations amounted only to thirty-three shillings.



the Princess Catherine of Spain, ann. 1501. Her passage through London was very magnificent, as I have read it described in an old MS. chronicle of that time. The pageants and speeches were many; the persons represented, St. Catherine, St. Ursula, a senator, noblesse, virtue, an angel, King Alphonse, Job, Boetius, &c.: among others one is thus described. 'When this speech was ended, she held on her way tyll she came unto the standard in Chepe, where was ordeyned the fifth paygend made like an hevyn, theryn sytting a personage representing the fader of hevyn, beyng all formyd of gold, and brennyng beffor his trone vii candylis of wax standing in vii candylstykis of gold, the said personage beyng environed wyth sundry hyrarchies off angelis, and sytting in a cope of most rich cloth of tyssu, garnishyd wyth stoon and perle in most sumptuous wyse. Foragain which said pagend upon the south syde of the strete stood at that tyme, in a hows wheryn that tyme dwellyd William Geffrey habyr-dasher, the kyng, the queene, my lady the kingys moder, my lord of Oxyngford, with many other lordys and ladys, and perys of this realm, wyth also certayn ambassadors of France lately sent from the French king; and so passyng the said estats, eyther guyving to other due and convenyent saluts and countenance, so sone as hyr grace was approachid unto the said pagend, the fadyr began his spech as folowlyth:

'Hunc veneram locum, septeno lumine septum;  
Dignumque Arthuri totidem astra micant.'

'I am begynnyng and ende, that made eche creature  
My sylfe, and for my sylfe, but man especially  
Both male and female, made aftr myne awn fygure,  
Whom I joynded togydyr in matrimony,  
And that in paradise, declaring openly  
That men shall wedding in my chyrch solemnize,  
Figured and signified by the erthly paradise.'

'In thys my chyrch I am allway recyent  
As my chyrch tabernacle, and most choyse place,  
Among these goldyn candylstykis, which represent  
My catholyk chyrch shyuyng affor my face,  
With lyght of feyth, wisdom, doctrine, and grace,  
And marvelously eke enflamyd toward me  
Wyth the extyngwible fyre of charyte.'

'Wherefore, my welbelovyd dowthyr Katharyn,  
Syth I have made you to myne awn semblance  
In my chyrch to be married, and your noble chydryn  
To reign in this land as in their enherytenance,  
Se that ye have me in special remembrance:  
Love me and my chyrch your spiritual modyr,  
For ye dyspysing that oon, dyspise that othyr.'

'Look that ye walk in my precepts, and obey them well:  
And here I give you the same blyssyng that I  
Gave my well beloved chydler of Israel;  
Blyssyd be the fruyt of your bely;  
Your substance and frutys I shall encrease and multiply;  
Your rebellous enmyneyes I shall put in your hand,  
Enterreasing in honour both you and your land.'

"*Lovewit.* This would be censured now-a-days as profane to the highest degree.

"*Trueman.* No doubt on't; yet you see there was a time when people were not so nicely censorious in these matters, but were willing to take things in the best sense: and then this was thought a noble entertainment for the greatest king in Europe (such I esteem King Henry VII. at that time), and proper for that day of mighty joy and triumph. And I must farther observe out of Lord Bacon's history of Henry VII., that the chiefe man who had the care of that day's proceedings was Bishop Fox, a grave counsellor for war or peace, and also a good surseuer of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and it seems he approv'd it. The said Lord Bacon tells us farther, 'That whosoever had those toys in compunging, they were not altogether pedantical.'

"*Lovewit.* These things however are far from that which we understand by the name of a play.

"*Trueman.* It may be so; but these were the plays of those times. Afterwards in the reign of King Henry VIII. both the subject and form of these plays began to alter, and have since varied more and more. I have by me, a thing called 'A merry play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte,' printed the 5th of April 1533, which was 24 Henry VIII. (a few years before the dissolution of monasteries). The design of this play was to ridicule Friars and Pardoners, of which I'll give you a taste. To begin it, the Friar enters with these words:

'Deus hic; the holy trynity  
Preserve all that now here be.

'Dere brethere, yf ye will consyder  
The cause why I am com hyder,  
Ye wolde be glad to knowe my entent:  
For I com not hyther for money nor for rent,  
I com not hyther for meat nor for meale.  
But I com hyther for your soules heale,' &c.

"After a long preamble he addresses himself to preach, when the Pardoner enters with these words:

'God and St. Leonarde send ye all his grace,  
As many as ben assembled in this place,' &c.

and makes a long speech, showing his bulls and his relics, in order to sell his pardons, for the raising some money towards the rebuilding

'Of the holy chappell of sweet Saynt Leonarde,  
Which late by fyre was destroyed and marde.'

Both these speaking together, with continual interruption, at last they fall together by the ears. Here the curate enters (for you must know the scene lies in the church),

'Hold your hands; a vengeance on ye both two,  
That ever ye came hyther to make this ado,  
To polute my chyrche,' &c.

'FRIAR. Mayster parson, I marvaill ye will give lycence  
To this false knave in this audience  
To publish his ragman rolles with lyces.  
I desyred hym ywis more than ones or twyse  
To hold his peus tyll that I had done,  
But he would here no more than the man in the mone.'

'PARDONER. Why sholde I suffre the, more than thoum?   
Mayster parson gave me lycence before the.  
And I wolde thou knowest it I have relykes here,  
Other maner stuffe than thou dost bere:  
I wyll edely more with the syght of it.  
Than will all thy pratyng of holy wryt;  
For that except that the preacher himselfe lyve well,  
His predaycacyon wyll helpe never a dell, &c.

'PARSON. No more of this wrangling in my chyrch:  
I shrewe your hertys bothe for this lurchie.  
Is there any blood shed here between these knaves?  
Thanked be God they had no stavys,  
Nor egotoles, for then it had ben wronge.  
Well, ye shall syng another songe.'

"Here he calls his neighbour Prat, the Constable, with design to apprehend 'em, and set 'em in the stocks; but the Friar and Pardoner prove sturdy, and will not be stock'd, but fall upon the poor Parson and Constable, and bang them both so well-favour'dly, that at last they are glad to let 'em go at liberty: and so the farce ends with a drawn battle. Such as this were the plays of that age, acted in gentlemen's halls at Christmas, or such like festival times, by the servants of the family, or strollers, who went about and made it a trade. It is not unlikely that the lords\* in those days, and persons

\* Till the 25th year of Queen Elizabeth, the queen had not any players: but in that year twelve of the best of all those who belonged to several lords, were chosen, and sworn her servants.—Stow's Annals, p. 698

of eminent quality had their several gangs of players, as some have now of fiddlers, to whom they give cloaks and badges."

It is almost certain, that the first regular comedy, or indeed play, in the English language, was written within this period; the production, we allude to, is the comedy of "Ralph Royster Doyster," which, after eluding the researches of our greatest dramatic antiquaries and illustrators, Malone, Warton, Farmer, Stevens, &c., was discovered about 1818, though unfortunately without a title-page, which consequently leaves its exact date a matter of conjecture; but this is reduced almost to a certainty from the following circumstances. Nicholas Udall, the author of it, was born in 1506, and is supposed to have died in 1557, after having been master of Eton and Westminster schools. In 1532 he assisted Bale (a prolific author in that way) in writing a pageant on the entrance of Anne Boleyn into London; and he is reported (by Bale) to have been the author of several dramatic pieces, one of them called "The Tragedy of Popery." The present subject, "Ralph Royster Doyster," is quoted in T. Wilson's "Art of Logick," printed by Grafton 1551; and it is probable that it had been then well known for more than four years previously, which would bring it within the present period.

Until the discovery of this comedy, "Gammer Gurton's Needle," first acted in 1566, was supposed to have been the earliest comedy in the language: but "Ralph Royster Doyster" claims at the very least sixteen years' precedence, and probably much more; it also maintains a priority in point of composition, it being a much higher and better work, exhibiting the follies and vices of the times in a spirited and masterly manner.

One of the most popular spectacles, consisted of bear-baiting; "of bears," says Erasmus, "many herds are maintained in Britain, for the purpose of dancing;" and bear-baiting was a favourite diversion, exhibited as a suitable amusement for a prince.

The winter solstice, when the sun regains his northern direction, was celebrated by our remote and idolatrous ancestors; and Christianity, unable to suppress the festival, transferred it under the same name to a different day. At Christmas, or the feast of "Yule,"\* peculiar dishes have been always employed, and every domestic diversion adopted that tends to cheer or to dissipate the gloom of winter. To regulate, or rather to promote such pastimes, a lord or abbot of misrule was created; but of these amusements, perhaps, the most rational was the recital of old and romantic tales. The domestic amusements, in a period subsequent to the present, are thus enumerated: "The ordinary recreations which we have in winter are cardes, tables and dice, shovel board, chesse-play, the philosopher's game, small trunks, billiards, musicke, masques, singing, dancing, ule-games, catches, purposes, questions; merry tales of errant knights, kings, queens, lovers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfs, thieves, fayries, goblins, friars, witches, and the rest." Among these amusements cards began to predominate, to be prohibited by parliament, and licensed by the king; and gaming became more inordinate and ruinous.

The following account of, and remarks on, the Northumberland house-book, are from Hume; who, it must be observed, seems to have rather studiously depreciated the manners of this period. It must be

remembered also, that the Northumberland family were at the extremity of the kingdom, and that ancient manners have retained their hold in the north longer than in any other part of the country. A proud and prejudiced feudal chieftain did not assume new manners with the facility of our age.

It must be acknowledged, in spite of those who declaim so violently against refinement in the arts, or what they are pleased to call luxury, that as much as an industrious tradesman is both a better man and a better citizen than one of those idle retainers who formerly depended on the great families; so much is the life of a modern nobleman more laudable than that of an ancient baron.

The duke of Northumberland has printed a household-book of an old earl of that family who lived at this time: the author has been favoured with the perusal of it; and it contains many curious particulars, which mark the manners and way of living in that rude, not to say barbarous age; as well as the prices of commodities. I have extracted a few of them from that piece, which gives a true picture of ancient manners, and is one of the most singular monuments that English antiquity affords us: for we may be confident, however rude the strokes, that no baron's family was on a nobler or more splendid footing. The family consists of 166 persons, masters and servants: fifty-seven strangers are reckoned upon every day: on the whole 223. Two-pence halfpenny are supposed to be the daily expense of each for meat, drink, and firing. This would make a groat of our present money: supposing provisions between three and four times cheaper, it would be equivalent to fourteen-pence: no great sum for a nobleman's house-keeping; especially considering, that the chief expense of a family at that time consisted in meat and drink: for the sum allotted by the earl for his whole annual expense is 1118 pounds seventeen shillings and eight-pence; meat, drink, and firing cost 796 pounds eleven shillings and two-pence, more than two-thirds of the whole: in a modern family it is not above a third: p. 157, 158, 159. The whole expense of the earl's family is managed with an exactness that is very rigid, and, if we make no allowance for ancient manners, such as may seem to border on an extreme; inasmuch, that the number of pieces which must be cut out of every quarter of beef, mutton, pork, veal, nay stock-fish and salmon, are determined, and must be entered and accounted for by the different clerks appointed for that purpose: if a servant be absent a day, his mess is struck off: if he go on my lord's business, board wages are allowed him, eight-pence a-day for his journey in winter, five-pence in summer: when he stays in any place, two-pence a-day are allowed him, beside the maintenance of his horse. Somewhat above a quarter of wheat is allowed for every month throughout the year; and the wheat is estimated at five shillings and eight-pence a quarter. Two hundred and fifty quarters of malt are allowed, at four shillings a quarter: two hogsheds are to be made of a quarter; which amounts to about a bottle and a third of beer a-day to each person, p. 4, and the beer will not be very strong. One hundred and nine fat beeves are to be bought at All-hallow-tide, at thirteen shillings and four-pence a-piece: and twenty-four lean beeves to be bought at St. Helen's at eight shillings a-piece: these are to be put into the pastures to feed; and are to serve from Midsummer to Michaelmas; which is consequently the only time that the family eats fresh beef; during all the rest of the year

\* Festus Tolensis, as it is translated from the Scandinavian language



they live on salted meat, p. 5. One hundred and sixty gallons of mustard are allowed in a year; which seems indeed requisite for the salt beef, p. 18. Six hundred and forty-seven sheep are allowed at twenty-pence a-piece: and these seem also to be all eat salted, except between Lammas and Michaelmas, p. 5. Only twenty-five hogs are allowed at two shillings a-piece; twenty-eight veals at twenty-pence; forty lambs at ten-pence or a shilling, p. 7. These seem to be reserved for my lord's table, or that of the upper servants, called the knight's table. The other servants, as they eat salted meat almost through the whole year, and with few or no vegetables, had a very bad and unhealthy diet: so that there cannot be any thing more erroneous than the magnificent ideas formed of "the Roast Beef of Old England." We must entertain as mean an idea of its cleanliness: only seventy ells of linen at eight-pence an ell are annually allowed for this great family: no sheets were used: this linen was made into eight table-cloths for my lord's table; and one table-cloth for the knights, p. 16. This last, I suppose, was washed only once a month. Only forty shillings are allowed for washing throughout the whole year; and most of it seems expended on the linen belonging to the chapel. The drinking, however, was tolerable, namely, ten tuns and two hogsheds of Gascony wine, at the rate of four pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence a tun, p. 6. Only ninety-one dozen of candles for the whole year, p. 14. The family rose at six in the morning, dined at ten, and supped at four in the afternoon: the gates were all shut at nine, and no further ingress or egress permitted, p. 314, 318. My lord and lady have set on their table, for breakfast, at seven o'clock in the morning, a quart of beer, as much wine, two pieces of salt fish, six red herrings, four white ones, or a dish of sprats. In flesh days half a chyne of mutton, or a chyne of beef boiled, p. 73, 75. Mass is ordered to be said at six o'clock, in order, says the household-book, that all my lord's servants may rise early, p. 170. Only twenty-four fires are allowed, beside the kitchen and hall, and most of these have only a peck of coals a day allowed them, p. 99. After Lady-day no fires permitted in the rooms, except half-fires in my lord's and lady's, and Lord Piercy's and the nursery, p. 101. It is to be observed that my lord kept house in Yorkshire, where there is certainly much cold weather after Lady-day. Eighty chalders of coals, at four shillings and two-pence a chaldar, suffices throughout the whole year; and because coal will not burn without wood, says the household-book, sixty-four loads of great wood are also allowed, at twelve-pence a load, p. 22. This is a proof that grates were not then used. Here is an article. "It is devised that from henceforth no capons to be bought but only for my lord's own mess, and that the said capons shall be bought for two-pence a-piece, lean, and fed in the poultry; and master chamberlain and the stewards be fed with capons, if there be strangers sitting with them," p. 102. Pigs are to be bought at three-pence or a groat a-piece: geese at the same price: chickens at a halfpenny: hens at two-pence, and only for the above-mentioned tables. Here is another article. "Item, it is thought good that no plovers be bought at no season but only in Christmas and principal feasts, and my lord to be served therewith, and his board-end, and none other, and to be bought for a penny a-piece, or a penny halfpenny at most," p. 103. Wood-

cocks are to be bought at the same price. Partridges at two-pence, p. 104, 105. Pheasants a shilling; peacocks the same, p. 106. My lord keeps only twenty-seven horses in his stable at his own charge: his upper servants have allowance for maintaining their own horses, p. 126. These horses are, six gentle horses as they are called, at hay and hard meat throughout the whole year, four palfreys, three hobbies and nags, three sumpter horses, six horses for those servants to whom my lord furnishes a horse, two sumpter horses more, and three mill horses, two for carrying the corn, and one for grinding it: whence we may infer, that mills, either water or wind mills were then unknown; at least very rare: besides these, there are seven great trotting horses for the chariot or waggon. He allows a peck of oats a-day, besides loaves made of beans, for his principal horses; the oats at twenty-pence, the beans at two shillings a quarter. The load of hay is at two shillings and eight-pence. When my lord is on a journey he carries thirty-six horsemen along with him; together with bed and other accommodation, p. 157. The inns, it seems, could afford nothing tolerable. My lord passes the year in three country-seats, all in Yorkshire, Wrysel, Leckenfield, and Topcliffe: but he has furniture only for one: he carries every thing along with him, beds, tables, chairs, kitchen utensils, all which we may conclude were so coarse, that they could not be spoilt by the carriage: yet seventeen carts and one waggon suffices for the whole, p. 391. One cart suffices for all his kitchen utensils, cooks, beds, &c. p. 388. One remarkable circumstance is, that he has eleven priests in his house, besides seventeen persons, chanters, musicians, &c. belonging to his chapel; yet he has only two cooks for a family of 223 persons, p. 325. Their meals were certainly dressed in the slovenly manner of a ship's company. It is amusing to observe the pompous and even royal style assumed by this Tartar chief: He does not give any orders, though only for the right making of mustard, but it is introduced with this preamble, "It seemeth good to us and our council." If we consider the magnificent and elegant manner in which the Venetian and other Italian noblemen then lived, with the progress made by the Italians in literature and the fine arts, we shall not wonder that they considered the ultramontaine nations as barbarous. The Flemish also seem to have much excelled the English and even the French. Yet the earl is sometimes not deficient in generosity: he pays, for instance, an annual pension of a groat to my lady of Walsingham, for her interest in heaven; the same sum to the holy blood at Hales, p. 337. No mention is anywhere made of plate; but only of the hiring of pewter vessels. The servants seem all to have bought their own clothes from their wages.

The following is inserted as giving an insight into the expenses and taste of the period.

*Extracts from a MS. Book in the Remembrancer's Office, almost every page signed by K. Henry VII.*

13th Hen. VII.

Item, to a woman for three apples, 12d.  
Item, for two pair of bellows, 10d.  
Item, for the King's losse at tennis, 12d.  
Item, for losse of balls there, 3d.

N. B. The King's Sunday's offering seems constantly to have been, 6s. 8d.  
To the preacher of the day, 20s.

Item, for three sackbuthes wages, 6*li*.  
 Item, for three stryngmynstrels wages, 5*li*.  
 Item, for offering, St. George's day, 30*s*.  
 John Send. nonick Rebeck, 40*s*. per month.

Item, for the feryboate of Rochester, 53*s*. 4*d*.

14th Hen. VII.

Item, a rewarde given for apples by Thomas Foteman homeward, 20*d*.

Item, to a strange taberer, in reward, 66*s*. 5*d*.

Item, to a strange tumbler, in reward, 20*s*.

Item, for heling of a seke maid, 6*s*. 8*d*.—

N.B. This charge occurs frequently, and was perhaps the piece of gold given by the King in touching for the evil.—Q. If there was any such piece of coin?

20th July. Item, to the mayor of Rochester towards the bridge there, 100*s*.

Item, for a stryngmynstrel for one moneth's wages of October last passed, 15*s*.

Item, for finding three hares, 6*s*. 8*d*.—  
 N.B. This occurs frequently.

Item, to a piper at Huntingdon, 2*s*.

Item, for apples presented by a woman, 4*d*.

Item, for breaking of hegges at Wiscombe, 20*d*.

Item, to my Lord Prince's organ-player for a qrt. wages ending at Michell, 10*s*.

Item, for three dozen of leder gloves, 12*s*.

Item, to the yeoman of the King's chamber for their months' wages of November last passed, 67*l*. 8*s*. 8*d*.

Item, for the wages of the seke yeomen, 60*s*.

Item, to the tumbler at my Lord Bathe's, 20*s*.

Item, to the players of London, in reward, 10*s*.

Item, to the tabouretts and a tumbler, 20*s*.

Item, to my Lord Dudley's servant for bringing up a money-maker, 13*s*. 4*d*.

Item, to a Scotch fole, in reward, 13*s*. 4*d*.

Item, to Sir Thomas Brandon for a horse, 4*l*.

Item, for another horse, 4*l*.

Item, for a third horse, 66*s*. 8*d*.

Item, to a Ducheman for a cage, 4*l*.

Item, to Master Barnard the blind poete, 100*s*.

To William Est for digging of the conduyt at Wodestock, p. lis. 20*l*.

To the abbot of Reading for lede bought for Wodestock, 16*l*.

For the carriage of the same, 18*s*.

Item, to Jakes Haute for the conduyt at Wodestock, upon a bill, 10*l*. 12*s*. 10*d*.

Item, to a man and woman for straw-buries, 8*s*. 4*d*.

Item, to the Bishop of Bangor's cheeses at Lantony, 6*s*. 8*d*.—N.B. This frequently.

Item, to a woman for a red rosse, 2*s*.

For the hyre of a cart from London to Wodestock, 10*s*.

*Extract from a MS. in the Remembrancer's Office.*

9th Hen. VII.

Item, to Robert Forst for appaules and cakes 6*s*. 8*d*.

Item, to Cart for writing of a booke, 6*s*. 8*d*.  
 Item, to one that presented two cakes and a cheese, 13*s*. 4*d*.

Item, to Sir Robert Curson's servent for an horse, 40*s*.

Item, to Danyell riding to Shene and Thistleworth, 2*s*.

Item, for a pair of trussing cofres boughte, 10*s*.

10th Dec. Item, to a fellow with a berde, a spye, in reward, 20*s*.

Item, to two monkes, speyes, in reward, 40*s*.

Item, payed for two playes in the hall, 26*s*. 8*d*.

Item, to the King's players, for a rewarde, 100*s*.

Item, to him who oughrout the pnosticacion, 6*s*. 8*d*.

Item, to the King to play at cardes, 100*s*.

Item, to John Ibye, a spye, in reward, 13*s*. 4*d*.

Item, to one who brought the King a lyon, 53*s*. 4*d*.

Item, to a spye that dwelleth in the west cuntrye, 20*s*.

For the King at tables, chess, glasses, &c. 56*s*. 8*d*.

Item, to the players that begged by the way, 6*s*. 8*d*.

Item, to a littell feloo of Shaftesburye, 20*s*.

Item, to Pechie the fole, in rewarde, 6*s*. 8*d*.

Item, lost to my Lord Moring at buttes, 6*s*. 3*d*.

Item, to Asshby for writing of a boke, 3*s*. 4*d*.

8th June. Item, to Sir Edward Boroughe which the King lost at buttes with his crosse-bowe, 13*s*. 4*d*.

10th. Item, to a Spanyarde that played the fole, 40*s*.

29th July. Item, to a woman that broke an heggex by the way, 12*d*.

5th Augst. Item, to Diego, the Spanish fole, in reward, 20*s*.

2d Octor. Item, to the shippes boates that brought the King's grace to and fro the ship the Swan, 40*s*.

Item, to the mariners of the same Swan, 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

Item, to the mynstrels that played therein, 13*s*. 4*d*.

Item, to Dego, the Spaynyshe fole, in reward, 6*s*. 8*d*.

Item, to a Scot, an espye, in reward, 40*s*.

Item, to one that presented the King with a mule, 20*s*.

Item, to one that bought a lamprey, in reward, 4*s*.

Item, to Harry Poyning, the King's godson, in reward, 20*s*.

Item, to the fole the Duk of Lancastre.

Item, to finding one hare, 3*s*. 4*d*.

25th May. Item, to Pudesay, piper in the bagpipes, 6*s*. 8*d*.

N.B. The several items are not following each other, but copied from various places in the book.

T. ASTLE.



## CHAP. XXXVIII.

## EDWARD VI.

*Accession—Coronation—Funeral of Henry VIII.—State of the Regency—Innovations in the Regency—Hertford Protector—Reformation completed—Gardiner's Opposition—Foreign Affairs—Progress of the Reformation in Scotland—Assassination of Cardinal Beaton—Conduct of the War with Scotland—Battle of Pinkie—A Parliament—Further progress of the Reformation—Affairs of Scotland—Young Queen of Scots sent into France—Cabals of Lord Seymour—Dudley, earl of Warwick—A Parliament—Attainder of Lord Seymour—His Execution—Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

HUME, in accordance with the usual comprehensiveness of his views, passes over the details of Edward's accession: but as the general reader may be desirous to learn those particulars which illustrate the manners of the age, as well as those which relate to the policy of the government, we give the following particulars from Sir John Hayward's life of Edward VI.

"When he was a few months above nine years of age,\* great preparation was made either for creating or for declaring him to be prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall and count palatine of Chester. In the midst whereof King Henry his father ended his life of a dropsy, accompanied with a spreading scar of his thigh. Hereupon Edward, earl of Hertford, and Sir Anthony Browne, knight of the order and master of the horse, were forthwith dispatched by the residue of the council to the young king, then lying at Hertford.† These came unto him, and the next day brought him to Enfield, neither with preparation nor train any more than ordinary. Here they first declared unto him and to the Lady Elizabeth, his sister, the death of King Henry their father. Upon which tidings they both brake forth into such unforced and unfeigned passions, as it plainly appeared, that good nature did work in them beyond all other respects. Never was sorrow more sweetly set forth, their faces seeming rather to beautify their sorrow, than their sorrow to cloud the beauty of their faces. Their young years, their excellent beauties, their lovely and lively interchange of complaints, in such sort graced their grief, as the most iron eyes at that time present were drawn thereby into society of their tears.

"The next day following, being the last of January,‡ the young king advanced towards London, the earl of Hertford riding next before him, and Sir Anthony Browne behind. The same day he was proclaimed king, and his lodging was prepared within the Tower. He there was received by the constable and lieutenant on horseback, without the gates, and upon the bridge next the ward-gate by all the chief lords of his council. These attended him to his chamber of presence, and there aware allegiance to him." Hayward proceeds to give an account of the honours conferred by the young king; but as Hume has from other sources shown more particularly the motives for these

proceedings, we shall leave it to his narration. Hayward subsequently goes on: "During this time the body of King Henry was with honourable solemnities (February 14,) conveyed from London to Sheene,\* and thence to Windsor, and there buried within the college. All his officers brake their staves, and threw them into the grave, but at their return to the Tower, new staves were delivered unto them. This solemnity being finished, the king, on the 19th of February, (1547) rode in great state from the Tower to the palace of Westminster; and the day following was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted with other bishops, and all the chief nobility of the realm, about the 29th year of the empire of Charles V., and the 33rd of the reign of Francis I. of France, and in the 5th year both of the reign and age of Mary queen of Scotland."

Dr. Lingard says, "The ceremony of the coronation was much abridged, on account, it was said, of the delicate state of the king's health; but men were surprised that, instead of observing the former custom of the archbishop, first, receiving the king's oath to preserve the liberties of the realm, and then, asking the people if they were willing to accept and obey him as their liege lord; the form was now reversed, by allowing the address to the people to precede the oath of the king. 'Sirs,' said the metropolitan, 'I here present King Edward, rightful and undoubted inheritor, by the laws of God and man, to the royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, whose consecration, inunction, and coronation is appointed by all the nobles and peers of the land to be this day. Will ye serve at this time, and give your good wills and assents to the same consecration, inunction, and coronation, as by your duty of allegiance ye be bound to do?'"

"Instead of a sermon, Cranmer pronounced a short address; in which he told the young monarch that 'the promises which he had just made could not affect his right to sway the sceptre of his dominions. That right he had derived from God; consequently, that neither the bishop of Rome, nor any other bishop, could impose conditions on him at his coronation, nor pretend to deprive him of his crown, on the plea that he had broken his coronation-oath. Yet these solemn rites served to admonish him of his duties, which were, as God's viceregent, and Christ's vicar, to see that God be worshipped, and idolatry be destroyed; that the tyranny of the bishop of Rome be banished, and images be removed; to reward virtue and revenge vice; to justify the innocent and relieve the poor; to repress violence and execute justice. Let him do this, and he would become a second Josiah, whose fame would remain to the end of days.'

"With France an appearance of amity was kept up; at Paris a solemn service was performed for the repose of the soul of Henry VIII.; and at the death of Francis, which happened two months after, a mass of requiem was sung in the church of St. Paul in London; but Henry II., son and successor to Francis, and who followed the advice of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, refused to fulfil the alliance with England, which had been planned by his father and the late Henry. The French monarch felt deeply interested in the fate of the infant queen of Scotland, and would not assume any obligation that should prevent his interference in her behalf."

\* He was born on the 12th of October, 1537.

† He himself makes the king's residence at Hatfield; which is generally supposed to be the most correct statement.

‡ According to the then mode of reckoning, which made the year commence in March, this was towards the latter end of the year 1546, but the beginning, according to the modern reckoning of 1547.

\* Kennet says in a note, "Not Sheene but Sion, where the corps and company lodged that night."



"Henry scul."

EDWARD VI.





Kennet, the editor and commentator of Hayward, gives the following account of Henry the Eighth's funeral.

"Because these 'honourable solemnities' are not in any of our historians particularly set down, take this short account of them, from a volume in the office of arms.

"The chest wherein the royal corps was laid stood in the midst of the Privy Chamber, with lights and divine service said about him, with masses, obsequies, and continual watch, made by the chaplains and gentlemen of the Privy Chamber in their order and course, night and day, for five days, till the chapel was ready; where was a goodly hearse with eighty square tapers, every light containing two foot in length, in the whole 1800 weight of wax, (another relation writeth about 2000 weight) garnished with pensils, eschotcheons, banners and banners of descents; and at the four corners, banners of saints, beaten in fine gold upon damask; with a majesty thereover of rich cloth of tissue and valance of black silk, and fringe of black silk and gold; and the barriers without the hearse, and the sides and floor of the said chapel covered with black cloth to the high altar; and at the sides and ceiling of the said chapel set with banners and standards of St. George and others. The 2nd of February the corps was removed, and brought into the chapel, by the lord great master and officers of the household, and there placed within the hearse under a pall of rich cloth of tissue, garnished with eschotcheons, and a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones thereon. It continued there twelve days, with masses and diriges sung and said every day: Norroy each day standing at the choir door, and beginning with these words pronounced aloud, 'Of your charity, pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince our late sovereign lord and king, Henry VIII.' February 14th the corps was removed, and lodged that night at Syon, with the mourners and company; and the next day arrived at Windsor; and the next day, being February the 16th, the corps was interred. Stephen bishop of Winchester preached the sermon, on that text, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.' Where he declared the frailty of man, and the community of death, both to high and low; and showing the loss that all had sustained by the death of so gracious a king: yet comforting them again by the resurrection in the life to come. And exhorted them all to rejoice and give thanks to Almighty God for having sent so towardly and virtuous a prince to reign after him; desiring all men to continue in obedience and duty: with many other exhortations, notably set forth, and with great learning.

"The corps being let down by a vice, with the help of sixteen tall yeomen of the guard, the same bishop, standing at the head of the vault, proceeded in the service of the burial; and about the same stood all the head officers of the household, as the lord great master, lord chamberlain, lord treasurer, comptroller, serjeant-porter, and the four gentlemen ushers in ordinary, with their staves and rods in their hands; and when the mold was brought and cast into the grave by the prelate executing, at the words 'Pulvis Pulveri, Cinis Cineri,' first the lord great master, and after the lord chamberlain, and all the rest, brake their staves in shivers upon their heads, and cast them after the corps within the pit, with exceeding sorrow and heaviness, not without grievous sighs and tears

"After this finished, and De Profundis said, and the grave covered again with planks, Garter stood in the midst of the choir, accompanied with all them of his office in their coats of arms, and with a loud voice proclaimed, 'Almighty God, of his infinite goodness, give good life and long, to the most high and mighty Prince, our Sovereign Lord, King Edward VI., by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth, under God, of the church of England and Ireland the supreme head, and Sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter.' And with that he cried, 'Vive le noble Roy Edward,' and the rest of the officers of arms cried the same three several times after him. Then the trumpets sounded with great melody and courage, to the comfort of all them that were there present."—We now proceed with Hume.

Henry VIII., by the regulations which he imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by the limitations of the succession, had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined that his ministers who had always been so obsequious to him during his lifetime, would never afterwards depart from the plan which he had traced out to them. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was then only a few months past nine, he appointed sixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the kingdom. Their names were Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; Lord Wriothesley, chancellor; Lord St. John, great master, Lord Russel, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; Viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; Judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Essex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwel, and Sir Edmund Peckham. The usual caprice of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination; while he appointed several persons of inferior station among his executors, and gave only the place of counsellor to a person of such high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

But the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late king in a material article. No sooner were they met, than it was suggested, that the government would lose its dignity, for want of some head, who might represent the royal majesty, who might receive addresses from foreign ambassadors, to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad might be carried, and whose name might be employed in all orders and proclamations: and as the king's will seemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was deemed necessary to supply it, by choosing a



protector; who, though he should possess all the exterior symbols of royal dignity, should yet be bound, in every act of power, to follow the opinion of the executors. This proposal was very disagreeable to the chancellor Wriothesley. That magistrate, a man of an active spirit and high ambition, found himself, by his office, entitled to the first rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew that this prelate had no talent or inclination for state affairs, he hoped that the direction of public business would of course devolve in a great measure upon himself. He opposed therefore the proposal of choosing a protector; and represented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which, being corroborated by an act of parliament, ought in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the same authority which had established it. But he seems to have stood alone in the opposition. The executors and counsellors were mostly courtiers, who had been raised by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and as they had been sufficiently accustomed to submission during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretensions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquiesced the more willingly in a proposal which seemed calculated for preserving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of course on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and, possessing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any separate interest, which might lead him to endanger Edward's person or his authority. The public was informed by proclamation of this change in the administration; and dispatches were sent to all foreign courts to give them intimation of it. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions, that they held their offices during pleasure: and it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown.

The executors in their next measure showed a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved, either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution; and in his will he charged his executors to make good all his promises. That they might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency; and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promises, their testimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling of these engagements. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, marshal and lord treasurer; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; Viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral, Sir Richard Rich, Sir William

Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron. Several to whom the same dignity was offered, refused it; because the other part of the king's promises, the bestowing of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, as also Somerset the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries, and prebends. For, among many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges and property, this irregular practice of bestowing spiritual benefices on laymen began now to prevail.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions, which had secretly prevailed even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, had, of himself and from his own authority, put the great seal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. This measure seemed very exceptionable; and the more so, as two of the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers suspected that by this nomination the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The council summoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lose it without a trial in parliament; that if the commission which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill consequences of it be easily remedied; and the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized. But the council, notwithstanding these topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great seal; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure.

The removal of Southampton increased the protector's authority, as well as tended to suppress faction in the regency; yet was not Somerset contented with this advantage: his ambition carried him to seek still further acquisitions. On pretence that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Henry VIII., produced a total revolution in the government, and may seem even to have subverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton; he reserved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure; and he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatever. Even had this patent been more moderate in

its concessions, and had it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might justly be questioned; since it seems essential to a trust of this nature to be exercised by the persons entrusted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: but as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not so much as mentioned, appears to have been surreptitiously obtained from a minor king, the protectorship of Somerset was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to justify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their present acquiescence in the new establishment, made it be universally submitted to; and as the young king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was also in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. All men of sense likewise, who saw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed it the more necessary to entrust the government to one person, who might check the exorbitancies of faction, and ensure the public tranquillity. And though some clauses of the patent seemed to imply a formal subversion of all limited government, so little jealousy was then usually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretensions of this nature, advanced by any person possessed of sovereign power. The actual exercise alone of arbitrary administration, and that in many, and great, and flagrant, and unpopular instances, was able sometimes to give some umbrage to the nation.

The extensive authority and imperious character of Henry had retained the partisans of both religions in subjection; but, upon his demise, the hopes of the protestants, and the fears of the catholics, began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes to more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers; and being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the protestant innovations. He took care that all persons entrusted with the king's education should be attached to the same principles; and as the young prince discovered a zeal for every kind of literature, especially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foresaw, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themselves in favour of those tenets which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council seemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion; and most of the counsellors appeared even sanguine in forwarding the progress of the reformation. The riches, which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable. Their rapacity also, the chief source of their reforming spirit, was excited by the prospect of pillaging the secular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew that while any share of the old principles remained, or any regard to the ecclesiastics, they could never hope to succeed in that enterprise.

The numerous and burthensome superstitions, with which the Romish church was loaded, had

thrown many of the reformers, by the spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior observances were zealously proscribed by them as hinderances to their spiritual contemplations, and obstructions to their immediate converse with heaven. Many circumstances concurred to inflame this daring spirit; the novelty itself of their doctrines, the triumph of making proselytes, the furious persecutions to which they were exposed, their animosity against the ancient tenets and practices, and the necessity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depressing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the ecclesiastics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the opposition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with consequences, which, though less durable, were, for some time, not less dangerous than those which were connected with the ancient superstition. But as the magistrate took the lead in England, the transition was more gradual; much of the ancient religion was still preserved; and a reasonable degree of subordination was retained in discipline, as well as some pomp, order, and ceremony in public worship.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrine and discipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect. He probably also foresaw that a system, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be most lasting; and that a devotion merely spiritual was fitted only for the first fervours of a new sect, and upon the relaxation of these naturally gave place to the inroads of superstition. He seems, therefore, to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, being suited to a great and settled government, might stand as a perpetual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished, or entirely evaporated.

The person who opposed, with greatest authority, any further advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. This prelate still continued to magnify the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and sincerely revered by the nation; and he insisted on the prudence of persevering, at least till the young king's majority, in the ecclesiastical model established by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were now openly attacked by the protestants; and he represented them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude. He even deigned to write an apology for "holy water," which Bishop Ridley had decried in a sermon; and he maintained that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind. Above all, he insisted that the laws ought to be observed, that the constitution ought to be preserved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the sovereign in opposition to an act of parliament.



But though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient at least to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with an immediate exercise of authority, this plea could scarcely in the present case be maintained with any plausibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had invested the crown with a legislative power; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of laws. The protector, finding himself supported by this statute, was determined to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and having suspended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerset and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain for the present, all images which had not been abused to idolatry; and to instruct the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or using of consecrated candles, in order to drive away the devil.

But nothing required more the correcting hand of authority than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and superstitions. The court of augmentation, in order to ease the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and these men were led by interest, as well as by inclination, to support those principles which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to restrain the topics of their sermons: twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people: and all of them were prohibited, without express permission, from preaching any where but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the catholic divines; while the protestant, by the grant of particular licences, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

Bonner made some opposition to these measures; but soon after retracted and acquiesced. Gardiner was more high-spirited and more steady. He represented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. "Tis a dangerous thing," said he, "to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humour of novelty you cannot put a stop to people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure. For my part," said he, on another occasion, "my sole concern is, to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage. Provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already by nature condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this sentence: nor so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech, and integrity in action, are entertaining qualities:

they will stick by a man when every thing else takes its leave; and I must not resign them upon any consideration. The best on it is, if I do not throw them away myself, no man can force them from me: but if I give them up, then I am ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my preferments." This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity.

One of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner against the new homilies, was, that they defined, with the most metaphysical precision, the doctrines of grace, and of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it was superfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehension of the vulgar. A famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, "An insensible ass, and one that had no feeling of God's spirit in the matter of justification." The meanest protestant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines; and he heartily despised the most learned and knowing person of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to foretell its success, in opposition to all the ceremonies, shows, and superstitions of popery. By exalting Christ and his sufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourselves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of self-abasement which generally have place in religion.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council; but no further severity was, for the present, exercised against him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

The same religious zeal which engaged Somerset to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interests of the protestants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at last summoned a general council, which was assembled at Trent, and was employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church, and in ascertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who desired to repress the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the protestants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatness so deeply interested, desired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave instructions to his legates, who presided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in argument, and altercation, and dispute concerning the nice points of faith canvassed before them: a policy so easy to be executed, that the legates soon found it rather necessary to interpose, in order to appease the animosity of the divines, and bring them at last to some decision. The more difficult task for the legates was, to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repress the ambition of the prelates, who desired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of the sovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broke out at Trent, transferred of a sudden the council to Bologna, where they hoped it would be more under the direction of his holiness.

The emperor, no less than the pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and

policy. He was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the palatine and the elector of Brandenburg from the protestant confederacy: he took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse: by the fortune of war, he made the former prisoner: he employed treachery and peravication against the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a safe-conduct which he had granted him. He seemed to have reached the summit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were astonished with his success, were further discouraged by the intelligence which they had received of the death, first of Henry VIII., then of Francis I. their usual resources in every calamity.

Henry II. who succeeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities; but less hasty in his resolution than Francis, and less inflamed with rivalry and animosity against the Emperor Charles. Though he sent ambassadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic League, and promised them protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war with so great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of those princes was a sure resource, which he could at any time lay hold of. He was much governed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counsel, in choosing rather to give immediate assistance to Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of Henry VIII. had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

The hatred between the two factions, the partisans of the ancient and those of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the resolution which the cardinal primate had taken, to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision. There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extensive learning: but these praises cannot be much depended on; because we know that, among the reformers, severity of manners supplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general so ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted that the Old alone was the word of God. But however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proselytes. Meanwhile

a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease, till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: but lest he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: the infected stood within; the others without: and the preacher failed not, in such a situation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission.

The assiduity and success of Wishart became an object of attention to Cardinal Beaton; and he resolved, by the punishment of so celebrated a preacher, to strike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwell to arrest him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise given by Bothwell to that unhappy man: and being possessed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for heresy. Arran, the governor, was irresolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him over to his party, found that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart. He determined, therefore, without the assistance of the secular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he himself beheld from his window the dismal spectacle. Wishart suffered with the usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he should in the very same place lie as low as now he was exalted aloft in opposition to true piety and religion.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprise with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified; and though they were not above sixteen persons, they thrust out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle; and had barricadoed the door of his chamber: but finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promise of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a priest, he conjured them to spare him. Two of the assassins rushed upon him with drawn swords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more considerate in exigency, stopped their career, and bade them reflect that this work was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword towards Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands: it is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee: we are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest, that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of



thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death : but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton time to finish that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body ; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. This murder was executed on the 28th of May, 1546. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends to the number of a hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of disturbing the government of a rival kingdom ; and he promised to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five short reigns had been successively followed by as many long minorities ; and the execution of justice which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animosities of the great. But besides these inveterate and ancient evils, a new source of disorder had arisen, the disputes and contentions of theology, which were sufficient to disturb the most settled government ; and the death of the cardinal, who was possessed of abilities and vigour, seemed much to weaken the hands of the administration. But the queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue ; and she did as much to support the government, and supply the weakness of Arran the governor, as could be expected in her situation.

The protector of England, as soon as the state was brought to some composure, made preparations for war with Scotland ; and he was determined to execute, if possible, that project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which were ships of war, the other laden with provisions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to Lord Clinton : he himself marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwick. These hostile measures were covered with a pretence of revenging some depredations committed by the borderers ; but besides that Somerset revived the ancient claim of the superiority of the English crown over that of Scotland, he refused to enter into negotiation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

The protector, before he opened the campaign, published a manifesto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that measure. He said, that nature seemed originally to have intended this island for one empire ; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign states, and guarded it by the ocean, she had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happiness and to security : that the education and customs of the people concurred with nature ; and by giving them the same language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition : that fortune had at last removed all obstacles, and had prepared an expedient by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealousy, either of honour or of interests, to which rival nations are naturally exposed : that the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female ; that of England on a male ; and hap-

pily the two sovereigns, as of a rank, were also of an age the most suitable to each other : that the hostile dispositions which prevailed between the nations, and which arose from past injuries, would soon be extinguished, after a long and secure peace had established confidence between them : that the memory of former miseries, which at present inflamed their mutual animosity, would then serve only to make them cherish, with more passion, a state of happiness and tranquillity so long unknown to their ancestors : that when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience : that as this situation was desirable to both kingdoms, so particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and saw herself every moment in danger of losing her independence, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people : that though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace, and desired a union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal : and that besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance ; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and safety so loudly demanded.

Somerset soon perceived that these remonstrances would have no influence ; and that the queen-dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negotiations for the intended marriage. He found himself, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to constrain the Scots by necessity to submit to a measure, for which they seemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the borders of Berwick, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance for some days, except from some small castles which he obliged to surrender at discretion. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrison of one of these castles for their temerity in resisting such unequal force : but they eluded his anger by asking only a few hours' respite, till they should prepare themselves for death ; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy.

The governor of Scotland had summoned together the whole force of the kingdom ; and his army, double in number to that of the English, had taken post on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eske, about four miles from Edinburgh. The English came within sight of them at Faside ; and after a skirmish between the horse, where the Scots were worsted, and Lord Hume dangerously wounded, Somerset prepared himself for a more decisive action. But having taken a view of the Scottish camp with the earl of Warwick, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran ; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she reached the age of choosing a husband for herself. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of its moderation ; and it made them imagine that the protector must either be reduced to great distress, or be influenced by fear, that he was now

contented to abate so much of his former pretensions. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape on board the ships, which at that very time moved into the bay opposite to him. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp, and passing the river Eske, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntly the rear: their cavalry consisted only of light-horse, which were placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this service.

Somerset was much pleased when he saw this movement of the Scottish army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of success. He ranged his van on the left, furthest from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which he placed them, till the enemy should approach: he placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he posted Lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take the Scottish van in flank, but not till they should be engaged in close fight with the van of the English.

While the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships: the eldest son of Lord Graham was killed: the Irish archers were thrown into disorder; and even the other troops began to stagger: when Lord Grey, perceiving their situation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy armed horse, made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a slough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the enemy armed with spears, and the field on which they stood was fallow ground, broken with ridges which lay cross their front, and disordered the movements of the English cavalry. From all these accidents, the shock of this body of horse was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfited. Grey himself was dangerously wounded: Lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him: the standard was near being taken: and had the Scots possessed any good body of cavalry, who could have pursued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger.

The protector, meanwhile, assisted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence and success in rallying the cavalry. Warwick showed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled: he made Sir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot harquebusiers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish harquebusiers on horseback; and ordered them to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. They marched to the slough, and discharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: the ships galled them from the flank: the artillery, planted on a height, infested them

from the front: the English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon them: and the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced leisurely, and in good order, towards them. Dismayed with all these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: the retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamations, which added still more to the dismay of the vanquished. The horse in particular, eager to revenge the affront which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strewn with dead bodies. The priests, above all, and the monks, received no quarter; and the English made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprise so ill befitting their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English; and, according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were scarcely able to collect such a body of forces as could check the incursions of small parties of the English. About the same time the earl of Lenox and Lord Wharton entered the west marches, at the head of five thousand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they spread devastation over all the neighbouring counties. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation: but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard some counsellors, and even his own brother the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Having taken the castles of Hume, Dunglass, Eymouth, Fastcastle, Roxborough, and some other small places; and having received the submission of some counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, besides destroying all the shipping along the coast, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there left a garrison. Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negotiate: but no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice to gain time till succours should arrive from France.

The protector, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament: and being somewhat elated with his success against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges that had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent the king employed his dispensing power, by setting aside the statute of precedency enacted during the former reign. But if Somerset gave offence by assuming too much state, he deserves great praise on account of the laws passed this session, by which the rigour of former statutes was



much mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III.; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. None were to be accused for words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals several of the most rigorous laws that ever had passed in England were annulled; and some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no precise standard by which that crime could be defined or determined; a circumstance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges.

A repeal also passed of that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute. That other law likewise was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every statute passed before the four-and-twentieth year of his age: he could prevent their future execution; but could not recall any past effects which had ensued from them.

It was also enacted, That all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's should for the first offence forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence should incur the penalty of a *praemunire*; and for the third offence be attainted of treason. But if any, after the first of March ensuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason. If any of the heirs of the crown should usurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of succession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abettors. These were the most considerable acts passed during this session. The members in general discovered a very passive disposition with regard to religion: some few appeared zealous for the reformation: others secretly harboured a strong propensity to the catholic faith: but the greater part appeared willing to take any impression which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reigning fashion.

The convocation met at the same time with the parliament; and as it was found that their debates were at first cramped by the rigorous statute of the six articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law, before it was repealed by parliament. The lower house of convocation applied to have liberty of sitting with the commons in parliament; or if this privilege were refused them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they desired that no law regarding religion might pass in parliament without their consent and approbation. But the principles which now prevailed were more favourable to the civil than to the ecclesiastical power; and this demand of the convocation was rejected.

The protector had assented to the repeal of that law which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of statutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or discretionary exercise of power, in issuing proclamations, which had ever been assumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to distinguish exactly from a full legislative power. He even continued to exert this authority in some particulars,

which were then regarded as the most momentous. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday. These were ancient religious practices, now termed superstitions; though it is fortunate for mankind when superstition happens to take a direction so innocent and inoffensive. The severe disposition which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewise the council to abolish some gay and showy ceremonies which belonged to the ancient religion.

An order was also issued by council for the removal of all images from the churches: an innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total change of the established religion. An attempt had been made to separate the use of images from their abuse, the reverence from the worship of them; but the execution of this design was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion-service; and the council went so far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent. This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendancy over them. And it may justly be said, that though the priest's absolution, which attends confession, serves somewhat to ease weak minds from the immediate agonies of superstitious terror, it operates only by enforcing superstition itself, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapse into the same disorders.

The people were at that time extremely distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally unable to judge of the reasons advanced on either side, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church as of equal authority, a great confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council had first endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying some restraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total silence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit. By the nature of things, this restraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worship, its shows and exterior observances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to contract a stronger attachment to sermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amusement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries something to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: sermons were delivered only in the principal churches, and at some particular fasts and festivals: and the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abused, is so powerful an inciter to faction and sedition, had much less scope and influence during those ages.

The greater progress was made towards a reformation in England, the further did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation which had so far departed from all ancient principles. Somerset, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrisoned and fortified by Lord Grey: he also erected some fortification at Lauder: and he hoped

that these two places, together with Broughty and some smaller fortresses which were in the hands of the English, would serve as a curb on Scotland, and would give him access into the heart of the country.

Arran, being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the succours expected from France for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Frith, to the number of six thousand men; half of them Germans. They were commanded by Dessé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time so sunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without resistance, and make inroads to the gates of the capital: but on the appearance of the French succours, they collected more courage; and having joined Dessé with a considerable reinforcement, they laid siege to Haddington. This was an undertaking for which they were by themselves totally unfit; and, even with the assistance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of success in starving the garrison. After some vain attempts to take the place by a regular siege, the blockade was formed, and the garrison was repulsed with loss in several sallies which they made upon the besiegers.

The hostile attempts which the late king and the protector had made against Scotland not being steady, regular, nor pushed to the last extremity, had served only to irritate the nation, and to inspire them with the strongest aversion to that union, which was courted in so violent a manner. Even those who were inclined to the English alliance, were displeased to have it imposed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley in particular said pleasantly, that he disliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing. The queen-dowager, finding these sentiments to prevail, called a parliament in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there proposed, that the young queen, for her greater security, should be sent to France, and be committed to the custody of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this measure was desperate, allowed no resource in case of miscarriage, exposed the Scots to be subjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient by which they could conciliate the friendship of that powerful nation. It was answered, on the other hand, that the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would desist when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by so high a mark of confidence, would take their sovereign under his protection, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a-year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his son the command of a hundred men at arms. And as the clergy dreaded the consequence of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either principle or interest could inspire. It was accordingly determined to send the queen to France, and what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French galleys lying in the Frith of Forth, set sail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open sea he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in

on the west coast at Dunbarton: an extraordinary voyage for ships of that fabric. The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended by the Lords Areskine and Livingstone, she put to sea, and after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after she was betrothed to the dauphin.

Somerset, pressed by many difficulties at home, and despairing of success in his enterprise against Scotland, was desirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years' truce; but as they insisted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal came to nothing. The Scots recovered the fortresses of Hume and Fastcastle by surprise, and put the garrisons to the sword: they repulsed with loss the English, who, under the command of Lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, then at Montrose: in the former action James Stuart, natural brother to the queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Areskine of Dun. An attempt was made by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a considerable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but these troops falling into an ambuscade, were almost wholly cut in pieces. And though a small body of two hundred men escaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived safely in Haddington, with some ammunition and provisions, the garrison was reduced to such difficulties, that the protector found it necessary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raised an army of eighteen thousand men, and adding three thousand Germans, who on the dissolution of the protestant alliance had offered their service to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewsbury. Dessé raised the blockade on the approach of the English; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he posted himself advantageously. Shrewsbury, who had lost the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durst not give him battle in his present situation; and contenting himself with the advantage already gained, of supplying Haddington, he retired into England.

Though the protection of France was of great consequence to the Scots, in supporting them against the invasions of England, they reaped still more benefit from the distractions and divisions which had crept into the councils, of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not content with the high stations which they severally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had arisen, had entertained the most violent jealousy of each other; and they divided the whole court and kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions. Lord Seymour was a man of insatiable ambition; arrogant, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior capacity to the protector, he possessed not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the demise of the late king: insomuch that, had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the duchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedence, employed all her cre-



dit with her husband, which was too great, first to create, then to widen the breach between the two brothers.

The first symptoms of this misunderstanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerset, remarked, that Seymour was forming separate intrigues among the counsellors; was corrupting, by presents, the king's servants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgencies and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget represented to him the danger of this conduct; desired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the sudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him, that any dissension between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of to effect the ruin of both. Finding his remonstrances neglected, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerset, and engaged him to leave the enterprise upon Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the ensuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared still more dangerous to public tranquillity; and as he had acquired many partisans, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He represented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom had been kept separate from that of governor of the king's person; and that the present union of these two important trusts conferred on Somerset an authority which could not safely be lodged in any subject. The young king was prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two houses, by which he hoped to effect his purpose. The design was discovered before its execution; and some common friends were sent to remonstrate with him; but had so little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions, and rashly threatened, that if he were thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackest that ever sat in England. The council sent for him to answer for his conduct; but he refused to attend: they then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him that the king's letter, instead of availing him any thing to the execution of his views, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprise, and be construed as a design to disturb the government, by forming a separate interest with a child and minor. They even let fall some menaces of sending him to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral, finding himself prevented in his design, was obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother.

The mild and moderate temper of Somerset made him willing to forget these enterprises of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent spirit could not be so easily appeased. His spouse, the queen-dowager, died in child-bed; but so far from regarding this event as a check to his aspiring views, he founded on it the scheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addresses to the Lady Elizabeth, then in the sixteenth year of her age; and that princess, whom even the hurry of business, and the pursuits of ambition could not, in her more advanced years, disengage entirely from the tender passions, seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man who possessed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to

obtain; it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this suspicion. He continued to attack, by presents, the fidelity of those who had more immediate access, to the king's person: he endeavoured to seduce the young prince into his interests; he found means of holding a private correspondence with him; he openly derided his brother's administration; and asserted, that by enlisting Germans and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people; by promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his interest all over England: he neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and had computed that he could, on occasion, muster an army of 10,000 men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers; he had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests Sir John Sharrington, a corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well apprized of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured, by the most friendly expedients, by entreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him desist from his dangerous counsels; but finding all endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more severe remedies. The earl of Warwick was an ill instrument between the brothers; and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruins of both.

Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the son of that Dudley, minister to Henry VII., who having by rapine, extortion, and perversion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been sacrificed to popular animosity in the beginning of the subsequent reign. The late king, sensible of the iniquity, at least illegality of the sentence, had afterwards restored young Dudley's blood by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with abilities, industry, and activity, he had entrusted him with many important commands, and had ever found him successful in his undertakings. He raised him to the dignity of Viscount Lisle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made still further progress during the minority; and having obtained the title of Earl of Warwick, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's counsellors. The victory gained at Pinkey was much ascribed to his courage and conduct; and he was universally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all these virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an insatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice; and as he found that Lord Seymour, whose abilities and enterprising spirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himself in ruin by his rash counsels, he was determined to push him on the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness.

When Somerset found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's seditious, not to say rebellious schemes, he was the more easily persuaded by Warwick to employ the extent of royal authority against him; and, after depriving him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy-counsellors

being sent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiance, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles; and the whole to be laid before the privy-council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestably proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower in order more fully to examine the prisoner. He was not daunted by the appearance; he boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witnesses; desired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories by which he might accuse himself.

It is apparent that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general and scarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that though on the whole Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt seems to have consisted in some unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impositions laid upon the merchants.

But the administration had at that time an easy instrument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament; and needed not to give themselves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the persons whom they prosecuted, or the evidence which could be produced against them. A session of parliament being held, it was resolved to proceed against Seymour by bill of attainder; and the young king being induced, after much solicitation, to give his consent to it, a considerable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the upper house; and several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning Lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. These narratives were received as undoubted evidence, and though the prisoner had formerly engaged many friends and partisans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move that he might be heard in his defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the house of commons: there were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder passed in absence; and insisted that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a message was sent by the king, enjoining the house to proceed, and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed on to acquiesce. The bill passed in a full house. Near four hundred voted for it; not above nine or ten against it. The sen-

tence was soon after executed, and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was exposed to much blame on account of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiral seem chiefly to have been levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and though his ambitious enterprising character, encouraged by a marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, might have endangered the public tranquillity, the prudence of foreseeing evils at such a distance was deemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be said that this bill of attainder was somewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which the nation had been inured; for here, at least, some shadow of evidence was produced.

All the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of Lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs; which were now the chief object of attention throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to compose a liturgy; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking: they retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: they indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: and they flattered themselves that they had established a service in which every denomination of Christians might without scruple concur. The mass had always been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But as the reformers pretended in some few particulars to encourage private judgment in the laity, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the Scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, seemed more conformable to the genius of their sect; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to saints, and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mass and the new liturgy. The parliament established this form of worship in all the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies.

There was another material act which passed this session. The former canons had established the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice is usually ascribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought that the ecclesiastics would be more devoted to their spiritual head, and less dependent on the civil magistrate, when freed from the powerful tie of wives and children; yet was this institution much forwarded by the principles of superstition inherent in human nature. These principles had rendered the panegyrics on an inviolate chastity so frequent among the ancient fathers, long before the establishment of celibacy. And even this parliament, though they enacted a law permitting the marriage of priests, yet confess in the preamble, "That it were better for priests and the ministers of the church to live chaste and without marriage, and it were much to be wished they would of themselves abstain." The inconveniences which had arisen from the compelling of chastity and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reasons assigned for indulging a liberty in this particular. The ideas of penance also were so much retained in other parti-



culars, that an act of parliament passed, forbidding the use of flesh-meat during Lent and other times of abstinence.

Another act also passed this session takes notice in the preamble, that the city of York formerly well inhabited, was now much decayed; inasmuch that many of the cures could not afford a competent maintenance to the incumbents. To remedy this inconvenience, the magistrates were empowered to unite as many parishes as they thought proper. An ecclesiastical historian (Collier) thinks that this decay of York is chiefly to be ascribed to the dissolution of monasteries, by which the revenues fell into the hands of persons who lived at a distance.

A very grievous tax was imposed this session upon the whole stock and monied interest of the kingdom, and even upon its industry. It was a shilling in the pound yearly, during three years, on every person worth ten pounds or upwards: the double on aliens and denizens. These last, if above twelve years of age, and if worth less than twenty shillings, were to pay eight-pence yearly. Every wether was to pay two-pence yearly; every ewe three-pence. The woollen manufacturers were to pay eight-pence a pound on the value of all the cloth they made. These exorbitant taxes on money are a proof that few people lived on money lent at interest: for this tax amounts to half of the yearly income of all money-holders, during three years, estimating their interest at the rate allowed by law; and was too grievous to be borne, if many persons had been affected by it. It is remarkable, that no tax at all was laid upon land this session. The profits of merchandise were commonly so high, that it was supposed it could bear this imposition. The most absurd part of the law seems to be the tax upon the woollen manufactures. The subsequent parliament repealed the tax on sheep and woollen cloth. But they continued the other tax a year longer.

The clergy taxed themselves at six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. This taxation was ratified in parliament, which had been the common practice since the reformation, implying that the clergy have no legislative power, even over themselves.

The principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-service, and by the abolition of many ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people. The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might in part be the ground of this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration which of course it impressed on the imagination. The priests likewise were much inclined to favour an opinion which attributed to them so miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loath to renounce so extraordinary, and as they imagined, so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name, still to retain it: and the catholic preachers in England, when restrained in all other particulars, could not forbear on every occasion inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others

had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his see, and had been committed to custody. Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority which established the late innovations; and he seemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the English catholics, that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, but not the council during a minority. Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the Tower, and threatened with further effects of the council's displeasure.

These severities, being exercised on men possessed of office and authority, seemed in that age a necessary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worship and discipline; but there were other instances of persecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady which seems almost incurable. Though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain that they would suffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them if possible; to impose penance on them, and to give them absolution: or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm. And in the execution of this charge, they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were overruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious that the commissioners could make no impression upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, and born in sin; and consequently, he could take none of it: but the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh." This opinion, it would seem, is not orthodox; and there was a necessity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in such tender years, had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to compliance; and he said that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity and those which were in direct contradiction to the apostles' creed: these latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress; in like manner as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person. Edward, overcome by importunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt should be entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort

to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction that he hugged and caressed the fagots that were consuming him; a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age.

These rigorous methods of proceeding soon brought the whole nation to a conformity, seeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The Lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor; who using his interest with Sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance, from the council.

The following able remarks, by Hallam, on the progress of the Reformation, and on the essential differences of the two religions, can be no where more appropriately introduced, than at the present juncture, although he in a few instances refers to facts not yet related.

"It is said that Henry had meditated some further changes in religion. Of his executors, the greater part, as their subsequent conduct evinces, were nearly indifferent to the two systems, except so far as more might be gained by innovation. But Somerset, the new protector, appears to have inclined sincerely towards the reformation, though not wholly uninfluenced by similar motives. His authority readily overcame all opposition in the council: and it was soon perceived that Edward, whose singular precocity gave his opinions in childhood an importance not wholly ridiculous, had imbibed a steady and ardent attachment to the new religion, which probably, had he lived longer, would have led him both to diverge further from what he thought an idolatrous superstition, and to have treated its adherents with severity. Under his reign accordingly a series of alterations in the tenets and homilies of the English church were made, the principal of which I shall point out, without following a chronological order, or adverting to such matters of controversy as did not produce a sensible effect on the people.

"1. It was obviously among the first steps required in order to introduce a mode of religion at once more reasonable and more earnest than the former, that the public services of the church should be expressed in the mother tongue of the congregation. The Latin ritual had been unchanged ever since the age when it was familiar; partly through a sluggish dislike of innovation, but partly also because the mysteriousness of an unknown dialect served to impose on the vulgar, and to throw an air of wisdom around the priesthood. Yet what was thus concealed would have borne the light. Our own liturgy, so justly celebrated for its piety, elevation, and simplicity, is in great measure a translation from the catholic services; those portions of course being omitted which had relation to different principles of worship. In the second year of Edward's reign, the reformation of the public service was accomplished, and an English liturgy comprised not essentially different from that in present use.

"2. No part of exterior religion was more prominent, or more offensive to those who had imbibed a

protestant spirit, than the worship, or at least veneration, of images, which in remote and barbarous ages had given excessive scandal both in the Greek and Latin churches, though long fully established in the practice of each. The populace, in towns where the reformed tenets prevailed, began to pull them down in the very first days of Edward's reign; and after a little pretence at distinguishing those which had not been abused, orders were given that all images should be taken away from churches. It was perhaps necessary thus to hinder the zealous protestants from abating them as nuisances, which had already caused several disturbances. But this order was executed with a rigour which lovers of art and antiquity have long deplored. Our churches bear witness to the devastation committed in the wantonness of triumphant reform, by defacing statues and crosses on the exterior of buildings intended for worship, or windows and monuments within. Missals and other books dedicated to superstition perished in the same manner. Altars were taken down, and a great variety of ceremonies abrogated; such as the use of incense, tapers, and holy water; and though more of these were retained than eager innovators could approve, the whole surface of religious ordinances, all that is palpable to common minds, underwent a surprising transformation.

"3. But this change in ceremonial observances and outward show was trifling, when compared to that in the objects of worship, and in the purposes for which they were addressed. Those who have visited some catholic temples, and attended to the current language of devotion, must have perceived, what the writings of apologists or decrees of councils will never enable them to discover, that the saints but more especially the Virgin, are almost exclusively the "popular" deities of that religion. All this polytheism was swept away by the reformers; and in this may be deemed to consist the most specific difference of the two systems. Nor did they spare the belief in purgatory, that unknown land which the hierarchy swayed with so absolute a rule, and to which the earth had been rendered a tributary province. Yet in the first liturgy put forth under Edward, the prayers for departed souls were retained; whether out of respect to the prejudices of the people, or to the immemorial antiquity of the practice. But such prayers, if not necessarily implying the doctrine of purgatory (which yet in the main they appear to do), are at least so closely connected with it, that the belief could never be eradicated while they remained. Hence, in the revision of the liturgy, four years afterwards, they were laid aside; and several other changes made, to eradicate the vestiges of the ancient superstition.

"4. Auricular confession, as commonly called, or the private and special confession of sins to a priest for the purpose of obtaining his absolution, an imperative duty in the church of Rome, and preserved as such in the statute of the six articles, and in the religious codes published by Henry VIII., was left to each man's discretion in the new order; a judicious temperament, which the reformers would have done well to adopt in some other points. And thus, while it has never been condemned in our church, it went without dispute into complete neglect. Those who desire to augment the influence of the clergy regret, of course, its discontinuance; and some may conceive that it would serve either for wholesome restraint, or useful admonition. It is very difficult, or perhaps beyond the reach of any



human being, to determine absolutely how far these benefits, which cannot be reasonably denied to result: in some instances from the rite of confession, outweigh the mischiefs connected with it. There seems to be something in the Roman catholic discipline (and I know nothing else so likely) which keeps the balance, as it were, of moral influence pretty even between the two religions, and compensates for the ignorance and superstition which the elder preserves: for I am not sure that the protestant system in the present age has any very sensible advantage in this respect; or that in countries where the comparison can fairly be made, as in Germany or Switzerland, there is more honesty in one sex, or more chastity in the other, when they belong to the reformed churches. Yet, on the other hand, the practice of confession is at the best of very doubtful utility, when considered in its full extent and general bearings. The ordinary confessor, listening mechanically to hundreds of penitents, can hardly preserve much authority over most of them. But in proportion as his attention is directed to the secrets of conscience, his influence may become dangerous; men grow accustomed to the control of one perhaps more feeble and guilty than themselves, but over whose frailties they exercise no reciprocal command; and, if the confessors of kings have been sometimes terrible to nations, their ascendancy is probably not less mischievous, in proportion to its extent, within the sphere of domestic life. In a political light, and with the object of lessening the weight of the ecclesiastical order in temporal affairs, there cannot be the least hesitation as to the expediency of discontinuing the usage.

"5. It has very rarely been the custom of theologians to measure the importance of orthodox opinions by their effect on the lives and hearts of those who adopt them; nor was this predilection for speculative above practical doctrines ever more evident than in the leading controversy of the sixteenth century, that respecting the Lord's supper. No errors on this point could have had any influence on men's moral conduct, nor indeed much on the general nature of their faith; yet it was selected as the test of heresy; and most, if not all, of those who suffered death upon that charge, whether in England or on the continent, were convicted of denying the corporal presence in the sense of the Roman church. It had been well if the reformers had learned, by abhorring her persecution, not to practise it in a somewhat less degree upon each other, or by exposing the absurdities of transubstantiation, not to contend for equal nonsense of their own. Four principal theories, to say nothing of subordinate varieties, divided Europe at the accession of Edward VI. about the sacrament of the eucharist. The church of Rome would not depart a single letter from transubstantiation, or the change, at the moment of consecration, of the substances of bread and wine into those of Christ's body and blood; the accidents, in school language, or sensible qualities of the former remaining, or becoming inherent in the new substance. This doctrine does not, as vulgarly supposed, contradict the evidence of our senses; since our senses can report nothing as to the unknown being, which the schoolmen denominated substance, and which alone was the subject of this conversion. But metaphysicians of later ages might inquire whether material substances, abstractedly considered, exist at all, or, if they exist, whether they can have any specific distinction except their sensible qualities. This, perhaps, did not suggest itself

in the sixteenth century; but it was strongly objected that the simultaneous existence of a body in many places, which the Romish doctrine implied, was inconceivable, and even contradictory. Luther, partly, as it seems, out of his determination, to multiply differences with the church, invented a theory somewhat different, usually called consubstantiation, which was adopted in the confession of Augsburg, and to which, at least down to the end of the seventeenth century, the divines of that communion were much attached. They imagined the two substances to be united in the sacramental elements, so that they might be termed bread and wine, or the body and blood, with equal propriety. But it must be obvious that there is merely a scholastic distinction between this doctrine and that of Rome; though, when it suited the Lutherans to magnify, rather than dissemble, their deviations from the mother church, it was raised into an important difference. A simpler and more rational explication occurred to Zuingle and Ocolampadius, from whom the Helvetian protestants imbibed their faith. Rejecting every notion of a real presence, and divesting the institution of all its mystery, they saw only figurative symbols in the elements which Christ had appointed as a commemoration of his death. But this novel opinion excited as much indignation in Luther as in the Romanists. It was indeed a rock on which the reformation was nearly shipwrecked; since the violent contests which it occasioned, and the narrow intolerance which one side at least displayed throughout the controversy, not only weakened on several occasions the temporal power of the protestant churches, but disgusted many of those who might have inclined towards espousing their sentiments. Besides these three hypotheses, a fourth was promulgated by Martin Bucer, of Strasburgh, a man of much acuteness, but prone to metaphysical subtlety, and not, it is said, of a very ingenuous character. His theory upon the sacrament of the Lord's supper, after having been adopted with little variation by Calvin, was finally received into some of the offices of the English church. If the Roman and Lutheran doctrines teemed with unmasked absurdity, this middle system (if indeed it is to be considered as a genuine opinion, and not rather a politic device) had no advantage but in the disguise of unmeaning terms; while it had the peculiar infelicity of departing as much from the literal sense of the words of the institution, wherein the former triumphed as the Zuinglian interpretation itself. I know not whether I can state in language tolerably perspicuous this jargon of bad metaphysical theology. But Bucer, as I apprehend, though his expressions are unusually confused, did not acknowledge a local presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements after consecration,—so far concurring with the Helvetians; while he contended that they were really, and without figure, received by the worthy communicant through faith, so as to preserve the belief of a mysterious union, and of what was sometimes called a real presence. It can hardly fail to strike every unprejudiced reader that a material substance can only in a very figurative sense be said to be received through faith; that there can be no real presence of such a body, consistently with the proper use of language, but by its local occupation of space; and that, as the Romish tenet of transubstantiation is the best, so this of the Calvinists is the worst imagined of the three that have been opposed to the simplicity of the

Helvetic explanation. Bucer himself came to England early in the reign of Edward, and had a considerable share in advising the measures of reformation. But Peter Martyr, a disciple of the Swiss school, had also no small influence. In the forty-two articles set forth by authority, the real or corporeal presence, using these words as synonymous, is explicitly denied. This clause was omitted on the revision of the articles under Elizabeth.

"6. These various innovations were exceedingly inimical to the influence and interests of the priesthood. But that order obtained a sort of compensation in being released from its obligation to celibacy. This obligation, though unwarranted by Scripture, rested on a most ancient and universal rule of discipline; for though the Greek and Eastern churches have always permitted the ordination of married persons, yet they do not allow those already ordained to take wives. No very good reason, however, could be given for this distinction; and the constrained celibacy of the Latin clergy had given rise to mischiefs, of which their general practice of retaining concubines might be reckoned among the smallest. The German protestants soon rejected this burthen, and encouraged regular as well as secular priests to marry. Cranmer had himself taken a wife in Germany, whom Henry's law of the six articles, one of which made the marriage of priests felony, compelled him to send away. In the reign of Edward this was justly reckoned an indispensable part of the new reformation. But the bill for that purpose passed the lords with some little difficulty, nine bishops and four peers dissenting; and its preamble cast such an imputation on the practice it allowed, treating the marriage of priests as ignominious and a tolerated evil, that another act was thought necessary a few years afterwards, when the reformation was better established, to vindicate this right of the protestant church. A great number of the clergy availed themselves of their liberty; which may probably have had as extensive an effect in conciliating the ecclesiastical profession, as the suppression of monasteries had in rendering the gentry favourable to the new order of religion.

"But great as was the number of those whom conviction or self-interest enlisted under the protestant banner, it appears plain that the reformation moved on with too precipitate a step for the majority. The new doctrines prevailed in London, in many large towns, and in the eastern counties. But in the north and west of England, the body of the people were strictly catholics. The clergy, though not very scrupulous about conforming to the innovations, were generally averse to most of them. And, in spite of the church-lands, I imagine that most of the nobility, if not the gentry, inclined to the same persuasion; not a few peers having sometimes dissented from the bills passed on the subject of religion in this reign, while no sort of disagreement appears in the upper house during that of Mary. In the western insurrection of 1549, which partly originated in the alleged grievance of enclosures, many of the demands made by the rebels go to the entire re-establishment of popery. Those of the Norfolk insurgents in the same year, whose political complaints were the same, do not, as far as I perceive, show any such tendency. But an historian, (Burnet) whose bias was certainly not unfavourable to protestantism, confesses that all endeavours were too weak to overcome the aversion of the people towards reformation, and even intimates that

German troops were sent for from Calais on account of the bigotry with which the bulk of the nation adhered to the old superstition. This is somewhat an humiliating admission, that the protestant faith was imposed upon our ancestors by a foreign army. And as the reformers, though still the fewer, were undeniably a great and increasing party, it may be natural to inquire whether a regard to policy as well as equitable considerations should not have repressed still more, as it did in some measure, the zeal of Cranmer and Somerset. It might be asked whether, in the acknowledged co-existence of two religions, some preference were not fairly claimed for the creed, which all had once held, and which the greater part yet retained; whether it were becoming that the counsellors of an infant king should use such violence in breaking up the ecclesiastical constitution; whether it were to be expected that a free-spirited people should see their consciences thus transferred by proclamation, and all that they had learned to venerate not only torn away from them, but exposed to what they must reckon blasphemous contumely and profanation. The demolition of shrines and images, far unlike the speculative disputes of theologians, was an overt insult on every catholic heart. Still more were they exasperated at the ribaldry which vulgar protestants uttered against their most sacred mystery. It was found necessary, in the very first act of the first protestant parliament, to denounce penalties against such as spoke irreverently of the sacrament, an indecency not unusual with those who held the Zuinglian opinion in that age of coarse pleasantry and unmixed invective. Nor could the people repose much confidence in the judgment and sincerity of their governors, whom they had seen submitting without outward repugnance to Henry's various schemes of religion, and whom they saw every day enriching themselves with the plunder of the church they affected to reform. There was a sort of endowed colleges or fraternities, called chantries, consisting of secular priests, whose duty was to say daily masses for the founders. These were abolished and given to the king by acts of parliament in the last year of Henry, and the first of Edward. It was intimated in the preamble of the latter statute that their revenues should be converted to the erection of schools, the augmentation of the universities, and the sustenance of the indigent. But this was entirely neglected, and the estates fell into the hands of the courtiers. Nor did they content themselves with this escheated wealth of the church. Almost every bishopric was spoiled by their ravenous power in this reign, either through mere alienations, or long leases, or unequal exchanges. Exeter and Llandaff, from being among the richest sees, fell into the class of the poorest. Lichfield lost the chief part of its lands to raise an estate for Lord Paget. London, Winchester, and even Canterbury, suffered considerably. The duke of Somerset was much beloved; yet he had given no unjust offence by pulling down some churches in order to erect Somerset-house with the materials. He had even projected the demolition of Westminster Abbey; but the chapter averted this outrageous piece of rapacity, sufficient of itself to characterize that age, by the usual method, a grant of some of their estates.

"Tolerance in religion, it is well known, so unanimously admitted (at least verbally) even by theologians in the present century, was scarcely considered as practicable, much less as a matter of



right, during the period of the reformation. The difference in this respect between the catholics and protestants was only in degree, and in degree there was much less difference than we are apt to believe. Persecution is the deadly original sin of the reformed churches; that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause, in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive. The Lutheran princes and cities in Germany constantly refused to tolerate the use of the mass as an idolatrous service; and this name of idolatry, though adopted in retaliation for that of heresy, answered the same end as the other of exciting animosity and uncharitableness. The Roman worship was equally proscribed in England. Many persons were sent to prison for hearing mass and similar offences. The Princess Mary supplicated in vain to have the exercise of her own religion at home; and Charles V. several times interceded in her behalf; but though Cranmer and Ridley, as well as the council, would have consented to this indulgence, the young king, whose education had unhappily infused a good deal of bigotry into his mind, could not be prevailed upon to connive at such idolatry. Yet in one memorable instance he had shown a milder spirit, struggling against Cranmer to save a fanatical woman from the punishment of heresy. This is a stain upon Cranmer's memory which nothing but his own death could have lightened. In men hardly escaped from a similar peril, in men who had nothing to plead but the right of private judgment, in men who had defied the prescriptive authority of past ages and of established power, the crime of persecution assumes a far deeper hue, and is capable of far less extenuation than in a Roman inquisitor. Thus the death of Servetus has weighed down the name and memory of Calvin. And though Cranmer was incapable of the rancorous malignity of the Genevan lawgiver; yet I regret to say that there is a peculiar circumstance of aggravation in his pursuing to death this woman, Joan Boucher, and a Dutchman that had been convicted of Arianism. It is said that he had been accessory in the preceding reign to the condemnation of Lambert, and perhaps some others, for opinions concerning the Lord's supper which he had himself afterwards embraced. Such an evidence of the fallibility of human judgment, such an example that persecutions for heresy, how conscientiously soever managed, are liable to end in shedding the blood of those who maintain truth, should have taught him, above all men, a scrupulous repugnance to carry into effect those sanguinary laws. Compared with these executions for heresy, the imprisonment and deprivation of Gardiner and Bonner appear but measures of ordinary severity towards political adversaries under the pretext of religion; yet are they wholly unjustifiable, particularly in the former instance; and if the subsequent retaliation of those bad men was beyond all proportion excessive, we should remember that such is the natural consequence of tyrannical aggressions.

"The person most conspicuous, though Ridley was perhaps the most learned divine, in moulding the faith and discipline of the English church, which has not been very materially altered since his time, was Archbishop Cranmer. Few men, about whose conduct there is so little room for controversy upon facts, have been represented in more opposite lights. We knew the favouring colours of protestant writers, but turn to the bit or invective of Bossuet; and the patriarch of our reformed church stands

forth as the most abandoned of time-serving hypocrites. No political factions affect the impartiality of men's judgment so grossly, or so permanently, as religious heats. Doubtless, if we should reverse the picture, and imagine the end and scope of Cranmer's labour to have been the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in a protestant country, the estimate formed of his behaviour would be somewhat less favourable than it is at present. If, casting away all prejudice on either side, we weigh the character of this prelate in an equal balance, he will appear far indeed removed from the turpitude imputed to him by his enemies, yet not entitled to any extraordinary veneration. Though it is most eminently true of Cranmer that his faults were always the effect of circumstances, and not of intention; yet this palliating consideration is rather weakened, when we recollect that he voluntarily placed himself in a station where those circumstances occurred. At the time of Cranmer's elevation to the see of Canterbury, Henry, though on the point of separating for ever from Rome, had not absolutely determined upon so strong a measure; and his policy required that the new archbishop should solicit the usual bulls from the pope, and take the oath of canonical obedience to him. Cranmer, already a rebel from that dominion in his heart, had recourse to the disingenuous shift of a protest, before his consecration, that 'he did not intend to restrain himself thereby from any thing to which he was bound by his duty to God or the king, or from taking part in any reformation of the English church which he might judge to be required.' This first deviation from integrity, as is almost always the case, drew after it many others; and began that discreditable course of temporizing, and undue compliance, to which he was reduced for the rest of Henry's reign. Cranmer's abilities were not perhaps of a high order, or at least they were unsuited to public affairs; but his principal defect was in that firmness by which men of more ordinary talents may ensure respect. Nothing could be weaker than his conduct in the usurpation of Lady Jane, which he might better have boldly sustained, like Ridley, as a step necessary for the conservation of protestantism, than given into against his conscience, overpowered by the importunities of a misguided boy. Had the malignity of his enemies been directed rather against his reputation than his life, had the reluctant apostate been permitted to survive his shame, as a prisoner in the Tower, it must have seemed a more arduous task to defend the memory of Cranmer; but his fame has brightened in the fire that consumed him.

"Those who, with the habits of thinking that prevail in our times, cast back their eyes on the reign of Edward VI., will generally be disposed to censure the precipitancy, and still more the exclusive spirit, of our principal reformers. But relatively to the course that things had taken in Germany, and to the feverish zeal of that age, the moderation of Cranmer and Ridley, the only ecclesiastics who took a prominent share in these measures, was very conspicuous; and tended above every thing to place the Anglican church in that middle position which it has always preserved, between the Roman hierarchy and that of other protestant denominations. It is manifest from the history of the reformation in Germany, that its predisposing cause was the covetous and arrogant character of the superior ecclesiastics, founded upon vast temporal authority; a yoke long borne with impatience,

and which the unanimous adherence of the prelates to Rome, in the period of separation, gave the Lutheran princes a good excuse for entirely throwing off. Some of the more temperate reformers, as Melancthon, would have admitted a limited jurisdiction of the episcopacy: but in general the destruction of that order, such as it then existed, may be deemed as fundamental a principle of the new discipline, as any theological point could be of the new doctrine. But, besides that the subjection of ecclesiastical to civil tribunals, and possibly other causes, had rendered the superior clergy in England less obnoxious than in Germany, there was this important difference between the two countries, that several bishops from zealous conviction, many more from pliability to self-interest, had gone along with the new-modelling of the English church by Henry and Edward; so that it was perfectly easy to keep up that form of government, in the regular succession which had usually been deemed essential; though the foreign reformers had neither the wish, nor possibly the means, to preserve it. Cranmer himself, indeed, during the reign of Henry, had bent, as usual, to the king's despotic humour; and favoured a novel theory of ecclesiastical authority, which resolved all its spiritual as well as temporal powers into the royal supremacy. Accordingly, at the accession of Edward, he himself, and several other bishops, took out commissions to hold their sees during pleasure. But when the necessity of compliance had passed by, they showed a disposition not only to oppose the continual spoliation of church property, but to maintain the jurisdiction which the canon law had conferred upon them. And though, as this papal code did not appear very well adapted to a protestant church, a new scheme of ecclesiastical laws was drawn up, which the king's death rendered abortive, this was rather calculated to strengthen the hands of the spiritual courts than to withdraw any matter from their cognisance.

"The policy, or it may be the prejudices, of Cranmer induced him also to retain in the church a few ceremonial usages, which the Helvetic, though not the Lutheran, reformers had swept away; such as the copes and rochets of bishops, and the surplice of officiating priests. It should seem inconceivable that any one could object to these vestments, considered in themselves; far more, if they could answer in the slightest degree the end of conciliating a reluctant people. But this motive unfortunately was often disregarded in that age; and indeed in all ages an abhorrence of concession and compromise is a never-failing characteristic of religious factions. The foreign reformers then in England, two of whom, Bucer and Peter Martyr, enjoyed a deserved reputation, expressed their dissatisfaction at seeing these habits retained, and complained, in general, of the backwardness of the English reformation. Calvin and Bullinger wrote from Switzerland in the same strain. Nor was this sentiment by any means confined to strangers. Hooper, an eminent divine, having been elected bishop of Gloucester, refused to be consecrated in the usual dress. It marks, almost ludicrously, the spirit of those times, that, instead of permitting him to decline the station, the council sent him to prison for some time, until by some mutual concessions the business was adjusted."

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Discontents of the People—Insurrections—Conduct of the War with Scotland—with France—Factions in the Council—Conspiracy against Somerset—Somerset resigns the Protectorship—A Parliament—Peace with France and Scotland—Boulogne surrendered—Persecution of Gardiner—Warwick created duke of Northumberland—His Ambition—Trial of Somerset—His Execution—A Parliament—A new Parliament—Succession changed—The King's Sickness—and Death.*

THERE is no abuse so great in civil society, as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial consequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit resulting from the change is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable in the main to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks always residing in their convents in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness, and prevented the increase of public riches, yet did it provide to many a relief from the extreme pressures of want and necessity. It is also observable, that as the friars were limited by the rules of their institution to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they still are in Roman-catholic countries, the best and most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leases at an under-value, and to receive in return a large present from the tenant; in the same manner as is still practised by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were distributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: the rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce; the money was often spent in the capital; and the farmers living at a distance, were exposed to oppression from their new masters, or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards.

These grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a profession which of all mechanical employments requires the most reflection and experience. A great demand arose for wool, both abroad and at home: pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage: whole estates were laid waste by enclosures: the tenants, regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations: even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery: and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom. This grievance was now of an old date; and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his *Utopia*, that a sheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion o.



wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

The general increase also of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this increase of industry was at last the effect of the present situation, and an effect beneficial to society, yet was it difficult for the people to shake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but necessity could compel them to such an exertion of their faculties.

It must also be remarked, that the profusion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithstanding his rapacity, to such difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a present necessity, by the pernicious expedient of debasing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry still further the same abuse. The usual consequences ensued. The good specie was hoarded or exported; base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchase commodities at the usual rates; a universal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

The protector, who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to redress them. He appointed a commission for making inquiry concerning enclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late enclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders, but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, Somerset appointed new commissioners, whom he sent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about enclosures, highways, and cottages. As this commission was disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they stigmatized it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, but sought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if a universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by Sir William Herbert; those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Gloucester, by Lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences.

The commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against enclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtney had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delinquency of the subject in the present emergency made

the insurrection immediately appear formidable. In other counties the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Russell had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negotiate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed. The council to whom Russell transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; commanded the rebels to disperse, and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment they marched to Exeter; carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the host, which they covered with a canopy. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scaleade, then by mining, but were repulsed in every attempt. Russell meanwhile lay at Honiton till reinforced by Sir William Herbert and Lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit, and took many prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were sent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law: the vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle.

The insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by complaints against enclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand, they grew insolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government over them, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Having taken possession of Moushold-hill, near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as might be expected from his character and situation. The marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him; but met with a repulse in an action where Lord Sheffield was killed. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels: he therefore sent the earl of Warwick at the head of six thousand men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwick having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit: Ket was

hanged at Norwich castle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was soon after published by the protector.

But though the insurrections were thus quickly subdued in England, and no traces of them seemed to remain, they were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwick, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprise; and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. He took the fortress of Broughty, and put the garrison to the sword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though Lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was found at last very chargeable, and even impracticable, to keep possession of that fortress. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots and English, and could afford no supply to the garrison: the place lay above thirty miles from the borders, so that a regular army was necessary to escort any provisions thither: and as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness. For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwick; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, executed the orders.

The king of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, and that territory, which Henry VIII. had conquered from France. On other pretences he assembled an army; and falling suddenly upon the Boulonnois, took the castles of Sel-laque, Blackness, and Ambleteuse, though well supplied with garrisons, ammunition, and provisions. He endeavoured to surprise Boulenberg, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses, destroyed the works and retired to Boulogne. The rains which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he retired to Paris. He left the command of the army to Gaspar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, so famous afterwards by the name of Admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the siege early in the spring. The active disposition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, several attempts against the place; but they all proved unsuccessful.

Strozzi, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a descent on Jersey; but meeting there with an English fleet, he commenced an action which seems not to have been decisive, since the historians of the two nations differ in their account of the event.

As soon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor; and he sent over Secretary Paget to Brussels, where Charles then kept court, in order to assist Sir Philip Hobby, the resident ambassador, in this negotiation. But that prince had formed a design of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion; and though extremely desirous of accepting the English

alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambassadors. An exact account is preserved of this negotiation in a letter of Hobby's; and it is remarkable that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, asserted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extensive than those of a king of France. Burnet, who preserves this letter, subjoins, as a parallel instance, that one objection which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England.

Somerset despairing of assistance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain such ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had sent away their queen; and could not, if ever so much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with Edward; and as Henry VIII. had stipulated to restore Boulogne in 1554, it seemed a matter of small moment to anticipate a few years the execution of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the protector.

After Somerset obtained the patent, investing him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and counsellors; and being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought that every one ought in every thing to yield to his sentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him were sure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will received marks of anger or contempt; and while he showed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not in any respect proportioned to his ambition. Warwick, more subtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having associated himself with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery imposed on them by the protector.

The malcontent counsellors found the disposition of the nation favourable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference which Somerset seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed to his procrastination and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people, and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative at that time could with certainty deserve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more impolitic, because it disgusted the nobles, the surest support of monarchical authority.

But though Somerset courted the people, the in-



terest which he had formed with them was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to deride his conduct. The attainer and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was represented in invidious colours: the great estate which he had suddenly acquired at the expense of the church and of the crown rendered him obnoxious; and the palace which he was building in the Strand served, by his magnificence, and still more by other circumstances which attended it, to expose him to the censure of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops' houses, was pulled down, in order to furnish ground and materials for this structure: not content with that sacrilege, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to employ the stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners rose in a tumult, and chased away the protector's tradesmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church-yard, with a cloister and charnel-house belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem, were made use of to raise his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones being carried away were buried in unconsecrated ground.

All these imprudences were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance: they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerset. They laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Chief Justice Montague, joined the malcontent counsellors; and every thing bore a bad aspect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had sent to treat with the council, rather chose to remain with them: the common-council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new measures, and their resolution of supporting them.

As soon as the protector heard of the defection of the counsellors, he removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then resided, to the castle of Windsor; and, arming his friends and servants, seemed resolute to defend himself against all his enemies. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the city and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deserted him, he lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. No sooner was this despatch known, than Lord Russell, Sir John Baker, speaker of the house of commons, and three counsellors

more, who had hitherto remained neutrals, joined the party of Warwick, whom every one now regarded as master. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and submission, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition, that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed their council; that he had proceeded to that height of presumption as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: they therefore begged that they might be admitted to his royal presence; that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence, and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with: Somerset capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promised him. He was, however, sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partisans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished. Articles of indictment were exhibited against him; of which the chief, at least the best founded, is his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs. The clause of his patent, which invested him with absolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly because, according to the sentiments of those times, that power was in some degree involved in the very idea of regal authority.

The catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late innovations to Somerset's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore chief sway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all these points of controversy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had sunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous enterprise. He took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw such discouragements on Southampton, who stood at the head of the Romanists, and whom he considered as a dangerous rival, that that high-spirited nobleman retired from the council, and soon after died from vexation and disappointment. The other counsellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Russell was created earl of Bedford; the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and Lord Wentworth, besides the office of chamberlain of the household, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torn from the see of London. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but composed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerset, and who derived their seat from an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal. But such niceties were during that age little understood, and still less regarded in England.

A session of parliament was held; and as it was

the usual maxim of that assembly to acquiesce in every administration which was established, the council dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had more reason to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerset had been prevailed on to confess on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention. He even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl-marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no further. His fine was remitted by the king: he recovered his liberty: and Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much lessened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, Lord Dudley, with the Lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset.

During this session a severe law was passed against riots. It was enacted, That if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by a lawful magistrate should not disperse, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about enclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: any attempt to kill a privy-counsellor was subjected to the same penalty. The bishops had made an application, complaining that they were deprived of all their power by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, or exert the discipline of the church: from which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and increase. The design of some was, to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church: but others thought, that such an authority committed to the bishops would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romish superstition. The parliament for the present contented themselves with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. Such implicit trust did they repose in the crown; without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by these canons. The king did not live to affix the royal sanction to the new canons. The following remarks on this transaction are from Mackintosh.

"In consequence of the changes introduced by the reformation, it became necessary to reform the ecclesiastical laws. The canon law, consisting of constitutions of popes, decrees of councils, and records of usages (many of which have been long universally acknowledged to be frauds), was the received code of the courts termed spiritual, in every country of Europe. The appeals, allowed by every country to Rome, preserved a consistency of decision and unity of legislation. But the whole system of canon law was so interwoven with papal authority, and so favourable to the most extravagant pretensions of the Roman see, as to become

incapable of execution in a protestant country. An act had been accordingly passed in 1549, providing that 'the king shall have full power to nominate sixteen ecclesiastics, of whom four to be bishops, and sixteen laymen, of whom four to be lawyers, to order and compile such laws ecclesiastical as shall be thought convenient.' A work was accordingly composed for this purpose by Cranmer, and translated into Latin with a happy imitation of the clear method and elegant brevity of the Roman jurists by Sir John Cheke and Dr. Haddon, two of the restorers of classical literature in England. This work was not prepared for the royal confirmation before the close of Edward's reign. The greater part being strictly theological, or relating to the order of proceedings in courts, is beyond our present province. The articles on marriage relate to questions of very difficult solution, and affect the civil rights of all men, as well as the highest of all the moral interests of society. The book, not having received the royal confirmation, is not indeed law, but it is of great authority, and conveys the opinions of our first reformers on problems, which the law of England has not yet solved. A very brief summary of the chapter on divorce may therefore be proper.

"By the tenth title, divorce was allowed for adultery, and the unoffending party was suffered to marry; but the sentence of a court was declared to be necessary to the dissolution. Desertion, long absence, mortal enmities, the lasting fierceness of a husband to his wife, were adjudged to be lawful grounds of divorce. Separation from bed and board was abolished, being superseded by the extension of divorce. It is impossible to reconcile these enactments with the avowed opinions of its authors, without believing that they considered the answers of Christ in the Gospel, on divorce for adultery, as confined to the national legislation of the Jews, and not intended to have legal force in other countries.

"These dispositions of the proposed code were probably occasioned by the case of Parr, marquis of Northampton, who had divorced his wife, Anne Boucher, for adultery, in the ecclesiastical court; which divorce, however, had no certain and immediate effect beyond that of a legal separation from bed and board. A commission was appointed to inquire whether, by a divorce on this ground, he was not so divorced from Lady Anne that no divine law prohibited his marriage. He was too impatient to wait for the issue of their researches, and married Elizabeth Brooke, daughter to Lord Cobham. The protestant canonists, to whose judgment the case of Northampton was referred, made answer to the queries put to them, 'that the band of wedlock being broken by the mere fact of infidelity, the second marriage was lawful.' The parliament of 1551 confirmed this answer, by declaring the marriage of Northampton with Elizabeth Brooke to be valid; but, as this statute was repealed by a law passed in the following reign, nothing is left of these proceedings but the advised and lasting belief of Cranmer and his associates in reformation that a more extensive liberty of divorce ought to be allowed.

"The law of England is now, in its letter and theory, conformable to the ancient principle of the Roman-catholic church, which regarded marriage as indissoluble. It was not till a century and a half afterwards that a practice gradually crept in of dissolving marriage for infidelity, by acts of parlia-



ment specially passed for each separate case—a rude and most inconvenient expedient, which subjects proceedings which ought to be judicial to the temper of numerous and open assemblies, while, by its expense, it excludes the vast majority of men from the relief which, by long usage, it may be considered as permanently holding out to suitors who are not themselves uncommonly faulty. The reader needs not to be reminded that whatever requires an act of legislature to legalize must in its nature be illegal.

"It must be admitted, that the intrinsic difficulties of the subject are exceedingly great. The dangerous extremes are, absolute and universal indissolubility, which has been found to be productive of a general connivance at infidelity, and, consequently, of a general dissolution of manners on the one hand, and on the other, of a considerable facility of divorce in cases very difficult to be defined—a practice, to say nothing of other evil consequences, which would be at variance with the institution of marriage, intended chiefly to protect children from the inconstancy of parents, and next to guard women against the inconstancy of husbands, who, if divorce were procurable for any but clearly defined and most satisfactorily proved facts, would be enabled, as soon as they were tired of their wives, to make the situation of the helpless female so uneasy that they must consent to divorce. To make the dissolution of marriage in the proper case alike accessible to all, is one of the objects to which, in great cities and in highly civilized countries, it is hardest to point out a safe road."

Sir John Sharington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of Lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reversal of his attainder. This man sought favour with the more zealous reformers; and Bishop Latimer affirmed, that though formerly he had been a most notorious knave, he was now so penitent that he had become a very honest man.

When Warwick and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; they seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace entertained by Somerset had served them as a pretence for clamour against his administration: yet, after sending Sir Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themselves obliged to listen to the advances which Henry made them, by the channel of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, Sir John Mason, Paget, and Petre, were sent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negotiate. The French king absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England as arrears of pensions; and said that he never would consent to render himself tributary to any prince: but he offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: the English stipulated to restore Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and

Eymouth. No sooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a close alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a proposal so suitable both to his interests and his inclinations. An agreement some time after was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negotiation, fully settled: but this project never took effect.

The intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent persecutor of the protestants, was nowise acceptable to that party in England: but in all other respects the council was steady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws against the Romanists. Several prelates were still addicted to that communion; and though they made some compliances, in order to save their bishoprics, they retarded, as much as they safely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to such incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A resolution was therefore taken to seek pretences for depriving those prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more easy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared, that they held their sees during the king's pleasure only. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to strike a terror into the rest. The method of proceeding against him was violent, and had scarcely any colour of law or justice. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate, in a sermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and because he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into prison, and had been there detained during two years, without being accused of any crime, except disobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerset, Secretary Petre, and some others of the council, were now sent, in order to try his temper, and endeavoured to find some grounds for depriving him: he professed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of supporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the disposition which they expected or desired. A new deputation was therefore sent, who carried him several articles to subscribe. He was required to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and to confess the justice of his confinement: he was likewise to own, that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the book of Common Prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete sovereign in his minority; that the law of the six articles was justly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline, government, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to set his hand to all the articles except the first: he maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive; and declared that he would not own himself guilty of faults which he had never committed.

The council, finding that he had gone such lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and sending him new articles to subscribe. A list was selected of such points as they thought would be the hardest of digestion; and not content with this rigour, they also insisted on his submission, and his acknowledgment of past errors. To make this subscription more mortifying, they demanded a promise, that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit: but Gardiner, who



*Hugh Estlin*





saw that they intended either to ruin or dishonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any further compliance: he still maintained his innocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to subscribe more articles, till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try, or, more properly speaking, to condemn him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Secretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: sentence was pronounced against him: he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody: his books and papers were seized; he was secluded from all company; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages.

Gardiner, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: but the council, unwilling to make use of a concession which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some forms of justice; a resolution which led them to commit still greater iniquities and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop here. Day, bishop of Winchester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen of Llandaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers.

These plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to Sir Anthony Aucher. Many of these books were plaited with gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this finery was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great havoc was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: the volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding: those of literature were condemned as useless: those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy. The university had not power to oppose these barbarous violences: they were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwick and his associates.

Though every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the Lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was during some time connived at; but at last her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into prison; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her disobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her sentiments, and to persuade her that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They asked her what warrant there was in Scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, or offering up the sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to peruse St. Austin, and the other ancient doctors who

would convince her of the errors of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories. The Lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: she only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: and as for protestant books, she thanked God, that as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading further violence, she endeavoured to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered and prevented. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even threatened hostilities, if liberty of conscience were refused her: but though the council, sensible that the kingdom was in no condition to support with honour such a war, was desirous to comply; they found great difficulty to overcome the scruples of the young king. He had been educated in such a violent abhorrence of the mass and other popish rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he should participate, he thought, in the sin if he allowed its commission: and when at last the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed somewhat over his opposition, he burst into tears; lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

The great object, at this time, of antipathy among the protestant sects was popery, or, more properly speaking, the papists. These they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its partisans by fire and sword: they had not as yet had leisure to attend to the other minute differences among themselves, which afterwards became the object of such furious quarrels and animosities, and threw the whole kingdom into combustion. Several Lutheran divines who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take shelter in England, from the persecutions which the emperor exercised in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John à Lasco, a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the catholics, settled during some time at Emden in East Friesland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious useful people, and desired to invite over others of the same character, not only gave them the church of Augustine friars for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendent and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies.

These differences among the protestants were matter of triumph to the catholics; who insisted that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all criterion of truth and falsehood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of Common Prayer suffered in England a new revival, and some rites and ceremonies which had given offence were omitted. The speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of religion, were also reduced to forty-two



articles; these were intended to obviate further divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is asserted in this confession of faith; and care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, how virtuous soever, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who presumes to maintain that any pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition.

The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts: they even found leisure to attend to the public interest; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was at that time very little the object of general study or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanse-towns, or Easterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage these merchants to settle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III., had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from several heavy duties paid by other aliens. So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, usually denominated the merchants of the Still-yard, engrossed, even down to the reign of Edward, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England was also in a very languishing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council to seek pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Englishmen in the duties which they paid; and as such patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less surprised to find them revoked by the same authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation by Lubeck, Hamburg, and other Hanse-towns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it soon became visible to the nation. The English merchants, by their very situation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: but when an alien duty was imposed upon all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom.

About the same time a treaty was made with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated, that if he sent bullion into England, he might export English commodities without paying custom; that he should carry bullion to no other prince; that if he sent ozimus, steel, copper, &c. he should pay custom for English commodities as an Englishman; and that if he sent other merchandise, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger. The bullion sent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, set the mint to work: good specie was coined, and much of the base metal formerly issued was recalled; a circumstance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

But all these schemes for promoting industry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domestic con-

vulsions, arising from the ambition of Warwick. That nobleman not contented with the station which he had attained, carried further his pretensions, and had gained partisans, who were disposed to second him in every enterprise. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the share which he had in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick now procured to himself a grant of those ample possessions, which lay chiefly in the north, the most warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of Duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet Lord St. John, the treasurer, was created, first, earl of Wiltshire, then marquis of Winchester: Sir William Herbert obtained the title of earl of Pembroke.

But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increase of possessions and titles, either to himself or his partisans, as steps only to further acquisitions. Finding that Somerset, though degraded from his dignity, and even lessened in the public opinion by his spiritless conduct, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more certainty the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman: he sometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; sometimes provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland: at other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned: his treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every passionate word which dropped from him: they revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested: and Northumberland, thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act in an open manner against him.

In one night the duke of Somerset, Lord Grey David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudi gate, two of the duke's servants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested, and committed to custody. Next day the duchess of Somerset, with her favourites Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the gens-d'armes on a muster-day to secure the Tower, and to raise a rebellion in London: but, what was the only probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by Lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony with regard to this last design; and it appears that some rash scheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conspiracy had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confessed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his house at Greenwich.

Somerset was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high steward. Twenty-seven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as

judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerset was accused of high treason on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony in laying a design to murder privy-counsellors.

We have a very imperfect account of all state trials during that age, which is a sensible defect in our history: but it appears that some more regularity was observed in the management of this prosecution than had usually been employed in like cases. The witnesses were at least examined by the privy-council, and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the prisoner (circumstances required by the strict principles of equity,) their depositions were given in to the jury. The proof seems to have been lame with regard to the treasonable part of the charge; and Somerset's defence was so satisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: the intention alone of assaulting the privy-counsellors was supported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prisoner himself confessed that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any resolution on that head: and when he received sentence, he asked pardon of those peers for the designs which he had hearkened to against them. The people, by whom Somerset was beloved, hearing the first part of his sentence, by which he was acquitted from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: but their satisfaction was suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony.

Care had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relic; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerset, indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, seems in general to have merited a better fate; and the faults which he committed were owing to weakness, not to any bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness he was ill fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences to which that age was so much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed: great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy, was on some pretence tried in the star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of six thousand pounds, with the loss of his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to share that honour. Lord Rich, chancellor, was also compelled to resign his office, on the discovery of some marks of friendship which he had shown to Somerset.

The day after the execution of Somerset, a session

of parliament was held, in which further advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorized; and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship. To use the mass had already been prohibited under severe penalties; so that the reformers, it appears, whatever scope they had given to their own private judgment, in disputing the tenets of the ancient religion, were resolved not to allow the same privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine of toleration, was at that time equally unknown to all sects and parties. To dissent from the religion of the magistrate, was universally conceived to be as criminal as to question his title, or rebel against his authority.

A law was enacted against usury; that is, against taking any interest for money. This act was the remains of ancient superstition; but being found extremely iniquitous in itself, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of interest, notwithstanding the law, was at this time 14 per cent.

A bill was introduced by the ministry into the house of lords, renewing those rigorous statutes of treason which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers by their high station stood most exposed to these tempests of state, yet had they so little regard to public security, or even to their own true interest, that they passed the bill with only one dissenting voice. But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that passed into a law, by which it was enacted, That whoever should call the king or any of his heirs, named in the statute of the thirty-fifth of the last reign, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should forfeit, for the first offence, their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure: for the second, should incur a *præmunire*; for the third, should be attainted for treason. But if any should unduly utter such a slander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the first offence to be held a traitor. It may be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the Lady Mary, were professes of different religions; and religious which threw on each other the imputation of heresy, schism, idolatry, profaneness, blasphemy, wickedness, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almost impossible, therefore, for the people, if they spoke at all on these subjects, not to fall into the crime so severely punished by the statute; and the jealousy of the commons for liberty, though it led them to reject the bill of treasons sent to them by the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-sighted.

The commons annexed to this bill a clause which was of more importance than the bill itself, that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason unless the crime were proved by the oaths of two witnesses confronted with the prisoner. The lords for some time scrupled to pass this clause, though conformable to the most obvious principles of equity. But the members of that house trusted for protection to their present personal interest and power, and neglected the noblest and most permanent security, that of laws.

The house of peers passed a bill, whose object was making a provision for the poor: but the commons, not choosing that a money-bill should begin in the upper house, framed a new act to the same purpose. By this act the churchwardens were em



powered to collect charitable contributions; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded others from that charity, the bishop of the diocese was empowered to proceed against them. Such large discretionary powers intrusted to the prelates, seem as proper an object of jealousy as the authority assumed by the peers.

There was another occasion in which the parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the bishops. They empowered them to proceed against such as neglected the Sundays and holidays. But these were unguarded concessions granted to the church: the general humour of the age rather led men to bereave the ecclesiastics of all power, and even to pillage them of their property: many clergymen about this time were obliged for a subsistence to turn carpenters or tailors, and some kept ale-houses. The bishops themselves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and spiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had opposed by his vote and authority all innovations in religion; but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. His known probity had made this compliance be ascribed, not to an interested or time-serving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be sacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any severe treatment during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the ascendancy, he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved, in order to effect his purpose, to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against the prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of Lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and sincere friendship to the bishop of Durham. But when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tonstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers: and when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill.

This equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age, was ascribed by Northumberland and his partisans, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerset's faction in a house of commons, which being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, had been almost entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices, was also rejected by the commons, though it had passed the upper house. A resolution was therefore taken to dissolve the parliament, which had sat during this whole reign; and soon after to summon a new one.

Northumberland, in order to insure to himself a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ventured on an experiment, which could not have

been practised, or even imagined, in an age where there was any idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their representatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued (according to Strype) in these words: "And yet, nevertheless, our pleasure is, that where our privy-council, or any of them, shall, in our behalf, recommend within their jurisdiction men of learning and wisdom; in such cases their directions shall be regarded and followed, as tending to the same end which we desire; that is, to have this assembly composed of the persons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and good counsel." Several letters were sent from the king, recommending members to particular counties, Sir Richard Cotton to Hampshire; Sir William Fitzwilliams and Sir Henry Nevil to Berkshire; Sir William Drury and Sir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though some counties only received this species of *congé-d'elire* from the king; the recommendations from the privy-council and the counsellors, we may fairly presume, would extend to the greater part, if not to the whole of the kingdom.

It is remarkable that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to; and that it gave so little umbrage as scarcely to be taken notice of by any historian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the most trivial matter, is the only person that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

The parliament answered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonstal had in the interval been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay-commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had also purposed to make rich plunder of the revenue as was then usual with the courtiers whenever a bishopric became vacant.

The commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most sincere of any, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained: they granted a supply of two subsidies and two fifteenths. To render this present the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset, "for involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, debasing the coin, and giving occasion for a most terrible rebellion."

The debts of the crown were at this time considerable. The king had received from France 100,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the sale of some chantry lands; the churches had been spoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which by a decree of the council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been converted to the king's use; yet such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds; and great dilapidations were at the same time made of the royal demesnes. The young prince showed, among other virtues, a disposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would soon have retrieved these losses: but as his health was

declining very fast, the present emptiness of the exchequer was a sensible obstacle to the execution of those projects which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the prospect of Edward's approaching end.

That nobleman represented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament: and though Henry by his will had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard: that they were the king's sisters by half-blood only; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and successors: that the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had lost by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would by her succession render England, as she had already done Scotland, a province to France: that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: that, fortunately for England, the same order of succession which justice required, was also the most conformable to public interest; and there was not on any side any just ground for doubt or deliberation: that when these three princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen and the duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioness was the Lady Jane Gray, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigotted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the Lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him that he could not exclude the one sister on account of illegitimacy, without giving also an exclusion to the other.

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk by a second venture having died this season by the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he persuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the duchess to give their daughter, the Lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son the Lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by further alliances, he negotiated a marriage between the Lady Catherine Gray, second daughter of Suffolk, and Lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to Lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. These marriages were solemnized with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not for-

bear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

Edward had been seized in the foregoing year first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both these distempers, the nation entertained hopes that they would only serve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progress through some parts of the kingdom. It was suspected that he had there overheated himself in exercise: he was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: several fatal symptoms of a consumption appeared; and though it was hoped that, as the season advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men saw with great concern his bloom and vigour insensibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health from the time that Lord Robert Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

The languishing state of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king: he himself attended him with the greatest assiduity: he pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare: and by all these artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, Sir John Baker, and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were summoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey; and desired time to consider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving sanction to the new settlement, and freeing its partisans from danger, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges that their refusal would subject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and said, that he would in his shirt fight any man in so just a cause as that of Lady Jane's succession. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority.

The arguments were canvassed in several different meetings between the council and the judges; and no solution could be found of the difficulties



At last Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it, this prelate required that all the judges should previously sign it. Gosnald at first refused; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the constancy of Sir James Hales, who, though a zealous protestant, preferred justice on this occasion to the prejudices of his party, could not be shaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater security, that all the privy-counsellors should set their hands to the patent: the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic entreaties of the king, Cecil, at that time secretary of state, pretended afterwards that he only signed as witness to the king's subscription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, were set aside; and the crown was settled on the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk: for the duchess herself was content to give place to her daughters.

After this settlement was made, with so many inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day; and small hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree: he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid; and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, July the 6th, 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.

All the English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, application to study and business, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and justice. He seems only to have contracted, from his education and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepossession in matters of religion, which made him incline somewhat to bigotry and persecution: but as the bigotry of protestants, less governed by priests, lies under more restraints than that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the less to be apprehended, if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

To the foregoing narration of Hume, from whose account, after a careful perusal of preceding and subsequent historians, we do not see much occasion to vary, may be added the summary of this reign by Dr. Lingard; whose religion has drawn upon him the strong imputation of pleading the opposite

side of the question to the protestant authors, who have principally occupied our historical field since the reformation.

"It would be idle," says the catholic historian, "to delineate the character of a prince, who lived not till his passions could develop themselves, or his faculties acquire maturity. His education, like that of his two sisters, began at a very early age. In abilities he was equal, perhaps superior to most boys of his years: and his industry and improvement amply repaid the solicitude of his tutors. But the extravagant praises, which had been lavished on him by his panegyrists and admirers, may be received with some degree of caution. In the French and Latin letters, to which they appeal, it is difficult to separate the composition of the pupil from the corrections of the master; and since, to raise his reputation, deceptions are known to have been employed on some occasions, it may be justifiable to suspect that they were practised on others. The boy of twelve or fourteen years was accustomed to pronounce his opinion in the council with all the gravity of a hoary statesman. But he had been previously informed of the subjects to be discussed: his preceptors had supplied him with short notes, which he committed to memory; and while he delivered their sentiments as his own, the lords, whether they were aware or not of the artifice, admired and applauded the precocious wisdom with which Heaven had gifted their sovereign.

"Edward's religious belief could not have been the result of his own judgment. He was compelled to take it on trust from those about him, who moulded his infant mind to their pleasure, and infused into it their own opinions and prejudices. From them he derived a strong sense of piety, and a habit of daily devotion, a warm attachment to the new, and a violent antipathy to the ancient doctrines. He believed it to be the first of his duties to extirpate what he had been taught to deem, the idolatrous worship of his fathers; and with his last breath he wafted a prayer to Heaven for the preservation of his subjects from the infection of 'papisty.' Yet it may be a question whether his early death has not proved a benefit to the church of England, as it is at present established. His sentiments, like those of his instructors, were tinged with Calvinism: attempts were made to persuade him that episcopacy was an expensive and unnecessary institution: and the courtiers, whose appetite for church property had been whetted rather than satisfied by former spoliations, looked impatiently towards the entire suppression of the bishoprics and chapters. Of the possessions belonging to these establishments, one half had already been seized by the royal favourites: in the course of a few years their rapacity would have devoured the remainder.

"On this subject the reader will be amused by the disinterested advice of Hoby. In a letter of the 19th January, 1549, he tells the protector, that the foreign protestants 'have good hopes, and pray earnestly therefore, that the king's majesty will appoint unto the good bishops an honest and competent living, sufficient for their maintenance, taking from them the rest of their worldly possessions and dignities, and thereby avoid the vain glory that letteth (prevents) them truly and sincerely to do their duty.' From the bishops he proceeds to the chapters. He had been told that 1500 horsemen had mustered at Brussels to meet the prince of Spain, 'which,' he adds, 'when I heard, remembering what great ser-







MARY I.

vice such a number of chosen men were able to do, especially in our country, wherein is so much lack of good horsemen, it caused me to declare, under your grace's correction, what I thought: earnestly to wish with all my heart that, standing with the king's majesty's pleasure and your prudence, all the prebends within England were converted to the like use for the defence of our country, and the maintenance of honest poor gentlemen."

"The governors and counsellors of the young king were so occupied with plans of personal aggrandizement, and the introduction of religious reform, that they could pay but little attention to the great objects of national polity. Under their care or negligence, England was compelled to descend from the pre-eminence which she previously held among the nations of Europe; and her degradation was consummated at the conferences for the restoration of Boulogne, by the supercilious conduct of the French, and the tame acquiescence of the English ministers. For the advantage of commerce the exclusive principles enjoyed by the corporation of the stilyard were abolished; and a little before the king's death an expedition was fitted out to discover a north-east passage to the coast of India. The attempt failed: Willoughby, one of the leaders, perished with his crew from the cold of the winter; but Chancellor, the survivor, discovered the port of Archangel, and laid the foundation of a lucrative trade with the northern provinces of Russia.

"Within the realm poverty and discontent generally prevailed. The extension of enclosures, and the new practice of letting lands at rack rents, had driven from their homes numerous families, whose fathers had occupied the same farms for several generations; and the increasing multitude of the poor began to resort to the more populous towns in search of that relief, which had been formerly distributed at the gates of the monasteries. Thus Lever exclaims: 'O merciful Lord! what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea, with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lie and creep, begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster.' Nor were the national morals improved, if we may judge from the portraits drawn by the most eminent of the reformed preachers. They assert, that the sufferings of the indigent were viewed with indifference by the hard-heartedness of the rich: that, in the pursuit of gain the most bare-faced frauds were avowed and justified; that robbers and murderers escaped punishment by the partiality of juries, and the corruption of judges; that church livings were given to laymen or converted to the use of patrons; that marriages were repeatedly dissolved by private authority; and that the haunts of prostitution were multiplied beyond measure. How far credit should be given to such representations, may perhaps be doubtful. Declamations from the pulpit are not the best historical evidence. Much in them must be attributed to the exaggeration of zeal: much to the affectation of eloquence. Still when these deductions have been made, when the invectives of Knox and Lever, of Gilpin and Latimer, have been reduced to the standard of reason and experience, enough will remain to justify the conclusion, that the change of religious polity, by removing many of the former restraints upon vice, and enervating the authority of the spiritual courts, had given a bolder front to licentiousness, and opened a wider scope to the indulgence of criminal passion."

We have given this opinion from Dr. Lingard, in

order to occasionally show the arguments used on both sides the question. The last part of his reasoning surely has little foundation. The outrageous profligacies and vices of the reigns of Edward the Second, Richard the Second, and Edward the Fourth, not to allude to the gross iniquities charged on the monasteries themselves, the seats and fountains of the catholic doctrines, will sufficiently prove what power that church possessed to restrain vice, and curb the violence of criminal passions.

## CHAP. XL.

### MARY.

*Lady Jane Gray proclaimed Queen—Deserted by the People—The Queen proclaimed and acknowledged—Northumberland executed—Catholic Religion restored—A Parliament—Deliberations with regard to the Queen's Marriage—Queen's Marriage with Philip—Wyat's Insurrection—Suppressed—Execution of Lady Jane Gray—A Parliament—Philip's Arrival in England.*

THE title of the Princess Mary, after the demise of her brother, was not exposed to any considerable difficulty; and the objections started by Lady Jane's partisans were new and unheard-of by the nation. Though all the protestants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognised by the nation, and seemingly founded on those principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few imagined that their issue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpose had indeed been extorted from parliament by the usual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to restore his daughter to the right of succession, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it was ever esteemed just and natural. The public had long been familiarized to these sentiments: during all the reign of Edward, the princess was regarded as his lawful successor; and though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred universally entertained against the Dudleys, who men foresaw would, under the name of Jane, be the real sovereigns, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt to violate the order of succession, had displayed Northumberland's ambition and injustice in a full light; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity, and cruelty by which that project had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princesses, had been sacrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to exert themselves in opposition to such criminal enterprises. The general veneration also paid to the memory of Henry VIII. prompted the nation to defend the rights of his posterity; and the miseries of the ancient and civil wars were not so entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the danger of like bloodshed and confusion.

Northumberland, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and in order to bring



two princesses into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, desiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm state of health required the assistance of their counsel, and the consolation of their company. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and the Lady Mary had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily for her, the earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her; she immediately made haste to retire; and arrived, by quick journeys, first at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Farmlingham in Suffolk; where she purposed to embark and escape to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of succession. She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county in England; commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person. And she dispatched a message to the council; by which she notified to them that her brother's death was no longer a secret to her, promised them pardon for past offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London.

Northumberland found that further dissimulation was fruitless: he went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the Lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received intelligence of them. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, and accomplished parts: and being of an equal age with the late king, she had received all her education with him, and seemed even to possess greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amusements usual with her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the Lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park: and on his admiring the singularity of her choice, she told him that she received more pleasure from that author than the others could reap from all their sport and gaiety. Her heart, full of this passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affections, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the intelligence of her elevation to the throne was nowise agreeable to her. Overcome at last by the entreaties rather than the reasons of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her husband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment.

The following more graphic account of this transaction is from Lingard:—"Her love of privacy had induced her to solicit, what in the uncertain state of the king's health was readily granted, permission to leave London, and to spend a few days at Chelsea: she was enjoying herself in this retirement when she received (July 9) by the Lady

Sidney, her husband's sister, an order from the council to return immediately to Sion-house, and to await there the commands of the king. She obeyed; and the next morning was visited by the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earls of Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke. At first, the conversation turned on indifferent subjects, but there was in their manner an air of respect which awakened some uneasiness in her mind, and seemed to explain the hints already given to her by her mother-in-law. Soon afterwards that lady entered, accompanied by the duchess of Suffolk and the marchioness of Northampton: and the duke, addressing the Lady Jane, informed her that the king her cousin was dead; that before he expired, he had prayed to God to preserve the realm from the infection of papistry, and the misrule of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth; that, on account of their being bastards, and by act of parliament incapable of the succession, he had resolved to pass them by, and to leave the crown in the right line; and that he had therefore commanded the council to proclaim her, the Lady Jane, his lawful heir, and in default of her and her issue, her two sisters Catherine and Mary. At these words the lords fell on their knees, declared that they took her for their sovereign, and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in support of her right. The reader may easily conceive the agitation of spirits which a communication so important and unlooked for was likely to create in a young woman of timid habits and delicate health: she trembled, uttered a shriek, and sunk to the ground. On her recovery she observed to those around her, that she seemed to herself a very unfit person to be a queen: but that if the right were hers, she trusted God would give her strength to wield the sceptre to his honour and the benefit of the nation.

"Such is the account of this transaction given by Jane herself, in a letter from the Tower to Queen Mary."

It was at this period usual for the kings of England, after their accession, to pass the first days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new sovereign. All the counsellors were obliged to attend her to that fortress; and by this means became in reality prisoners in the hands of Northumberland; whose will they were necessitated to obey. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: the people heard the proclamation with silence and concern: some even expressed their scorn and contempt; and one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was severely punished for this offence. The protestant teachers themselves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitless; and Ridley, bishop of London, who preached a sermon to that purpose, wrought no effect upon his audience.

The people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidst their tenders of duty, expressing apprehensions for their religion; but when she assured them that she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enlisted themselves in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Sussex, the eldest sons of Lord Wharton and Lord Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry

Benningfield, Sir Henry Jernegan, persons whose interest lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commission from the council to make levies for the Lady Jane in Buckinghamshire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thousand men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet which had been sent by Northumberland to lie off the coast of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a storm, was engaged to declare for that princess.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himself. He had levied forces, which were assembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counsellors, whose compliance he knew had been entirely the result of fear or artifice, he was resolved to keep near the person of the Lady Jane, and send Suffolk to command the army. But the counsellors who wished to remove him, working on the filial tenderness of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be exposed; and represented that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly suppressing a rebellion in those parts, was more proper to command in that enterprise. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, began to think that none but himself was able to encounter the present danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counsellors attended on him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel his mortal enemy. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," said he to Lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find none who cries, *God speed you!*"

The duke had no sooner reached St. Edmundsbury, than he found his army, which did not exceed six thousand men, too weak to encounter the queen's, which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement; and the counsellors immediately laid hold of the opportunity to free themselves from confinement. They left the Tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but being assembled in Baynard's-castle, a house belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of shaking off his usurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprise which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed, that the only method of making atonement for their past offences, was by a speedy return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. This motion was seconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his sword, swore he was ready to fight any man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The Lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her; and the messengers who were sent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had de-

spaired of success, was deserted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the Lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper.

The queen gave orders for taking into custody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel who arrested him, and abjectly begged his life. At the same time were committed the earl of Warwick his eldest son Lord Ambrose, and Lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Gray, and Lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himself recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence in a great measure to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself could sit as his judges? Being told that the great seal of a usurper was no authority, and that persons not lying under any sentence of attainder were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution he made profession of the catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors: whether that such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised from interest and ambition, or that he hoped by this declaration to render the queen more favourable to his family. Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates suffered with him. Sentence was pronounced against the Lady Jane and Lord Guilford; but without any present intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded sufficiently in their favour.

When Mary first arrived in the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courteney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cause, appeared before her and implored her clemency and protection. They were all of them restored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding that it had passed in the parliament, was represented as null and invalid, because, among other informalities, no special matter had been alleged against him, except wearing a coat of arms which he and his ancestors, without giving any offence, had always made use of, in the



face of the court and of the whole nation. Courteney soon after received the title of Earl of Devonshire. Besides performing all those popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions, and by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the last parliament.

The joy arising from the conclusion of the disputes as to the succession, and from the popular measures of the queen, hindered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the state of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the protestant communion, the apprehensions entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be somewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princess, being educated with her mother, had imbibed the strongest attachment to the catholic communion, and the highest aversion to those new tenets, whence she believed all the misfortunes of her family had originally sprung. The discouragements which she lay under from her father, though at last they brought her to comply with his will, tended still more to increase her disgust to the reformers; and the vexations which the protector and the council gave her during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her further in her prejudices. Naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reason to dread not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long ere she discovered her intentions.

Gardiner, Bonner, Tostal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, were reinstated in their sees, either by a direct act of power, or what is nearly the same, by the sentence of commissioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the bishopric of Durham had been dissolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tostal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence; and it was easy to foresee that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer was also sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered such constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with such severity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were browbeaten, because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen, when they enlisted themselves into her service, had given them of maintaining the reformed religion: one in particular was set in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion. And though

the queen still promised, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her, men foresaw that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble security when set in opposition to religious prejudices.

The merits of Crammer towards the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable; and he had successfully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices which that monarch had entertained against her. But the active part which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in soliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made sufficient atonement by his sufferings in defence of the catholic cause. The primate, therefore, had reason to expect little favour during the present reign: but it was by his own indiscreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution. A report being spread, that Crammer, in order to pay court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, that as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion: that this infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effect his purpose, had falsely made use of Crammer's name and authority; and that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is besides replete with many horrid blasphemies. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Crammer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the Lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy-council, and was even less than that of the greater part of them, this sentence, however severe, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Crammer was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

Peter Martyr, seeing a persecution gathering against the reformers, desired leave to withdraw; and while some zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generously furnished him with supplies for his journey: but as bigotted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterward dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. John à Lasco was at first silenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants followed him; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English protestants also took shelter in foreign countries; and every thing bore a dismal aspect for the reformation.

During this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by protestants from the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. A zealous reformer pretends, that great violence and iniquity were used in the elections; but besides that the







*Michael Müller*

authority of this writer is inconsiderable, that practice, as the necessities of government seldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There still remained such numbers devoted by opinion or affection to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give such candidates the preference in most elections; and all those who hesitated to comply with the court religion rather declined taking a seat, which while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons would be obsequious to Mary's designs; and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, from interest or expectations, little opposition was expected from that quarter.

In opening the parliament, the court showed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

The first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII.\* The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the statutes of King Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more reasonable than the declaring that attainder invalid without further authority. Many clauses of the riot act passed in the late reign were revived; a step which eluded in a great measure the popular statute enacted at the first meeting of parliament.

Notwithstanding the compliance of the two houses with the queen's inclinations, they had still a reserve in certain articles; and her choice of a husband in particular was of such importance to national interest, that they were determined not to submit tamely in that respect to her will and pleasure. There were three marriages, concerning which it was supposed that Mary had deliberated after her accession. The first person proposed to her was Courteney, earl of Devonshire, who, being an Englishman nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging person, and address, he had visibly gained on the queen's affections.

With respect to the circumstances of a marriage with Courteney, all our chief historians are greatly at variance. Hume goes on to recite in a rhetorical

manner the assertion of Burnet, that "the queen was thought to have some inclination to marry him, had he not shown an inclination for Elizabeth, who had much the better share of beauty that was between them." Dr. Lingard, agreeing with the generally undisputed fact, that Mary's fancy had been captivated by Courteney, says, he forfeited her esteem by low debauchery; and to substantiate his assertions, quotes certain passages from the dispatches of Noailles, the French ambassador, which he says he transcribes, "because Hume, to account for the rejection of Courteney, has given us a very romantic statement, for which he could have no better foundation than his own imagination." We have seen, however, that he had the foundation from Burnet. Mackintosh seems to think Courteney betrayed no partiality for Elizabeth until he was rejected by Mary.

Perhaps, if conjecture may be allowed in historical narration, Mary preferred the gratification of her ambition or policy to that of her feminine inclination; and discarded Courteney when she had determined on a marriage with "some potent prince;" and this would be likely, in so turbulent and ill regulated a mind as his, to produce a revulsion of feeling that would hurry him to the party that looked to Elizabeth as their "load star;" and consequently he ultimately aimed at her hand and plotted with her partisans.

Cardinal Pole, who had never taken priests' orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul III.; the queen's affection for the countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had once been her governess; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the bustle of a court and the hurry of business; and also that his age would diminish the chances of the queen's having a family. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of that alliance; but as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negotiation with Commendone, an agent of Cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels; she sent assurances to the pope, then Julius III., of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and she desired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office.

These two marriages being rejected, the queen cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which during her own distresses had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles V., who a few years before was almost absolute master of Germany, had exercised his power in such an arbitrary manner that he gave extreme disgust to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties from the encroachments of that monarch. Religion had served him as a pretence for his usurpations; and from the same principle he met with that opposition which overthrew his grandeur and dashed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, en-

\* By this repeal, though it was in general popular, the clause of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was lost, which required the confronting of two witnesses, in order to prove any treason.



aged that the landgrave of Hesse, who, by his advice and on his assurances, had put himself into the emperor's hands, should be unjustly detained a prisoner, formed a secret conspiracy among the protestant princes; and covering his intentions with the most artful disguises, he suddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly missed becoming master of his person. The protestants flew to arms in every quarter; and their insurrection, aided by an invasion from France, reduced the emperor to such difficulties that he was obliged to submit to terms of peace, which insured the independence of Germany. To retrieve his honour he made an attack on France; and laying siege to Metz with an army of a hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprise in person, and seemed determined at all hazards to succeed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe. But the duke of Guise, who defended Metz, with a garrison composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted such vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the siege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to persevere any longer. He retired with the remains of his army into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverse of fortune which in his declining years had so fatally overtaken him.

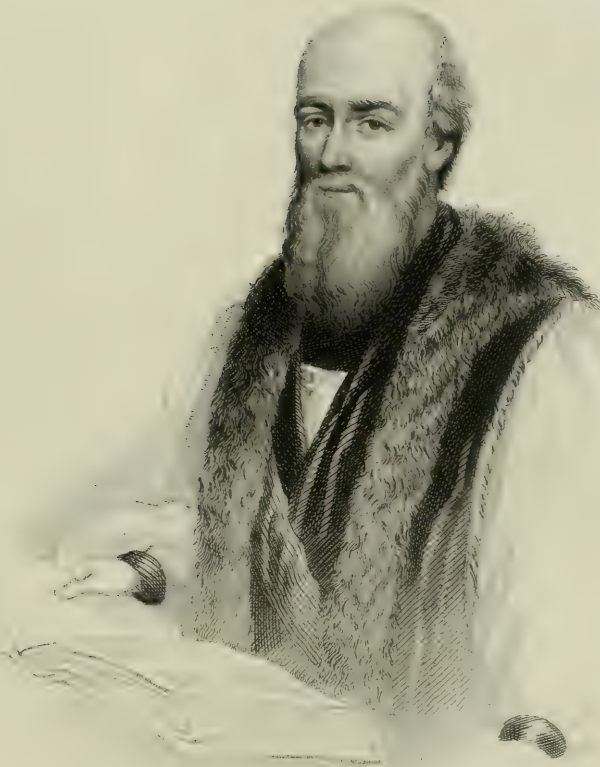
No sooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped by this incident to balance all the losses which he had sustained in Germany. His son Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, which objection it was thought would be overlooked; and there was no reason to despair of her still having a numerous issue. The emperor, therefore, immediately sent over an agent to signify his intentions to Mary, who, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herself more closely with her mother's family, to which she was ever strongly attached, readily embraced the proposal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match; and Gardiner, who was become prime-minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, seconded the project of the Spanish alliance. At the same time he represented both to her and the emperor, the necessity of stopping all further innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He observed that the parliament, amidst all their compliances, had discovered evident symptoms of jealousy, and seemed at present determined to grant no further concessions in favour of the catholic religion: that though they might make a sacrifice to their sovereign of some speculative principles which they did not well comprehend, or of some rites which seemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed such strong prejudices against the pretended usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to submit to its authority: that the danger of resuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepossessions which were but too general among the people, against the doctrine and worship of the catholic church: that much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point were urged at the same time with further changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and in-

urrection: that the marriage being once completed, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which she was engaged: and that it was even necessary previously to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the English, and such as would ensure to them their independence, and the entire possession of their ancient laws and privileges.

The emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, assented to all these reasons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that Cardinal Pole, more sincere in his religious opinions, and less guided by the maxims of human policy, after having sent contrary advice to the queen, had set out on his journey to England, where he was to exercise his legantine commission; he thought proper to stop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention. The negotiation for the marriage meanwhile proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions of espousing Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the concessions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance, and they sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent further applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

A convocation had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article which of all others they deemed the clearest, and founded on the most irresistible arguments, they chose to try their strength by defending it. The protestants pushed the dispute as far as the clamour and noise of their antagonists would permit; and they fondly imagined that they had obtained some advantage, when in the course of the debate they obliged the catholics to avow that, according to their doctrine, Christ had in his last supper held himself in his hand, and had swallowed and eaten himself. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: the Romanists maintained, that "their" champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to contest with such self-evident principles; and that the severest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favourite point, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to show that they feared no force of learning or abilities, where reason was so evidently on their side, they sent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controversialists could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled principles. The issue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference held at the same place during the reign of Edward.

After the parliament and convocation were dismissed, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated in most places by the zeal of the catholics, countenanced by government.



*Thomas Cressner*





were still more openly put in execution: the mass was every where re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. It has been asserted by some writers, that three-fourths of the clergy were at this time deprived of their livings; though other historians, more accurate, have estimated the number of sufferers to be far short of this proportion. A visitation was appointed, in order to restore more perfectly the mass and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice. It is to be observed, that this oath had been established by the laws of Henry VIII., which were still in force.

This violent and sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent; and even affected indifferent spectators with concern, by the hardships to which so many individuals were on that account exposed. But the Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a-year should be settled as her jointure; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip. Such was the treaty of marriage signed by Count Egmont, and three other ambassadors sent over to England by the emperor.

These articles, when published, gave no satisfaction to the nation: it was universally said that the emperor, in order to get possession of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded that he had no serious intention of observing them; that the usual fraud and ambition of that monarch might assure the nation of such a conduct; and his son Philip, while he inherited these vices from his father, added to them tyranny, sullenness, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: that England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which usually exercised the most violent authority over all her dependant dominions; that the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples, groaned under the burthen of Spanish tyranny; and throughout all the new conquests in America there had been displayed scenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the history of mankind: that the inquisition was a tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation; and would infallibly, with all her other laws and institutions, be introduced into England: and that the divided sentiments of the people with regard to religion would subject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole nation to the most abject servitude.

The following account of the consequent insur-

rection and executions are extracted from Mackintosh, as giving a more just and vivid narration of those transactions than Hume.

"A plan of revolt was resolved on to avert all these evils, which had in its first outline some chance of success. Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger was to take the field in Kent. The duke of Suffolk was to raise his tenants in the midland counties. Sir Peter Carew was the expected leader in Devonshire. Henry II., king of France, who dreaded the aggrandisement of Charles V., gave hopes of aid to the malecontent chiefs. Noailles his ambassador entered eagerly into these projects, and greedily swallowed every rumour which magnified the strength of the revolvers. It is the lot of such ministers to be deceived, and their general disposition to exaggerate circumstances which exalt their own importance. The earl of Devonshire, an imprudent youth, lent an ear to Carew's temptations. The Princess Elizabeth refused to attend her sister to mass. Incidentally urged by those whose importunities were threats, she tried to gain time, by throwing herself at her sister's feet, and with tears in her eyes she prayed that she might not be pressed to abandon the religion in which she was reared till they had afforded the means of religious instruction through books and teachers. On the eve of the coronation she yielded to the same apparent conformity which Mary had practised in obedience to Henry VIII. Her attachment to her religion was, however, so well known that this compulsory conformity deceived neither party. She was incensed at the sentence of bastardy virtually pronounced against her in the statute which established the throne of the reigning queen. She was displeased by the precedence over her given to other ladies of the court, as a clear, though in itself frivolous, mode of displaying her illegitimacy. She was impatient of the importunities which had beset her, and indignant at the necessity of purchasing life by hypocrisy. It is uncertain whether the consummate prudence which distinguished her subsequent conduct prevailed over her natural feelings so entirely as to induce her to decline all suspicious intercourse and dangerous propositions. Even if she was thus prematurely wise, she could not fail to be represented as sharing all daring projects by those who hoped much from her name, as well as by those who sought a pretext for her destruction. The French minister, who was deeply engaged in the plot, was a credulous witness respecting the princess's share in it. Accusation and rumours, however general, are of little or no value where they would be as certainly pointed against the innocent as against the guilty. But it must be owned that her forbearance, if complete, must be attributed more to prudence than to loyalty.

"The conspirators had at first decided to postpone the rising till the arrival of Philip, who was expected in April, should raise to its highest point the unpopularity of the marriage. The discovery of their designs, in the middle of January, broke their measures. They took up arms to escape from their enemies before their preparations were in forwardness, and Carew fled to France. The duke of Suffolk, a protestant so zealous as to have already forgotten the recent mercy shown to him, displayed his boldness by an attempt to excite his tenants in Warwickshire to revolt. His success was small. His followers were routed by Lord Huntingdon, and he was himself betrayed to his enemies by one of his park-keepers. On the 25th of January, 1554, the day on which Suffolk left London, Sir Thomas



Wyatt raised the standard of insurrection at Maidstone. He established his head-quarters at Rochester, and was joined by no contemptible number of the men of Kent. After several skirmishes, with various results, the duke of Norfolk was sent to quell the rebellion. He arrived at Stroud, a suburb of Rochester, on the 27th of January. As he was about to begin the attack, Breté, and other officers of the Londoners, who composed a large part of Norfolk's force, fell back from their post with their soldiers: and as soon as the first gun was fired against the insurgents, the London bands, who were in the rear of the queen's army, shouted aloud sundry times, 'We are all Englishmen!' The duke made an effort to turn his artillery against them, but the national feeling prevailed. Norfolk, attended only by the captain of his guard, shifted for himself. Such was the terror spread by this defection, that the imperial ambassador fled from London, and the court opened an ineffectual negotiation with Wyatt, now at the head of 15,000 men. At this moment of panic, Mary went to Guildhall, and harangued the citizens of London, with much of the spirit of her race, and with a success which has often attended female sovereigns in their addresses to a susceptible multitude. 'On the word of a queen I promise and assure you that, if it shall not appear to the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament that the marriage is for the singular benefit of the whole realm, I will abstain from it.'

"On the second of February, the day of the queen's speech, Wyatt advanced to Deptford, where he halted, as it seems imprudently, for twenty-four critical hours. Twenty thousand men enlisted under Mary's standard. Wyatt, whose quarters in Southwark were commanded by the cannon of the Tower, being defeated in an attempt to force London Bridge, marched to Kingston, where, on the sixth of February, he passed the remains of the bridge at that place without resistance. He had concerted measures with his still numerous friends in the city. But he lost their aid by one of those defects in punctuality, to which warfare in the night is peculiarly liable. On the seventh of February he arrived at Hyde Park-corner. He marched to Charing-cross, filling the court with such consternation, that even Gardiner entreated the queen to throw herself into the Tower. The daughter of Henry VIII. scorned this counsel. At Charing-cross a conflict ensued, in which Wyatt, still eager to resume his communications with his city adherents, advanced at the head of 400 men, being probably cut off from his main body by the enemy, till he found Ludgate barred against him by Lord Effingham. Disheartened by this unexpected resistance, the greater part of his followers were either dispersed or slain. With a remnant of about eighty he fought his way back to St. James's; and, after performing deeds of prowess worthy of his name, he surrendered his sword to Sir Maurice Berkeley. Had his confederates, Suffolk, Courteney, and Carew, resembled him; had he delayed the onset even a little longer; had he wasted no irrecoverable time, when all depended on speed, the event might have been very different; for the body of the people had not been appended to the insurrection of a county was quelled almost as soon as its commencement could be known to the most extensive and martial provinces. 'The dissentments of the subject,' says Noailles, 'are not at all abated, but, on the contrary, increase daily.'

"On the third of November, 1553, Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guildford Dudley were convicted of high-treason. But no time was fixed for the execution, and their treatment indicated some compassion for involuntary usurpers of seventeen years of age. The ingratitude of Suffolk proved an incentive sufficient to prevail over the slender pity of bigots and politicians. On the 8th of February, Mary signed a warrant for the execution of 'Guilford Dudley and his wife,'—for such was the description by which they were distinguished at a moment when discourtesy wears its ugliest aspect. On the morning of the 12th, he was led to execution on Tower-hill. Lord Guilford Dudley had requested an interview with his beloved Jane. She, from a fear that it might unfit both for the scene through which they were to pass, declined it. She saw him go through the gate of the Tower towards the scaffold; and, soon afterwards, she chanced to look from the same window at his bleeding carcase, imperfectly covered, in the cart which bore it back. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, had endeavoured to convert her to the catholic faith. He was acute, eloquent, and of a tender nature; but he made no impression on her considerate and steady belief. She behaved to him with such calmness and sweetness, that he had obtained for her a day's respite. So much meekness has seldom been so pure from lukewarmness. She wrote a letter to Harding on his apostasy, couched in ardent and even vehement language, partly because she doubted his sincerity. Never did affection breathe itself in language more beautiful than in her dying letter to her father, in which she says, 'My guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent!' A Greek letter to her sister, Lady Catherine, written on a blank leaf of a Greek Testament, is needless as another proof of those accomplishments which astonished the learned of Europe, but admirable as a token that neither grief nor danger could ruffle her thoughts, nor lower the sublimity of her highest sentiments. In the course of that morning she wrote in her note-book three sentences in Greek, Latin, and English, of which the last is as follows: 'If my fault deserved punishment, my youth, at least, and my imprudence, were worthy of excuse. God and posterity will show me favour.'

"She was executed within the Tower, either to withdraw her from the pitying eye of the people, or as a privilege due to the descendant of Henry VII. She declared on the scaffold that 'her soul was as pure from trespass against Queen Mary as innocence was from injustice: I only consented to the thing I was forced into.'

"In substance the last allegation was true. The history of tyranny affords no example of a female of seventeen by the command of a female, and a relation, put to death for acquiescence in the injunction of a father, sanctioned by the concurrence of all that the kingdom could boast of what was illustrious in nobility, or grave in law, or venerable in religion. The example is the more affecting, as it is that of a person who exhibited a matchless union of youth and beauty with genius, with learning, with virtue, with piety; whose affections were so warm, while her passions were so perfectly subdued. It was a death sufficient to honour and dishonour an age.

"The execution of her father occurred a few days afterwards. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried, and made so good a defence, on grounds of law, that the jury acquitted him; for which several of them were heavily fined, according to a usage then of

unquestioned legality. Wyatt was convicted on the 15th of March. Nearly a month appears to have been employed in labouring to extract information from him against the Princess Elizabeth. The attorney-general at the trial aggravated the criminality of Wyatt by saying, 'Your attempt reached, as far as in you lay, to the second person in the realm, whereby her honour is brought in question.' Wyatt wholly disclaimed the imputation. 'Being in this wretched estate,' said he, 'I beseech you not to overcharge me, nor to make me seem that I am not.' This brave youth was beheaded on the 11th of April.

"It was not till the beginning of December that Elizabeth obtained leave to retire to her house at Ashridge, where it was possible for her to escape the constrained participation in a worship which she disapproved. There she received propositions and suggestions from the chiefs of the revolvers, who probably intended, in due time, to act in her name; but her consent or acceptance was not shown, nor even seriously alleged. Her utmost offence seems to have been the misprision, or concealment, of projects of revolt, which was not a capital crime.

"About the 8th of February, immediately after the utter discomfiture of Wyatt, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, were sent to Ashridge with a body of troops to conduct Elizabeth to London. They were enjoined to bring her 'quick or dead,' or, in other words, to use any force necessary to their purpose, if the court physicians, who were sent with them, should pronounce her capable of being carried to the capital without danger of her life from the journey. They arrived after she had retired to rest; but though she declined to see them till the morning, they immediately forced their way into her bedchamber. 'Is the haste such,' said she, 'that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?' They professed, 'that they were right sorry to see her in such a case.' She replied, 'And I am not glad to see you here at this time of night.' Her illness was so unfeigned that it compelled the courtiers and their physicians to allow her an unusual time for her journey, and she did not enter London till the 23d. 'While the city,' says Noailles, 'was covered with gibbets,\* and the public buildings were crowded with the heads of the bravest men in the kingdom, the Princess Elizabeth, for whom no better lot is foreseen, is lying ill about seven or eight miles from hence, so swoln and disfigured that her death is expected.' He doubted whether she would reach London alive. In passing along the streets of the capital, she ordered her litter to be opened, in order to show herself, and was appareled in white, as the emblem of innocence. The paleness produced by her distemper was perceived and pitied by the beholders, notwithstanding the lofty port which she assumed. Her youth and strength triumphed over the disease. She demanded an audience of the queen, asserted her innocence with the utmost boldness, and claimed the interview on the grounds of a promise made by her sister. But the request was vain. 'The Lady Elizabeth has recovered her health, but it is a recovery of little importance; for her death is determined.' 'The queen,' continues the French ambassador 'goes to Richmond before

Easter, to do penance, and to command acts of cruelty.'

"Two councils were held on the fate of Elizabeth. One party, supported to the last by the advice of the emperor, urged the absolute necessity of destroying her, and the folly of sparing a traitress, who defeated the law more effectually by a mere evasion of it, whatever lawyers might think of her escape from its letter. Lord Arundel and Lord Paget were the authors of these lawless counsels. On the other side, the more experienced of the English counsellors doubted, perhaps denied, that Elizabeth could be legally convicted of treason under the 25th of Edward III., the only law applicable to that offence; since the late statute, one of the earliest and happiest of her majesty's measures, had swept away the odious heap of treasons raised up by her father. That ancient law, dear to the people by contrast with the late bloody statutes, required open and outward acts to be done by the accused in furtherance of their criminal designs. Gardiner, though he professed to think Elizabeth deserving of death, yet considered her confinement at Ashridge, and Courteney's residence at St. James's as irreconcilable with a just conviction for treason. If the present construction of the statute of Edward then prevailed, he must not only have held that they did not levy war, but that a conspiracy to rebel was not capable of being proved against them. Our information, which flows from foreign ministers, throws no light on such subtle distinctions. But it is so probable as to allow little doubt that Gardiner would not have harboured any scruples about the removal of a person so obnoxious, and of whose desert he professed to think no better than his colleagues, if there had been any sufficient evidence of Elizabeth's substantial assent to the projects of revolt suggested to her by Wyatt, and perhaps by Courteney. It is not wonderful that a man grown grey in affairs of state, should have shrunk from the public and personal danger likely to attend the illegal execution of the second person in the commonwealth. No other motive can reasonably be supposed to have influenced his conduct. Elizabeth often assured a French minister, long after these events, that she expected death, and that the queen thirsted for her sister's blood; a circumstance which exactly tallies with the expectations of Noailles. She probably owed her life to the illness and distemper at Ashridge, which hindered her from being tempted or carried into the camp of the insurgents. A subordinate question arose in the council, whether Elizabeth, being absolved from a capital charge, should be committed to the Tower. On this question, fearing to displease the queen by too frequent opposition Gardiner took the severe side.

"Elizabeth was committed to the Tower, certainly with no other expectation than that of mounting the scaffold of her unhappy mother; of which all the horrors were revived by the recent fate of Lady Jane Grey,—the first intelligence which welcomed the princess on her arrival in London. For some time after her imprisonment in that fortress she was harassed by examinations, which, after the resolution of the council, could have been prompted only by a desire to discover some means of satisfying the lingering hatred of Mary and the bloody policy of Charles V. In the middle of April there seemed no means remaining of gratifying Mary's revengeful spirit by keeping up the appearance of an inquiry, so Elizabeth was then per-

\* On Monday, the 12th of February, fifteen gallowses were reared; on which fifty-two men were hanged. The day was called Black Monday, as being that of the killing of Lady



mitted walk round the Tower. On the 19th of May she was transferred to the custody of Sir F. Williams, a gentleman of the same lineage with the Cromwells, who, though created a baron only a month before, treated the young princess with more mildness than pleased the court; for she was shortly imprisoned at Woodstock, under the gaolership of Sir Henry Bedingfield, a man so much more anxious to gratify his employers than to act as became his original station, that he ranks among the gaolers who have derived a lasting infamy from the fame of their prisoners. When he came with a hundred newly-equipped soldiers to conduct her to Woodstock, she said to him with her usual quickness and poignancy, 'Is the scaffold of Lady Jane yet taken away?' The princess, when she afterwards became queen, carried her anger no further than to forbid him from visiting the court. She said to him, on the occasion of the prohibition, 'God forgive you and we do; and if we have any prisoner whom we would have hardly handled and straitly kept, then we will send for you.'

Though the government laboured under a general odium, the queen's authority had received such an increase from the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The emperor also, in order to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than 400,000 crowns, which he had sent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members; a pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any instance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen, notwithstanding her bigotry, resumed her title of supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session by a speech, in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of choosing a husband for herself; observed how proper a use she had made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, descended from the house of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry VIII.'s posterity, of whom there now remained none but the queen and the Lady Elizabeth. He added, that in order to obviate the inconvenience which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen by law, with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her successor. A power, he said, which was not to be thought unprecedented in England, since it had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII.

The parliament was much disposed to gratify the queen in all her desires; but when the liberty, independence, and very being of the nation were in such visible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which she bore to the Lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the house of Austria; they were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to postpone all considerations of justice or national interest to the establishment of the catholic religion: they remarked that Gardiner had carefully avoided in his speech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the queen's sister; and they thence concluded that a design was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: they expected that Mary, if invested with such a power as she required, would make a will in her husband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy; and they were the

more alarmed with these projects, as they heard that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was carefully insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage, which were drawn very favourably for England; but they declined the passing of any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them: they would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill introduced for that purpose was laid aside after the first reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they passed a law in which they declared, 'That her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means.'

A law passed in this parliament for re-erecting the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward. The queen had already, by an exertion of her power, put Tostal in possession of that see: but though it was usual at that time for the crown to assume authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to procure the sanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the six articles, together with those against the Lollards, and against heresy and erroneous preaching: but none of these laws could pass the two houses; a proof that the parliament had reserves even in their concessions with regard to religion, about which they seem to have been less scrupulous. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not serve all her purposes, finished the session by dissolving them.

Mary's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly and impatiently expected.

We have omitted the statements of the queen's petty and vain agitations at the delay of the arrival of Philip, because they are all taken from the French ambassador's dispatches, and are evidently party exaggerations. It may be permitted an impartial searcher after facts, to express regret at the despicable and shameless manner in which this part of history is penned by writers on both sides. Truth seems to be utterly abandoned the instant that it stands in the way of a theory, or militates against the side the historian may choose to advocate. Lingard and Hume are both equally untrustworthy, where they think sophistry will support them; the one in defence of superstition, and the other in sneering at bigotry. The latter, however, is not always unjust; and the former ever retains that graphic style, which gives an unequalled life and force to his narration. We give the Doctor's account of the arrival of Philip the catholic king.

"He had sailed from Corunna, and in four days came within sight of Southampton, escorted by the combined fleets of England, the Netherlands, and Spain. The next morning the lords of the council, with a numerous retinue, proceeded to the fleet,

and Philip, accompanied by the dukes of Alva and Medina Celi, the admiral of Castile, and Don Ruy Gomez, his governor, entered the royal yacht, where he was received by the duke of Norfolk, and the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Derby. He had already sworn to the articles of the marriage treaty, in presence of the lords Bedford and Fitzwater, the English ambassadors: he now took an oath before the council, to observe the laws, customs, and liberties of the realm. The moment he set his foot on the beach, he was invested with the order of the garter, and a royal salute was fired by the batteries and the ships in the harbour. The queen had sent him a Spanish genet, richly caparisoned: and as he rode first to the church and thence to his lodging, the people crowded around him to see the husband of their sovereign. His youth, the grace of his person, the pleasure displayed in his countenance, charmed the spectators: they saluted him with cries of 'God save your grace,' and he turning on either side, expressed his thankfulness for their congratulations. Before he dismissed the English lords, he addressed them in a Latin speech. It was not, he said, want of men or money that had drawn him from his native country. But God had called him to marry their virtuous sovereign, and he was come to live among them, not as a foreigner, but as a native Englishman. He received with pleasure their assurances of faith and loyalty; and promised in return, that they should always find him a grateful, affable, and affectionate prince. Then turning to the Spanish lords, he expressed a wish that, while they remained in England, they would conform to the customs of England; and, to give the example, drank farewell to the company in a tankard of ale, a beverage, which he then tasted for the first time.

"Philip, before he left Southampton, ordered his fleet to sail to Flanders, and sent the queen a present of jewels, valued at one hundred thousand crowns. On the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, the marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church of Winchester, (July 25, 1554) before crowds of noblemen, collected from every part of Christendom, and with a magnificence which has seldom been surpassed. Immediately before the ceremony Figueroa, an imperial counsellor, presented to Gardiner, the officiating prelate, two instruments, from which he said it would appear that his sovereign, thinking it beneath the dignity of so great a queen to marry one who was not a king, had resigned to his son the crown of Naples with the duchy of Milan. The bishop, before he proceeded to the marriage ceremony, read aloud these cessions and the articles of the treaty. After the mass, the king and queen left the church, under a canopy, walking hand in hand, Mary, on the right and Philip on the left, with two naked swords borne before them. They dined in public, in the episcopal palace; no one but the bishop dined at the same table with the king and queen; on one side was placed a cupboard containing for show, ninety-six large vases of gold and silver: as soon as the dinner was over, the tables were removed; and the rest of the day was spent in dancing. Several subsequent days were devoted to feastings and rejoicings. From Winchester the royal pair proceeded, by slow journeys, to Windsor and the metropolis. The city had been beautified at considerable expense, and the most splendid pageants had been devised to welcome their arrival. If external appearances could be taken for proofs of internal feeling, the king and

queen might justly flatter themselves they reigned in the hearts and affections of their subjects."

Our other historians do not give so flattering an account of Philip and of these ceremonies. Mackintosh, one of the most moderate of the protestant writers, says, "The countenance and form of the prince were in his youth not devoid of symmetry, and began to show marks of his firm and sagacious mind; but the stately reserve of his Spanish manners did not lessen the repugnance of the English people to the marriage. 'No English lord remained at court but Gardiner. When the king and queen removed to Hampton-court, the hall-door was continually shut, so that no man might enter unless his errand were first known, which seemed strange to Englishmen.' In September a proclamation enjoining all vagabonds, and servants out of place, to quit London in five days, bore marks of the like gloomy distrust."

Mary summoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants; all these causes seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons, which was in a great measure to her satisfaction, and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, on her assembling the parliament, the title of "supreme head of the church," though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England. Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, invested with legantine powers from the pope: in order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act reversing his attainder, and restoring his blood; and the queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a sincere repentance for their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majesties, that since they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was easily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church. The pope, then Julius III., being informed of these transactions, said that it was an unexampled instance of his felicity to receive thanks from the English for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing.

Notwithstanding the extreme zeal of those times for and against popery, the object always uppermost with the nobility and gentry was their money and estates: they were not brought to make these concessions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated assurances, from the pope as well as the queen, that the plunder which they had made



on the ecclesiastics should never be inquired into; and that the abbey and church lands should remain with the present possessors. But not trusting altogether to these promises, the parliament took care in the law itself, by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, to insert a clause, in which, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schism, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclesiastical censures. The convocation also, in order to remove apprehensions on that head, were induced to present a petition to the same purpose; and the legate, in his master's name, ratified all these transactions. It now appeared that notwithstanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed in England, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment. For though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was for the present restored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even these arbitrary, powerful, and bigotted princes, while the transactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her possessions so lately ravished from her; and no expedients were left to the clergy for enriching themselves, but those which they had at first practised, and which had required many ages of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition to produce their effect on mankind.

The pope at first gave Cardinal Pole powers to transact only with regard to the past fruits of the church lands; but being admonished of the danger attending any attempt towards a resumption of the lands, he enlarged the cardinal's powers, and granted him authority to insure the future possession of the church lands to the present proprietors. There was only one clause in the cardinal's powers that has given occasion for some speculation. An exception was made of such cases as Pole should think important enough to merit the being communicated to the holy see. But Pole simply ratified the possession of all the church lands; and his commission had given him full powers to that purpose. It is true some councils have declared, that it exceeds even the power of the pope, to alienate any church lands; and the pope, according to his convenience, or power, may either adhere to or recede from this declaration. But every year gave solidity to the right of the proprietors of church lands, and diminished the authority of the popes; so that men's dread of popery in subsequent times was more founded on party or religious zeal, than on very solid reasons.

The parliament having secured their own possessions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even to the lives of their fellow-citizens: they revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics, which had been rejected in the former parliament: they also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumours; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen. Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a step further than their predecessors; but none of them had entirely lost all regard to national interests. Their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not even procure the

parliament's consent to his coronation. All attempts likewise to obtain subsidies from the commons, in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless: the usual animosity and jealousy of the English against that kingdom seemed to have given place for the present to like passions against Spain. Philip, sensible of the prepossessions entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; Lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmond Warner, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the suspicions or resentment of the court. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the Lady Elizabeth from the animosity of the queen, and restoring her to liberty. This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly destitute; but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France. Courteney, earl of Devonshire, also reaped some benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: but that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travel; and he soon after died at Padua, from poison, as it is pretended, given him by the Imperialists. He was the eleventh and last earl of Devonshire of that noble family, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

The queen's extreme desire of having issue, made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and upon one of these deceitful conjectures dispatches were sent to inform foreign courts of this event: orders were issued to give public thanks: great rejoicings were made: the family of the young prince was already settled; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: and Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers to be said, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation still remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, which in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster and dissolved them.

There happened an incident this session which must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a secession in order to show their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend the house. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the King's-bench after the dissolution of parliament: six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: the rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue. Judging of the matter by the subsequent claims of the house of commons, and, indeed, by the true principles of free government, this attempt of the queen's ministers must be

regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at the time, and was never called in question by any house of commons which afterwards sat during this reign. The count of Noailles, the French ambassador, says, that the queen threw several members into prison for their freedom of speech.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Reasons for and against Toleration—Persecutions—A Parliament—The Queen's Extortions—The Emperor resigns his Crown—Execution of Cranmer—War with France—Battle of St. Quintin—Calais taken by the French—Affairs of Scotland—Marriage of the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots—A Parliament—Death of the Queen.*

THE success which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and in the re-establishment of the ancient religion, two points to which it was believed they bore an extreme aversion, had so raised his character for wisdom, and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer suffered any opposition or control. Cardinal Pole himself, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and though superior in birth and station, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely respected, he was represented more as a good man than a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated before the queen and council by these two ecclesiastics; whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to restrain by terror the bold attempts of these zealots? Pole was very sincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be suspected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously persuaded of the truth of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no consideration of policy ought to come in competition with such important interests. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaisance to Henry, he had shown that had he not been pushed to extremity under the late minority, he was sufficiently disposed to make a sacrifice of his principles to the established theology. This was the well-known character of these two great counsellors; yet such is the prevalence of temper above system, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion which at the bottom he regarded with great indifference. This circumstance of public conduct was of the highest importance; and from being the object of deliberation in the council, it soon became the subject of discourse throughout the nation. We shall relate, in a few words, the topics by which each side supported, or *might* have supported, their scheme of policy; and shall display the opposite reasons, which have been employed with regard to an argument that has ever been, and ever will be, so much canvassed. It is perhaps hardly necessary to say, as Mackintosh observes, that the arguments

put into the mouths of these two statesmen, are but ingenious inventions of Hume to give the usual arguments on each side the question. We retain them as an excellent statement of the disputation.

The practice of persecution, said the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the scandal of all religion; and the theological animosity, so fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposite sects, is a certain proof that they have never reached any serious persuasion with regard to those remote and sublime subjects. Even those who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect assurance in his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others. But while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend nor entirely believe, they are shaken in their imagined faith by the opposite persuasion, or even doubts, of other men; and vent on their antagonists that impatience which is the natural result of so disagreeable a state of the understanding. They then easily embrace any pretence for representing opponents as impious and profane; and if they can also find a colour for connecting this violence with the interests of civil government, they can no longer be restrained from giving uncontrolled scope to vengeance and resentment. But surely never enterprise was more unfortunate than that of founding persecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the sake of peace, to settle an entire uniformity of opinion in questions which of all others are least subjected to the criterion of human reason. The universal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious subjects can be owing at first to the stupid ignorance alone and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or inquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity, so fondly sought after, but by banishing for ever all curiosity and all improvement in science and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a steady severity, the first beginnings of controversy; but besides that this policy exposes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of superstition, and the magistrate to the endless encroachments of ecclesiastics, it also renders men so delicate that they can never endure to hear of opposition; and they will sometimes pay dearly for that false tranquillity in which they have been so long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people who never were allowed to imagine that their principles could be contested, fly out into the most outrageous violence when any event, (and such events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives rise to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be said in favour of suppressing, by persecution, the first beginnings of heresy, no solid argument can be alleged for extending severity towards multitudes, or endeavouring by capital punishments to extirpate an opinion which has diffused itself among men of every rank and station. Besides the extreme barbarity of such an attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual to the purpose intended; and serves only to make men more obstinate in their persuasion, and to increase the number of their proselytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and persecution inspires the sectaries,



is the proper disposition for fostering religious zeal: the prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal punishments: the glory of martyrdom stimulates all the more furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers: where a violent animosity is excited by oppression, men naturally pass from hating the persons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines: and the spectators, moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs, are easily seduced to embrace those principles which can inspire men with a constancy that appears almost supernatural. Open the door to toleration, mutual hatred relaxes among the sectaries; their attachment to their particular modes of religion decays; the common occupations and pleasures of life succeed to the acrimony of disputation; and the same man who in other circumstances would have braved flames and tortures, is induced to change his sect from the smallest prospect of favour and advancement, or even from the frivolous hope of becoming more fashionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowise connected with the ancient religion of the state, is imported from foreign countries, and may easily at one blow be eradicated, without leaving the seeds of future innovation. But as this exception would imply some apology for the ancient pagan persecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought surely, on account of this detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal silence and oblivion.

Though these arguments appear entirely satisfactory, yet such is the subtlety of human wit, that Gardiner and the other enemies to toleration were not reduced to silence; and they still found topics on which to maintain the controversy. The doctrine, said they, of liberty of conscience, is founded on the most flagrant impiety, and supposes such an indifference among all religions, such an obscurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magistrate incapable of distinguishing with certainty the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will surely give a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poison under the shape of food to all his subjects. Persecution may, indeed, seem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrisy often turn into reality; and the children, at least, ignorant of the dissimulation of their parents, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is absurd, in opposition to considerations of such unspeakable importance, to plead the temporal and frivolous interests of civil society: and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear so universally certain in favour of toleration as by some it is represented. Where sects arise, whose fundamental principle on all sides is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other, what choice has the magistrate left, but to take part, and by rendering one sect entirely prevalent, restore, at least for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here sickly, must not be treated as if it were in a state of sound health; and an effectual neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may serve only to encourage the hopes of

all the sects, and keep alive their animosity. The protestants, far from tolerating the religion of their ancestors, regard it as an impious and detestable idolatry; and during the late minority, when they were entirely masters, they enacted very severe though not capital punishments against all exercise of the catholic worship, and even against such as barely abstained from their profane rites and sacraments. Nor are instances wanting of their endeavours to secure an imagined orthodoxy by the most rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptists to the stake: and if persecution of any kind be admitted, the most bloody and violent will surely be allowed the most justifiable, as the most effectual. Imprisonments, fines, confiscations, whippings, serve only to irritate the sects, without disabling them from resistance: but the stake, the wheel, and the gibbet, must soon terminate in the extirpation or banishment of all the heretics inclined to give disturbance, and in the entire silence and submission of the rest.

Arguments of this kind being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received; and it was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the catholic religion the object of popular detestation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion.

The persecutions began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character, whom he hoped terror would bend to submission, and whose example either of punishment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: but he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may seem strange to find in human nature, and of which all ages and all sects do nevertheless furnish many examples. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the gaolers, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus joining insult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation: but he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity: the wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: the fagots were green, and did not kindle easily: all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked. one of his hands dropped off: with the other he continued to beat his breast: he was heard to pray and to exhort the people; till his tongue,



*John Heydon*





swollen with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.

Sanders was burned at Coventry: a pardon was also offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!" Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his ancient friends and parishioners. When tied to the stake, he rehearsed a psalm in English: one of his guards struck him in the mouth, and bade him speak Latin: another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halberd, which happily put an end to his torments.

There was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, inflamed with such zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arian, he spit in his adversary's face to show the great detestation which he had entertained against that heresy. He afterwards wrote a treatise to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal: he said, that he was led to it in order to relieve the sorrow conceived from such horrid blasphemy, and to signify how unworthy such a miscreant was of being admitted into the society of any Christian. Philpot was a protestant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himself, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield. It seems to be almost a general rule, that in all religions except the true, no man will suffer martyrdom who would not also inflict it willingly on all those who differ from him. The same zeal for speculative opinions is the cause of both.

The crime for which almost all the protestants were condemned was, their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. He was said sometimes to have whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst.

It is needless to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practised in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: the savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occasion, so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in folly. A few instances only may be worth preserving, in order, if possible, to warn zealous bigots for ever to avoid such odious and such fruitless barbarity.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocese; and his appeal to Cardinal Pole was not attended to. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations.

Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." The executioners had been so merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be ascribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about these prelates, in order to put a speedy period to their tortures: the explosion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age; Ridley continued alive during some time in the midst of the flames.

One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been seduced by a priest into a dispute, had unwarily denied the real presence. Sensible of his danger, he immediately absconded; but Bonner laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greatest severities if he did not produce the young man to stand his trial. Hunter hearing of the vexations to which his father was exposed, voluntarily surrendered himself to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the stake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a signal to that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered so supported him that he stretched out his arms, the signal agreed on; and in that posture he expired. This example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire to martyrdom.

The tender sex itself, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage in supporting the profession of it against all the fury of the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances which, even at that time, excited astonishment by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture that she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it: but a magistrate who stood by ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent.

The persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatising, contrary to the established religion: they were seized merely on suspicion; and articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately upon their refusal condemned to the flames. These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror; the constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honour, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subversive of civil society. To exterminate the whole protestant party was known to be impossible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to subject to torture the most conscientious and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery; and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret indignation against the persecutors. Repeated orders were sent from the council to



quicken the diligence of the magistrates in searching out heretics; and in some places the gentry were constrained to countenance by their presence those barbarous executions. These acts of violence tended only to render the Spanish government daily more odious; and Philip, sensible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice: he ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine somewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spanish friar. But the court finding that Bonner, however shameless and savage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without control. A bold step was even taken towards introducing the inquisition into England. As the bishop's courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy. Twenty-one persons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commission runs in these terms: "That since many false rumours were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among them, the commissioners were to inquire into those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other political way they could devise, and to search after all heresies; the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical books: they were to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel; and to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish church to service, that would not go in processions, or did not take holy bread or holy water: and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws: giving the commissioners full power to proceed as their discretions and consciences should direct them, and to use all such means as they would invent for the searching of the premises; empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after." Some civil powers were also given the commissioners to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to Lord North, and others, enjoining them, "To put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess, and there to order them at their discretion." Secret spies also and informers were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of peace, "That they should call secretly before them one or two honest persons within their limits, or more at their discretion, and command them by oath, or otherwise, that they shall secretly learn and search out such persons as shall evil-behave themselves in church, or idly, or shall despise openly by words, the king's or queen's proceedings, or go about to make any commotion, or tell any seditious tales or news. And also that the same persons so to be appointed shall declare to the same justices of peace the ill-behaviour of lewd disordered persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games, and such other light behaviour of such suspected

persons; and that the same information shall be given secretly to the justices; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accused. And that the same justices shall, upon their examination, punish the offenders, according as their offences shall appear, upon the accusation and examination, by their discretion, either by open punishment, or by good abearing." In some respects, this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisition; by introducing, into every part of government, the same iniquities which that tribunal practises for the extirpation of heresy only, and which are in some measure necessary wherever that end is earnestly pursued.

Lingard, desirous of defending Mary from such an odious stigma, says, "Burnet tells us, and Hume gravely repeats the information, that it was an attempt to introduce the Spanish inquisition. The difference was immense. The magistrates were here commanded to send spiritual offenders before the ordinary: it was the leading feature in the inquisition that it took the cognisance of spiritual offenders from the ordinary. In effect, the inquisition was not introduced into England before the reign of Elizabeth, when the high commission-court was established on similar principles, and in a short time obtained and exercised the same powers as the Spanish inquisition." The reader will judge for himself from the quotation adduced, by Hume, whether it was not an "attempt" to introduce the inquisition, or at least something very like it.

But the court had devised a more expeditious and summary method of supporting orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition; and declared, "That whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or shewing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any further delay be executed by martial law." From the state of the English government during that period, it is not so much the illegality of these proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our censure.

We have thrown together almost all the proceedings against heretics, though carried on during three years (1555 to 1558); that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time from two hundred and seventy to two hundred and ninety persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet it is much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable. Yet in both countries, as the same author subjoins, the progress of the new opinions, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these persecutions.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish com-

munion; and little solicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock, from which he reaped such considerable profit: yet was there a solemn embassy sent to Rome, consisting of Sir Anthony Brown, created Viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church. Paul IV., after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff that during several ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended that Mary still retained among her titles that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he saw cause, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old; but to avoid all dispute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been assumed from his concession. This was a usual artifice of the popes, to give allowance to what they could not prevent, and afterwards pretend that princes, while they exercised their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And though Paul had at first intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title before he would bestow it upon her; he found it prudent to proceed in a less haughty manner.

Another point in discussion between the pope and the English ambassadors was not so easily terminated. Paul insisted, that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the uttermost farthing: that whatever belonged to God could never by any law be converted to profane uses, and every person who detained such possessions was in a state of eternal damnation: that he would willingly, in consideration of the humble submissions of the English, make them a present of these ecclesiastical revenues; but such a concession exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that so great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blast all their future felicity: that if they would truly show their filial piety, they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romish church, and Peter's pence among the rest; nor could they expect that this apostle would open to them the gates of paradise, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth. These earnest remonstrances being transmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen, who was determined, in order to ease her conscience, to restore all the church lands which were still in the possession of the crown: and the more to display her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the low condition of the exchequer. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, that if such a considerable part of the revenue were dismembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England. These imprudent measures would not probably have taken place so easily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: the great seal was given to Heath, archbishop of York; that an ecclesiastic might still be possessed of that high office, and be better enabled by his authority to forward the persecutions against the reformed.

These persecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament sum-

moned to meet at Westminster. A bill was passed, restoring to the church the tithes and first-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two-fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members said, that while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenue, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating such as were remiss in the prosecution of heresy from being justices of peace. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

The spirit of opposition which began to prevail in parliament was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as she was otherwise in very bad humour on account of her husband's absence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over last summer to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of Philip, added to the disappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen, by daily enforcing the persecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects by whom she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her so little of his company. The less return her love met with the more it increased; and she passed the most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, and scarcely deigned to pretend any sentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government to which she attended was the extorting of money from her people, in order to satisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a scanty supply, she had recourse to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of 60,000 pounds upon a thousand persons, of whose compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, she held herself best assured: but that sum not sufficing, she exacted a general loan on every one who possessed twenty pounds a-year. This imposition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged many of them to retrench their expenses, and dismiss their servants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: and as these servants, accustomed to idleness, and having no means of subsistence, commonly betook themselves to theft and robbery, the queen published a proclamation, by which she obliged their former masters to take them back to their service. She levied 60,000 marks on 7000 yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and she exacted 36,000 pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage some Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting for four months the exporting of any English cloth or kersey to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a good market for such as had already sent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciousness engaged her to give endless disturbance and interruption to commerce. The English company settled in An-



twerp having refused her a loan of 40,000 pounds, she dissembled her resentment till she found that they had bought and shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: she then laid an embargo on the ships, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 pounds at first demanded, to engage for the payment of 20,000 pounds more at a limited time, and to submit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece. Some time after she was informed, that the Italian merchants had shipped above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown a-piece, the usual imposition: she struck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the English merchants, in consideration of this iniquity, the sum of 50,000 pounds, and an imposition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they should export. She attempted to borrow great sums abroad; but her credit was so low, that though she offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 30,000 pounds, she could not obtain it, till she compelled the city of London to be surety for her. All these violent expedients were employed, while she herself was in profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no occasion for money but to supply the demands of a husband, who gave attention only to his own convenience, and showed himself entirely indifferent about her interests.

Philip was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the Emperor Charles V. who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness which he had in vain pursued amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries; and, seating himself on the throne for the last time, explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and, devolving his authority on Philip, told him that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burden which he imposed upon him. He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the study of his people's happiness; and represented how much preferable it was to govern by affection rather than by fear the nations subjected to his dominion.

But with the merciful doctrines in his farewell oration, it is necessary to recollect, that "Two days before his death," according to Mackintosh, "he added a codicil to his will, in which he exhorts his son to inflict signal and severe punishment on heretics, 'without exception of any criminal, and without regard to the prayers or to the rank of the person.' 'It is dangerous to dispute with heretics. I always refused to argue with them, and referred them to my theologians; alleging with truth my own ignorance; for I had scarcely begun to read a grammar when I was called to the government of great nations.'"

At the latter end of 1555 he resigned to Philip his other dominions; and, embarking on board a fleet, sailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estremadura, which, being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat.

Hume's narration of the execution of Cranmer is composed in so virulent a style, that we substitute

that of Mackintosh, which is at once more temperate and descriptive.

"Every reader of this part of history will desire somewhat more information respecting the fate of Cranmer, the first patriarch of the protestant church of England,—a man who, with all his infirmity, would have been blameless in an age so calm as to require no other virtues than goodness and benignity. He was committed to the Tower for treason in September, 1553. In October he was convicted of high-treason for his share in the Lady Jane's proclamation. In the next year he obtained a pardon, the government purposing to convict him of heresy, which from them he considered as no reproach, though he had earnestly solicited a pardon for a breach of allegiance. The Tower was for a time so crowded that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were thrust together into one chamber. In the month of April of the succeeding year, Cranmer, Ridley, and 'old father Latimer,' were removed from the Tower to Oxford, for the purpose of a disputation. The demeanour of Cranmer was acknowledged by his opponents to be grave and modest. Latimer declared that, by reason of his old age, his infirmities, and the weakness of his memory, he could not bear a debate. Weston the prolocutor, the enemy of Cranmer, commended his modesty and gentleness, as well as his learning and skill as a disputant. He was permitted to survive his colleagues for many months. A new commission was obtained from Rome, in order that the more rigorous adherence to the forms of law might be perfectly evident in the case of this eminent prime. Unhappily for his reputation, he made some of those repeated applications to Mary for pardon by which he had before escaped out of extraordinary peril: it is true that in his successive letters to her he reasoned and expostulated with her upon her own administration; but his enemies saw his infirmity through the disguise of apparent boldness and liberty. He was entertained, if we may entirely trust protestant writers, by the catholic dean of Christchurch, where he was treated with much courtesy and hospitality, while his hopes and his fears were practised on by men of whom some might have really wished to save his life: in an evil hour he signed his recantation. It has been plausibly conjectured by Burnet, that the writ for putting him to death was sent down to Oxford early in the long period between the date and the execution, to be shown to him in order to work more effectually on the fears incident to feeble age. Whether he could have been persuaded to adhere to that disgraceful act for the miserable sake of a few years of decrepitude, is a question which the unrelenting temper of Mary renders it impossible for us to answer. On Saturday the 22d of March, 1556, he was, without warning, though not without expectation, brought forth to be burnt in front of Baliol College, after a sermon preached in St. Mary's before the university, by Cole, provost of Eton College, who was sent by the queen to Oxford to preach on that dire occasion. After the sermon, the demeanour of the archbishop cannot be so well described as it is in the letter of an eye-witness, a humane catholic, who condemned the error of Cranmer, but was touched by his gentle virtues, and could pity his infirmities. 'I shall not need to describe his behaviour for the time of the sermon; his sorrowful countenance, his face bedewed with tears, sometimes lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometimes casting them down to the earth for shame; an image of sorrow, but re-

taining ever a quiet and grave behaviour, which so increased the pity in men's hearts that they unfeignedly loved him; hoping that it had been his repentance for his transgressions and errors.' But Cranmer, in his address to the audience, undeceived them concerning the cause of his contrition and the object of his regret. 'Now,' said he, 'I am come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here now I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death and to save my life if might be, and that is all such papers as I have written or signed since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand when I come to the fire shall first be burned.' He added some terms of needless insult against the pope, which he perhaps thought necessary as a pledge of his sincerity; whereupon, 'admonished of his recantations and dissembling,' he said, "Alas! my lord, I have all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for;" and here he was suffered to speak no more.—"Then he was carried away. Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste and stood upright in his shirt. He declared that he repented his recantation right sore; whereupon the Lord William cried, "Make short, make short!" Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended."—His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been for the glory of God, the weal of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, I could worthily have commended the example, and marked it with the fame of any father of ancient time. His death much grieved every man: his friends for love, his enemies for pity; strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another.' To add any thing to this equally authentic and picturesque narration from the hand of a generous enemy, which is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of ancient English, would be an unskilful act of presumption. The language of Cranmer speaks his sincerity, and demonstrates that the love of truth still prevailed in his inmost heart. It gushed forth at the sight of death, full of healing power, which engendered a purifying and ennobling penitence, and restored the mind to its own esteem after a departure from the onward path of sincerity. Courage survived a public avowal of dishonour, the hardest test to which that virtue can be exposed; and if he once fatally failed in fortitude, he in his last moments atoned for his failure by a magnanimity equal to his transgression. Let those who require unbending virtue in the most tempestuous times condemn the amiable and faulty primate; others, who are not so certain of their own steadiness, will consider his fate as perhaps the most memorable example in history, of a soul which, though debased, was not depraved by an act of weakness, and which preserved a heroic courage after the forfeiture of honour, its natural spur, and, in general, its inseparable companion.

"The firm endurance of sufferings by the martyrs

of conscience, if it be rightly contemplated, is the most consolatory spectacle in the clouded life of man; far more ennobling and sublime than the outward victories of virtue, which must be partly won by weapons not her own, and are often the lot of her foulest foes. Magnanimity in enduring pain for the sake of conscience is not, indeed, an unerring mark of rectitude; but it is, of all other destinies, that which most exalts the sect or party whom it visits, and bestows on their story an undying command over the hearts of their fellow men.

"It is painful to relate that Pole was installed in the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury on the day of Cranmer's cruel death. There seems to be no doubt that his temper disinclined him to severity, if his convictions did not allow him to regard toleration as a duty. 'He never,' says Burnet, 'set on the clergy to persecute heretics, but to reform themselves.' Yet, 'even in Canterbury, he left the protestants to the cruelties of the fiercer clergy, and thought he did enough when he discouraged persecution in private.' In a word, he did not do evil, but he did not withstand it. His accomplishments were far more bright than those of Cranmer; but, in a good heart not enough seconded by a brave spirit, these adverse prelates resembled each other not a little."

We have already given the character of Cranmer at the close of the thirty-eighth chapter from one of our best and most impartial historians.

"The sufferings of Pole's family and his own from the tyrant whom they regarded as the representative of the protestant religion are, doubtless, no inconsiderable alleviation of his acquiescence in cruelties which were alien from his disposition. His suffragan bishop of Dover, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, appear to have been among the most active persecutors.

"Of fourteen bishoprics, the catholic prelates used their influence so successfully as altogether to prevent bloodshed in nine, and to reduce it within limits in the remaining five. Justice to Gardiner requires it to be mentioned that his diocese was of the bloodless class. Thirlby, bishop of Ely, who wept plentifully when he was employed in desecrating Cranmer, perhaps thought himself obliged to cause one man to be burned at Cambridge as an earnest of his zeal. 'Bonner,' says Fuller, 'whom all generations shall call bloody,' raged so furiously in the diocese of London, as to be charged with burning about one half of the martyrs of the kingdom. Truth, however, exacts the observation, that the number brought to the capital for terrific example swells the apparent account of Bonner beyond even his desert. Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, who, in his youth, had translated the account of the persecutions of the Christians by Eusebius, practised the like cruelties in his unfortunate diocese with the hardness and bitterness of an old polemic."

The great object of the queen was to engage the nation in a war which was kindled between France and Spain; and Cardinal Pole, with many other counsellors, openly and zealously opposed this measure. Besides insisting on the marriage articles, which provided against such an attempt, they represented the violence of the domestic factions in England, and the disordered state of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all these measures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on Spanish counsels. Philip had come to London in order to support his partisans; and he



told the queen, that if he were not gratified in so reasonable a request, he never more would set foot in England. This declaration extremely heightened her zeal for promoting his interests, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, she threatened to dismiss all of them, and to appoint counsellors more obsequious; yet could she not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At length, one Stafford and some other conspirators were detected in a design of surprising Scarborough; and a confession being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hostility, with others of a like secret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared against France; and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded 300,000 pounds. Any considerable supplies could scarcely be expected from parliament, considering the present disposition of the nation; and as the war would sensibly diminish that branch arising from the customs, the finances, it was foreseen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of government; and must still prove more unequal to the expenses of war. But though the queen owed great arrears to all her servants, besides the loans extorted from her subjects, these considerations had no influence with her; and in order to support her warlike preparations, she continued to levy money in the same arbitrary and violent manner which she had formerly practised. She obliged the city of London to supply her with 60,000 pounds on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued anew many privy seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearth of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and lest they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed: they either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.

The king of Spain had assembled an army which, after the conjunction of the English, amounted to above sixty thousand men, conducted by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of the age. The constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppose to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Mariembourg and Rocroy, suddenly sat down before St. Quintin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided with a garrison, he expected in a few days to become master of it. But Admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour interested to save so important a fortress, threw himself into St. Quintin, with some troops of French and Scottish gendarmery; and by his exhortations and example animated the soldiers to a vigorous defence. He dispatched a messenger to his uncle Montmorency, desiring a supply of men; and the constable approached the place with his whole army,

in order to facilitate the entry of these succours. But the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did such execution upon them, that not above five hundred got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to total rout, killing four thousand men, and dispersing the remainder. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners: among the latter was the old constable himself, who, fighting valiantly, and resolute to die rather than survive his defeat, was surrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation: Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry: and had the Spaniards presently marched thither, it could not have failed to fall into their hands. But Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined first to take St. Quintin, in order to secure a communication with his own dominions. A very little time, it was expected, would finish this enterprise; but the bravery of Coligny still prolonged the siege seventeen days, which proved the safety of France. Some troops were levied and assembled. Couriers were sent to recall the duke of Guise and his army from Italy: and the French, having recovered from their first panic, put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Catelet, found the season so far advanced, that he could attempt no other enterprise: he broke up his camp, and retired to winter-quarters.

But the vigilant activity of Guise, not satisfied with securing the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to plan an enterprise, which France during her greatest successes had always regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was in that age deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be succoured, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate. But Coligny had remarked, that as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which during the winter were impassable, except over a dike guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam-bridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recall them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he had founded the design of making a sudden attack on Calais; he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprise being found among his papers, it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the duke of Guise.

Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly assembled, formed an army, with which Guise made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the same time a great number of French ships, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruising on the English, composed a fleet which made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The French assailed St. Agatha with three thousand harquebusers; and the garrison, though they made a vigorous defence, were soon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnam-bridge. The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and

both these castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, Lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was enclosed in the castle of Newnam-bridge and the risbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which without their assistance he was utterly unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam-bridge was so happy as to effect this purpose; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to surrender at discretion.

The duke of Guise, now holding Calais blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprise, but in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fosse, he commanded an assault, which succeeded; and the French made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it, he found his garrison so weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. According to later historians, the garrison had relied on the following stratagem. They placed several barrels of gunpowder under the castle, and connected them with the place to which they had retired by a train, to which they were to set fire as soon as the French should enter the keep. But, if we may believe the chronicler, the French, who had waded through the ditch, were so wetted that the moisture dropping from their clothes damped the gunpowder, probably that which formed the train. Lingard, as usual, anxious to defend Mary, hints, that treachery was the cause of the surrender of this favourite fortress. But no other modern historian coincides with him in this opinion. Ham and Guisnes fell soon after; and thus the duke of Guise in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Creci. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an easy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guise, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be sunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had, in opposition to the English, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired possession of a place which no former king of France, even during the distractions of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had ever ventured to attempt. The English on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortress, murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitless war, for the sake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace. A treasury exhausted by expenses, and burthened by debts; a people divided and dejected; a sovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumstances which, notwithstanding the fair offers and promises of Philip, gave them small hopes of recovering Calais. And as the Scots, instigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now necessitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conquests.

When Mary commenced hostilities against France, Henry required the queen-regent of Scotland to

take part in the quarrel; and she summoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of French, as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent; and the queen was obliged to have recourse to stratagem, in order to effect her purpose. She ordered d'Oisel (the French ambassador, and in fact her minister,) to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been dismantled by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrison of Berwick, as she foresaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, she effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scottish nation, and to engage them in hostilities against England. The enterprises, however, of the Scots proceeded no further than some inroads on the borders: when d'Oisel, of himself, conducted artillery and troops to besiege the castle of Werke, he was recalled, and sharply rebuked by the council.

In order to connect Scotland more closely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament to assist at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

The close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that though the factions and disorders which might naturally be expected in the Scottish government, during the absence of the sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. And as such an emergency usually gives great advantage to the people, and as the parliaments during this reign had shown, that where the liberty and independence of the kingdom was menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court; we shall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money should at least be censured, and, perhaps, some remedy be for the future provided against them. The commons, however, without making any reflections on the past, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable, as was also the subsidy of the laity, in four years by equal portions.

The parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or should be made during the seven ensuing years. It was easy to foresee, that in Mary's present disposition and situation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demesnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than to establish a prince with very extensive authority, yet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the house of commons. One Copley expressed his fears lest the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the succession, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir: but his words were thought "irreverent" to her majesty: he was committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms; and though he expressed sorrow for his offence, he was not released till the queen was applied to for his pardon.



The protestant party, during this whole reign, were under great apprehensions with regard not only to the succession, but the life of the Lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the queen bore to her broke out on every occasion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princess retired into the country; and knowing that she was surrounded with spies, she passed her time wholly in reading and study, intermeddled in no business, and saw very little company. While she remained in this situation, which for the present was melancholy, but which prepared her mind for those great actions, by which her life was afterwards so much distinguished; proposals of marriage were made to her by the Swedish ambassador in his master's name. As her first question was, Whether the queen had been informed of these proposals? the ambassador told her, that his master thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty first to make his addresses to herself; and having obtained her consent, he would next, as a king, apply to her sister. But the princess would allow him to proceed no further; and the queen, after thanking her for this instance of duty, desired to know how she stood affected to the Swedish proposals. Elizabeth, though exposed to many present dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune; and she covered her refusal with professions of passionate attachment to a single life, which, she said, she infinitely preferred before any other. The princess showed like prudence in concealing her sentiments of religion, in complying with the present modes of worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to that delicate subject.

"The common net at that time," says Sir Richard Baker, "for catching of protestants, was the real presence; and this net was used to catch the Lady Elizabeth: for being asked one time, what she thought of the words of Christ, 'This is my body,' whether she thought it the true body of Christ that was in the sacrament? It is said, that after some pausing, she thus answered:

Christ was the word that spake it,  
He took the bread and brake it;  
And what the word did make it,  
That I believe and take it.

which, though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least, it served her turn at that time, to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done."

The money granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, which, being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany. The fleet was commanded by Lord Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was so dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the design, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Brest so well guarded as to render an attempt on that place impracticable; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with some adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit greater disorders, when Kersimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of some militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their ships with considerable loss. But a small squadron of ten English ships had an opportunity of amply revenging this disgrace upon the French. The

mareschal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thousand men; and having forced a passage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and advanced as far as Newport, but Count Egmont coming suddenly upon him with superior forces, he was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he chose very skillfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions possible; and posted his right along the river Aa, which he reasonably thought gave him full security from that quarter. But the English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing, sailed up the river, and flanking the French, did such execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a complete victory.

Meanwhile the principal army of France, under the duke of Guise, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had come into their respective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected that some great and important event would follow from the emulation of these warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by the ambition, possessed not the enterprising genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, and two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negotiations were entered into for that purpose; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were somewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter-quarters till the princes could come to a better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and its territory to England; but in the midst of these negotiations, news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his firmness on that capital article. This was the only circumstance that could have made the death of that princess be regretted by the nation.

Mary had long been in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, apprehensions of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed, dejection for the loss of Calais, concern for the ill state of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, who she knew intended soon to depart for Spain, and to settle there during the remainder of his life: all these melancholy reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

It is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princess. She possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinate, bigoted, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. And amidst that complication of vices, which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sin

cerity; a quality which she seems to have maintained throughout her whole life; except in the beginning of her reign, when the necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some promises to the protestants, which she certainly never intended to perform. But in these cases a weak bigoted woman, under the government of priests, easily finds casuistry sufficient to justify to herself the violation of a promise. She appears also, as well as her father, to have been susceptible of some attachments of friendship; and that without the caprice and inconstancy which were so remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in many circumstances of her life she gave indications of resolution and vigour of mind; a quality which seems to have been inherent in her family.

As this reign, and particularly the character of this queen, is a subject of great historical controversy, we shall follow up the character of Mary as just given by Hume, with that by Dr. Lingard, her decided champion, and that by the more moderate and equally well-informed Mackintosh.

"But the reign of Mary," says Lingard, "was now hastening to its termination. Her health had always been delicate; from the time of her supposed pregnancy she was afflicted with more frequent and obstinate maladies. Tears no longer afforded her relief from the depression of her spirits; and the repeated loss of blood by the advice of her physicians, had rendered her pale, languid, and emaciated. Nor was her mind more at ease than her body. The exiles from Geneva, by the number and virulence of their libels, kept her in a constant state of fear and irritation; and to other causes of anxiety which have been formerly mentioned, had lately been added the insalubrity of the season, the loss of Calais, and her contest with the pontiff.\* In August she experienced a slight febrile indisposition at Hampton-court, and immediately removed to St. James's. It was soon ascertained that her disease was the same fever which had proved fatal to thousands of her subjects; and though she languished for three months, with several alternations of improvement and relapse, she never recovered sufficiently to leave her chamber.

"During this long confinement, Mary edified all around her by her cheerfulness, her piety, and her resignation to the will of Providence. Her chief solicitude was for the stability of that church which she had restored; and her suspicions of Elizabeth's insincerity prompted her to require from her sister an avowal of her real sentiments. In return, Elizabeth complained of Mary's incredulity. She was a true and conscientious believer in the catholic creed; nor could she do more now than she had repeatedly done before, which was to confirm her assertion with her oath. To the duke of Feria, who had come on a visit to the queen from her husband, the princess made the same declaration: and so convinced was that nobleman of her sincerity, that he not only removed the doubts of Mary, but assured Philip that the succession of Elizabeth would cause no alteration in the worship now established by law.

"On the 5th of November, the day fixed at the prorogation, the parliament assembled at Westminster. The ministers in the name of the queen demanded a supply; but little progress was made, under the persuasion that she had but a few days

to live. As the danger increased, she ordered Jane Dormer, one of her maids of honour, and afterwards duchess of Feria, to deliver Elizabeth the jewels in her custody, and to make to the princess three requests: that she would be good to her servants, would repay the sums of money which had been lent on privy seals, and would support the established church. On the morning of her death, mass was celebrated in her chamber. She was perfectly sensible, and expired a few minutes before the conclusion. Her friend and kinsman, Cardinal Pole, who had long been confined with a fever, survived her only twenty-two hours. He had reached his fifty-ninth, she her forty-second year.

"The foulest blot on the character of this queen is her long and cruel persecution of the reformers. The sufferings of the victims naturally begat an antipathy to the woman, by whose authority they were inflicted. It is, however, but fair to recollect what I have already noticed, that the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of every religious party. Mary only practised what they taught. It was her misfortune rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries.

"With this exception, she has been ranked, by the more moderate of the reformed writers, among the best, though not the greatest, of our princes. They have borne honourable testimony to her virtues: have allotted to her the praise of piety and clemency, of compassion for the poor, and liberality to the distressed: and have recorded her solicitude to restore to opulence the families that had been unjustly deprived of their possessions by her father and brother, and to provide for the wants of the parochial clergy, who had been reduced to penury by the spoliations of the last government. It is acknowledged that her moral character was beyond reproach. It extorted respect from all, even from the most virulent of her enemies. The ladies of her household copied the conduct of their mistress: and the decency of Mary's court was often mentioned with applause by those who lamented the dissoluteness which prevailed in that of her successor.

"The queen was thought by some to have inherited the obstinacy of her father: but there was this difference, that before she formed her decisions, she sought for advice and information, and made it an invariable rule to prefer right to expediency. One of the outlaws, who had obtained his pardon, hoped to ingratiate himself with Mary by devising a plan to render her independent of parliament. He submitted it to the inspection of the Spanish ambassador, by whom it was recommended to her consideration. Sending for Gardiner, she bade him peruse it, and then adjured him, as he should answer at the judgment-seat of God, to speak his real sentiments. 'Madam,' replied the prelate, 'it is a pity that so virtuous a lady should be surrounded by such scoundrels. The book is nought: it is filled with things too horrible to be thought on.' She thanked him, and threw the paper into the fire.

"Her natural abilities had been improved by education. She understood the Italian, she spoke the French and Spanish languages: and the ease and correctness with which she replied to the foreigners, who addressed her in Latin, excited their admiration. Her speeches in public, and from the throne, were delivered with grace and fluency: and her conferences with Noailles, as related in his dispatches, show her to have possessed an acute and

\* A slight one concerning Ireland, and the deprivation of Cardinal Pole of the legateship.



vigorous mind, and to have been on most subjects a match for that subtle and intriguing negotiator.

"It had been the custom of her predecessors to devote the summer months to progresses through different counties. But these journeys produced considerable injury and inconvenience to the farmers, who were not only compelled to furnish provisions to the purveyors at inadequate prices, but were withdrawn from the labours of the harvest to aid with their horses and waggons in the frequent removals of the court, and of the multitude which accompanied it. Mary, through consideration of the interests and comforts of the husbandmen, denied herself this pleasure; and generally confined her excursions to Croydon, a manor belonging to the church of Canterbury. There it formed her chief amusement to walk out in the company of her maids, without any distinction of dress; and in this disguise to visit the houses of the neighbouring poor. She inquired into their circumstances, relieved their wants, spoke in their favour to her officers, and often where the family was numerous, apprenticed at her own expense such of the children as appeared of promising dispositions.

"During her reign, short as it was, and disturbed by repeated insurrections, much attention was paid to the two universities, not only by the queen herself, who restored to them that portion of their revenues, which had devolved on the crown, but also by individuals, who devoted their private fortunes to the advancement of learning. At a time when the age for polemic disputation had almost expelled the study of classic literature from the schools, Sir Thomas Pope founded Trinity-college, in Oxford, and made it a particular regulation that its inmates should acquire 'a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin tongue.' About three years later, Sir Thomas White established St. John's, on the site of Bernard's-college, the foundation of Archbishop Chicheley; and at the same time, the celebrated Dr. Caius, at Cambridge, made so considerable an addition to Gonville-hall, and endowed, with so many advowsons, manors, and demesnes, that it now bears his name, in conjunction with that of the original founder.

"Though her parliaments were convoked for temporary purposes, they made several salutary enactments respecting the offence of treason, the office of sheriff, the powers of magistrates, the relief of the poor, and the practice of the courts of law. The merit of these may probably be due to her council: but of her own solicitude for the equal administration of justice, we have a convincing proof. It had long been complained that in suits, to which the crown was a party, the subject, whatever were his right, had no probability of a favourable decision, on account of the superior advantages claimed and enjoyed by the counsel for the sovereign. When Mary appointed Morgan chief justice of the court of common pleas, she took the opportunity to express her disapprobation of this grievance. 'I charge you, sir,' said she, 'to minister the law and justice indifferently, without respect of person; and, notwithstanding the old error among you, which will not admit any witness to speak, or other matter to be heard in favour of the adversary, the crown being a party, it is my pleasure, that whatever can be brought in favour of the subject, may be admitted and heard. You sit there, not as advocates for me, but as indifferent judges between me and my people.'

"Neither were the interests of trade neglected

during her government. She had the honour of concluding the first commercial treaty with Russia. On the return of Chancellor (1555) from his northern expedition, she incorporated by charter, the company of merchant adventurers trading to Muscovy, and sent back the same navigator, with a letter to the Czar, John Basilovitch. Chancellor proceeded (1556) up the Dwina, traversed the country to Moscow, obtained from the czar the most flattering promises, and returned with Osep Napea Gregorivitch, as ambassador to Mary. They reached the bay of Pettisligo in the north of Scotland: but during the night the ship was driven from her anchors upon the rocks: Chancellor perished; the ambassador saved his life: but his property, and the presents for the queen, were carried off by the natives who plundered the wreck. Mary sent two messengers to Edinburgh to supply his wants, and to complain of the detention of his effects. Lord Wharton, in a letter from Berwick of February 28th, (1557) says, 'a great number in that realme are sorye that they suffered the ambassador of Russea to departe owte of the same: he may thanke God that he escaped from their crewell covetouse with his lief.' No redress could be obtained; but she made every effort to console him for his loss. On the borders of each county the sheriffs received him in state: he was met in the neighbourhood of London by Lord Montague, with three hundred horse; and during his stay in the capital the king and queen, the lord mayor, and the company treated him with extraordinary distinction. He appeared, however, to mistrust these demonstrations of kindness; and it was not without difficulty that he was brought to accede to the many demands of the merchants. At length a treaty was concluded by the address of the bishop of Ely, and Sir William Petre; and Napea was sent back to his own country; loaded with presents for himself, and still more valuable gifts for his sovereign. The trade fully compensated the queen and the nation for these efforts and expenses; and the woollen cloths and coarse linens of England were exchanged at an immense profit for the valuable skins and furs of the northern regions.

"The presents which he received for himself and his sovereign, from the king and queen are enumerated by Stow. Among them are a lion and lioness. All his expenses, from his arrival in Scotland to the day on which he left England, were defrayed by the merchants. I may here observe, that at this time, according to the report of the Venetian ambassador, there were many merchants in London worth fifty or sixty thousand pounds each, that the inhabitants amounted to 180,000, and that it was not surpassed in wealth by any city in Europe.

"Mary may also claim the merit of having supported the commercial interests of the country against the pretensions of a company of foreign merchants, which had existed for centuries in London, under the different denominations of Easterlings, merchants of the Hanse towns, and merchants of the steelyard. By their readiness to advance loans of money on sudden emergencies, they had purchased the most valuable privileges from several of our monarchs. They formed a corporation governed by its own laws: whatever duties were exacted from others, they paid no more than one per cent. on their merchandise; they were at the same time buyers and sellers, brokers and carriers; they imported jewels and bullion, cloth of gold and of silver, tapestry and wrought silk, arms, naval stores

and household furniture; and exported wool and woollen cloths, skins, lead and tin, cheese and beer, and Mediterranean wines. Their privileges and wealth gave them a superiority over all other merchants, which excluded competition, and enabled them to raise and depress the prices almost at pleasure. In the last reign the public feeling against them had been manifested by frequent acts of violence, and several petitions had been presented to the council, complaining of the injuries suffered by the English merchants. After a long investigation it was declared, that the company had violated, and consequently had forfeited its charter: but by dint of remonstrances, of presents, and of foreign intercession, it obtained, in the course of a few weeks, a royal licence to resume the traffic under the former regulations. In Mary's parliament a new blow was aimed at its privileges; and it was enacted in the bill of tonnage and poundage, that the Easterlings should pay the same duties as other foreign merchants. The queen, indeed, was induced for awhile to suspend the operation of the statute; but she soon discerned the true interest of her subjects, revoked the privileges of the company, and refused to listen to the arguments adduced, or the intercession made in its favour. Elizabeth followed the policy of her predecessor; the steelyard was at length shut up; and the Hanse towns, after a long and expensive suit, yielded to necessity and abandoned the contest."

The following is Mackintosh's concise character of this queen. "Mary is a perfect and conspicuous example of error in rulers; for to error alone the greater part of the misery caused by her must be ascribed. The stock was sour, and, perhaps, no culture could have engrafted tenderness and gentleness upon it. She adhered to her principles; she acted agreeably to her conscience: but her principles were perverted and her conscience misguided by false notions of the power of sovereigns and of laws over religious opinions. A right judgment on that single question, would have changed the whole character of her administration, and altogether varied the impression made on posterity by the history of her reign."

We now return to Hume, who in his general remarks on this reign, contradicts some of the statements of Dr. Lingard: we have given both, because between the two it appears to us, a tolerable estimate may be formed of Mary as a queen and a legislator.

Cardinal Pole had long been sickly, from an intermitting fever; and he died the same day with the queen, about sixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him be universally beloved; inasmuch, that in a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, and where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul IV. had entertained some prejudices against him: and when England declared war against Henry, the ally of that pope, he seized the opportunity of revenge; and revoking Pole's legantine commission, appointed in his room Cardinal Peyton, an observantine friar and confessor to the queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to act upon the commission; and Paul was afterwards obliged to restore Cardinal Pole to his authority.

There occur few general remarks, besides what have already been made in the course of our nar-

ration, with regard to the general state of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then so inconsiderable, that, fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a-year would afterwards answer all necessary charges. The arbitrary proceedings of the queen above mentioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this princess, as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and so much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted, or did not find it necessary, to proceed in so tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the last reign and in the beginning of the present, had laid the same impositions on the merchants of the steelyard as on other aliens: yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the solicitations of the emperor, and by her prerogative suspended those laws. Nobody in that age pretended to question this exercise of prerogative. The historians are entirely silent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us.

An absurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years. The law was repealed in the first year of the queen; and this plain reason given, that it had occasioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined several towns. It is strange that Edward's law should have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth.

A law was passed in this reign, by which the number of horses, arms and furniture was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a-year, for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel saddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons proper for them. He was obliged to have forty corsets furnished; fifty almain revets, or instead of them, forty coats of plate, corsets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberds, twenty harquebuts, and twenty morions or sallets. We may remark, that a man of a thousand marks of stock was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a-year. A proof that few or none at that time lived on their capital, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the course of trade. There is no class above a thousand pounds a-year.

We may form a notion of the little progress made in arts and refinement about this time from one circumstance: a man of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward VI.'s household paid only thirty shillings a-year of our present money for his house in Channel-row; yet labour and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a third of the present price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the dirt and slovenly habits among the people.

Holinshed, who lived in Queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain, or rather rude way of living of the preceding generation. There scarcely was a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns: the fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof



or door, or windows: the houses were nothing but wathing plastered over with clay: the people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood.

Speaking of the increase of luxury: he says, "Neither do I speak this in reproach of any man, God is my judge; but to show that I do rejoice rather to see how God has blessed us with his good gifts, and to behold how that in a time wherein all things are grown to the most excessive prices, we do yet find the means to obtain and achieve such furniture as heretofore has been impossible: there are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvelously altered in England within their sound remembrance. One is, the multitude of chimnies lately erected; whereas, in their young days, there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor-places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personage); but each made his fire against the reredosse in the hall where he dined and dressed his meat. The second is the great amendment of lodging: for, said they, our fathers, and we ourselves, have lain full oft upon straw pallets covered only with a sheet under coverlets made of dagswaine or hoparlots (I use their own terms), and a good round log under their head instead of a bolster. If it were so, that the father or the good-man of the house had a mattress or flock-bed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town: so well were they contented. Pillows, said they, were thought meet only for women in child-bed: as for servants, if they had any sheet above them it was well: for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas, and rased their hardened hides. The third thing they tell of is, the exchange of treene (wooden) platters into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene vessels in old time, that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmer's house." Again he says, "In times past men were contented to dwell in houses builded of sawlow, willow, &c.; so that the use of the oak was in a manner dedicated wholly unto churches, religious houses, princes' palaces, navigation, &c. but now sawlow, &c. are rejected, and nothing but oak anywhere regarded; and yet see the change; for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration. In these the courage of the owner was a sufficient defence to keep the house in safety; but now the assurance of the timber must defend the men from robbing. Now have we many chimnies; and yet our tenderlines complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poses; then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did never ache. For as the smoke in those days was supposed to be a sufficient hardening for the timber of the house, so it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the good-man and his family from the quack or pose, wherewith, as then, very few were acquainted." And further, he says, "Our pewterers in times past employed the use of pewter only upon dishes and pots, and a few other trifles for service; whereas now they are grown

into such exquisite cunning, that they can in manner imitate by infusion any form or fashion of cup, dish, salt, or bowl or goblet, which is made by goldsmith's craft, though they be never so curious, and very artificially forged. In some places beyond the sea, a garnish of good flat English pewter (I say flat, because dishes and platters in my time begin to be made deep, and like basons, and are indeed more convenient both for sauce and keeping the meat warm) is almost esteemed so precious as the like number of vessels that are made of fine silver. With us the nobility, gentry, and students, do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noon and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noon as they call it, and sup at seven or eight; but out of term in our universities the scholars dine at ten."

Froissart mentions waiting on the duke of Lancaster at five o'clock in the afternoon, when he had supped. These hours are still more early. It is hard to tell, why, all over the world, as the age becomes more luxurious, the hours become later. Is it the crowd of amusements that push on the hours gradually? or are the people of fashion better pleased with the secrecy and silence of nocturnal hours, when the industrious vulgar are all gone to rest? In rude ages men have few amusements or occupations but what day-light affords them.

In this reign we find the first general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England.

Lingard gives the following particulars of the distempers which began during the drought of 1556. "During the summer fevers prevailed: in the winter quartan agues, which generally proved fatal to those who had previously recovered the fever. In 1557, the mortality was greater than before; and in 1558 it increased to a more alarming degree. 'About August,' says Cooper (in Strype), 'the fevers raged again in such manner, as never plague or pestilence, I think, killed a greater number. If the people of the realm had been divided into four parts, certainly three parts out of those four should have been found sick. . . . In some shires no gentleman almost escaped, but either himself or his wife or both were sick, and very many died. . . . In most poor men's houses, the master, dame, and servant were all sick in such manner, that one could not help another.'"

We conclude this period, with the following luminous view of the great contemporary events in the states of Europe, which were subsequently productive of such important results on the whole of society.

"The last act of Mary's reign was the dispatch of ambassadors, to negotiate a general peace, to Cambray, then a city of the Low Countries. This important negotiation was not closed till the month of March following: but it was opened by Mary under the influence of considerations which began to outweigh those of local and temporary policy in the minds of Roman-catholic monarchs. The king of France agreed to restore Calais and its territory to England within eight years, under a penalty of 500,000 crowns; and the treaty comprehended Francis and Mary, 'king and queen dolphin,' with the kingdom of Scotland. The stipulations of this treaty, however, as they affected the British islands, were of little moment compared with the fears of religious revolution becoming universal, which for a

time suspended the rivalships and enmities of catholic monarchs. It was now evident to the great sovereigns that an alliance between France and Spain (originally intended to comprehend England) was necessary, to reduce an armed heresy, which threatened not only to level the church to the ground, but, in their opinion, to overthrow the thrones of kings, and to bury the whole order of human society under the ruins of government and religion. Experience had taught, in all ages, that these great principles stood or fell together. Two religions, it was then believed, were no more reconcilable in a state than two governments; and recent events had demonstrated, to the conviction of the ruling ministers, that men could not be taught to throw off the dependence on priests, without learning to examine the limits of the power of kings. There are many dispersed and indistinct traces of such reflections and projects having been the subject of discussion in 1545, at the first meeting of the council of Trent. To forward a concert against heresy seems to have been avowed by Cardinal Pole as one of the motives for the zeal with which he promoted peace between France and Spain. These projects ripened in the spring, 1558, at the private conferences of Perrenot, bishop of Arras, better known to history under his subsequent name of Cardinal Granville, with the cardinal of Lorraine, at Peronne, in which the former minister strongly represented 'the infatuation and dishonour of the continuance of hostilities between the two first crowns of Christendom, in which France and Spain turned against each other those arms which ought to be combined against the Turk, the common enemy of the christian name; but if not against that odious but distant and not formidable adversary, then surely against those far more perilous foes, fostered in the bosom of the great monarchies themselves, the modern heretics, who, during the anabaptist domination in Lower Germany, had furnished the most ample proofs of a cruelty which spared neither age nor sex, and of the tendency of their doctrines to destroy property, as well as to overthrow lawful authority in church and state.' Peace and friendship between the two monarchs, with the concealment of these designs for the present from all Frenchmen (the cardinal was a prince of Lorraine), were absolutely necessary to the probability of success in an enterprise so hazardous.

"There is reason to believe that ten years before, at the first convocation of the council of Trent, Perrenot had prepared the young prince for the favourable reception of these political doctrines. Some historians tell us that secret articles against the protestants had been adopted in the meeting at Peronne. Certain it is, that Henry II. was induced, by the plausibility of Perrenot's reasonings, and by their concurrence with the most approved policy of that age, to make peace with Spain, and to begin that persecution of his protestant subjects which grew into civil wars of forty years' duration, attended with events so horrible as to be without parallel in the history of civilized Europe. These alarming confederacies were accidentally disclosed to one of the illustrious persons who were most deeply interested in their discomfiture. William of Nassau, prince of Orange, was, according to the usage of that period, sent to Paris at the head of the hostages for the observance of the treaty of Château Cambresis. He was received with the honours of an independent sovereign, and with the respect due to his high descent. Henry treated him

with unreserved freedom; as one who lived in the chamber of the emperor, and privy to all the thoughts of that great monarch, and who was now, as he had been in the reign of Charles thought to be, admitted into the most secret councils of his royal master. At one of the hunting parties of the court, when Henry and the prince were in the same carriage, the king spoke to William as to a man who knew the secret stipulations or understanding between the crowns for the extirpation of heresy. William spoke little, which his ordinary modesty and taciturnity enabled him to do without affectation. He thus concealed his ignorance, and yet avoided an express breach of truth. He suffered the French monarch gradually to betray the full extent of the designs of the royal allies. 'I heard,' says the prince himself, 'from the mouth of King Henry, that the duke of Alva had agreed with the French ministers on the means of exterminating all who were suspected of protestantism in France, in the Netherlands, and throughout Christendom, by the universal establishment of an inquisition worse and more cruel than that of Spain. I confess that I was moved to pity by the thoughts of so many good men doomed to the slaughter, and I deliberately determined to do my utmost for the expulsion of the Spanish army, the instrument of these wicked designs, from a country to which I was bound by the most sacred ties.' Henry had then no suspicion that William secretly inclined to the cause of the reformation, which was openly embraced by some branches of his family; and that Philip disliked and distrusted the favourite of his father, who was now confined to missions or employments of magnificent parade, but was excluded from those mysterious counsels on which Perrenot and Alva only were consulted.

"The Roman court had generally betrayed the same disinclination to assemble general councils, as absolute monarchs have usually manifested to the convocation of representative or legislative assemblies.

"For the first twenty years after the dissent of Luther from the church, the demands of the emperor and the empire for the convocation of a general council were evaded by successive pontiffs on various pretexts. The history of this period is full of instruction relating to the course of human affairs in those critical periods of general changes in opinions and institutions of mankind, which are seldom accomplished without terrible collisions of immense masses, attended by such ruin, rapine, and bloodshed, that good men too often recoil from any share in them, and thus leave them to the exclusive guidance of those whose most eminent quality is boldness, and who often make amends for the want of that two-edged quality, by servility towards every prevalent faction. In the writings of the period now under consideration, we see all the common-places, on the side either of establishment or innovation, as ably presented and as thoroughly exhausted as in any age of the world. The forms and language are, indeed, peculiar to the time; but the substance is that struggle between the principles of preservation and improvement, on the right balance of which, the quiet and well-being of society are suspended often by too slender a thread.

"Of the various projects now proposed for the extinction of the heresies of the age, the first place seemed to be due to the plan of extending to all Christendom the system of 'inquisition into heretical pravity,' which subsisted in full vigour only in



Spain. This famous tribunal originated in the commissioners for inquest or inquiry regarding the crime of heresy, who were appointed by successive popes to aid the bishops, or, in case of necessity, to act with them during the wars which in the thirteenth century were waged with unmatched cruelty against the people of Languedoc. The Emperor Frederic II., about 1220, had added the sanction of the imperial authority (then deemed to have a certain influence among all European nations) to the decrees of the council of Lateran, by an edict, in which he commanded all incorrigible heretics to be punished with death. The formalities of an inquisition spread over several countries, where it preserved a languid existence for more than two centuries. But it was in the latter years of the fifteenth century that it was established with terrific powers, and moved to sanguinary activity over the Spanish peninsula, of which every part, except Portugal, was united under one sceptre by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Arragon and Castile. It was at first chiefly pointed against the Jews, who, though always plundered by the kings of Spain, and not seldom massacred by the populace, had, by their experience in commerce, and their knowledge of books and business, found their way, through intermarriage and feigned conversion, into the centre of the Spanish nobility. All the non-conforming Jews were banished from the whole monarchy by an edict which immediately followed the conquest of Grenada. The avowed Mahomedans of Grenada were afterwards subjected to the same banishment, in spite of the promises made to them when they were finally subjugated, under a pretext, copied by tyrants of after times, 'that, it having pleased God that there were no longer any unbelievers in the kingdom of Grenada, their majesties were pleased to forbid, under pain of death, the entry of the Moors into that province, lest they might shake the faith of the new converts.' The power of the inquisition, now more and more relieved from the restraints of an appeal to Rome, was exerted in every case where suspicions were entertained of the sincerity of the new Christians. Such was the unwearied cruelty of the tribunal in its state of youthful vigour, that Torquemada, the first inquisitor-general, is believed, in the eighteen years of his administration, to have committed to the flames more than 10,000 victims. To these are added more than 90,000 persons condemned to the punishments which were called secondary—infamy, confiscation, perpetual imprisonment. They were apprehended on slight suspicion; they never heard the names of their accusers; the inquisitors communicated only such parts of the supposed evidence to the accused as such judges deemed fit; the prisoners remained for years in their dungeons, alone, ignorant of what passed without, and in a state where no man dared to attempt to correspond with them, who was not willing, without serving them, to share their fate. Torture was applied to them in the presence of two inquisitors. Sentence was pronounced in secrecy, and executed at 'the acts of faith,' as they were called, where multitudes of the impatient heretics, clad in woollen garments, on which were painted monstrous forms of fiends, and hideous representations of hell-fire, walked in procession to the flames. These acts of faith were solemnized with a religious ceremonial, combined with such splendour and magnificence as fitted them for exhibition at the coronation of a king or the nuptials of a young queen. In the year 1560, when Philip

II. wedded the Princess Elizabeth of France, the inquisitors of Toledo, among other preparations for the welcome and becoming reception of a queen of thirteen years old, exhibited one of the acts of faith, when Lutherans, Mahometans, Jews, and sorcerers, were burnt alive in her presence, before the eyes of many nobles and prelates, and of the assembled Cortez of the kingdom, who met together to swear allegiance to the wretched Don Carlos, the heir apparent of the crown. Forty-five persons, of whom many were distinguished men, had been burnt alive as Lutherans at Valladolid, in the year before, in the presence of the king and a numerous assembly of noble Spaniards and of foreign guests of high station. We find the names of at least six Englishmen in two years in the list of victims, though the two countries were then at peace, and though the persons put to death were probably traders or mariners earning their subsistence under the faith of treaties.

"John Louis Vives, a Spaniard of great learning and reputation, bewails the fate of moderate and charitable catholics in Spain, nearly thirty years before the period which we are now contemplating 'We live,' says he in a letter to Erasmus, on the 18th of May, 1534, 'in hard times, in which we can neither speak nor be silent without danger.' In the forty-three years of the administrations of the first four inquisitors-general, which closed in the year 1524, they committed 18,000 human beings to the flames, and inflicted inferior punishments on 200,000 persons more, with various degrees of severity, indeed, but the least of which the judges intended that bigoted and frantic multitudes should look on with aversion and abhorrence, as an indelible brand of infamy and a badge of perpetual proscription. Some of these occurrences in Spain, and the numerous executions in the Netherlands, must have been well known in England about the period of the death of Mary, and could not fail to affect the state of opinion in this island so much that a writer of English history cannot with justice exclude all mention of them from his narrative; especially when the memorable circumstances are considered, which we learn from the weighty testimony of the prince of Orange, that the Spanish and French monarchs meditated the extension over all Christendom of such a tribunal as the inquisition had already shown itself to be by its exercise of authority in Spain.

"The second expedient proposed for quieting the disorders of Europe, was that of assembling a general council. Had such an assembly been convened early, had they then adopted effective reforms in the constitution of the church, and rigorously enforced amendment in the conduct of the clergy; had they, before the breach was visible and wide, seasonably granted two concessions,—the marriage of ecclesiastics and the use of the cup by the laity, which, as both were owned to be prohibited by mere human authority, might have been surrendered without any sacrifice of the highest pretensions of Rome herself,—it seems very probable that further reformation might have been owed, that its progress might have been retarded, and that its complete accomplishment at some remote period, after a long course of insensible approximation, might have at last occurred without a shock. The ambition or avarice of princes; the furious zeal of multitudes, especially of sectaries, who swelled the animosities of the great parties by their absurd and odious opinions; and the anger, the pride, the passion for







ELIZABETH

mental domination, which tarnished the piety and sincerity of the protestants; were formidable obstacles to what seems to us the most desirable consummation. In the reigning church, the absolute want of the policy of seasonable concession, not indeed an infallible remedy, but the sole resource in times of general trouble from lasting causes, is more remarkable and more blameworthy. Among them, however, ample allowance is due to the sincere reverence for what was anciently established, and to those pious affections which were so interwoven with the doctrines and worship of their fathers, that their hearts fondly clung to every rite and to every word, which were hallowed in their eyes as being blended from their infancy with the most sacred feelings and the most awful truths. How painful it must have been to many an affectionate heart, to condemn a long line of forefathers as guilty of fatal and irreparable error! Nor is it to be forgotten that many wise statesmen, without sharing the amiable infirmities of the pious, might tremble at the impenetrable consequences of stirring that vast mass of opinions, sentiments, habits, and prejudices, of which a large part of the religion and morality of men is composed."

This comprehensive historian proceeds to trace the conduct of the Council of Trent, which he designates as timid and partial; and then narrates the rise of the order of the Jesuits, and concludes with saying:—

"These were the principal preparations for those wars of religious opinions, in which the most conspicuous leaders on the side of the ancient establishment were Philip II. and the duke of Alva; while the party who contended for reformation were conducted by William of Nassau, prince of Orange, Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, and Elizabeth Tudor, queen of England. The mention of these names suggests to every writer of English history, that he is about to enter on a more arduous task; to relate events which more powerfully command the fellow feeling of after times."

## CHAP. XLII.

### ELIZABETH.

*The Queen's popularity—Re-establishment of the Protestant Religion—A Parliament—Peace with France—Disgust between the Queen and Mary Queen of Scots—Affairs of Scotland—Interposal of the Queen in the Affairs of Scotland—Settlement of Scotland—French Affairs—Arrival of Mary in Scotland—Wise Government of Elizabeth.*

In a nation so divided as the English, it could scarcely be expected that the death of one sovereign, and the accession of another who was generally believed to have embraced opposite principles to those which prevailed, could be the object of universal satisfaction: yet so much were men displeased with the present conduct of affairs, and such apprehensions were entertained of futurity, that the people, overlooking their theological disputes, expressed a general and unfeigned joy that the sceptre had passed into the hand of Elizabeth. That princess had discovered great prudence in her conduct during the reign of her sister; and as men were sensible of the imminent danger to which she was every

moment exposed, compassion towards her situation, and concern for her safety, had rendered her to an uncommon degree, the favourite of the nation. A parliament had been assembled a few days before Mary's death; and when Heathe, archbishop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, scarcely an interval of regret appeared; and the two houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamations of "God save Queen Elizabeth! Long and happily may she reign!" The people, less actuated by faction, and less influenced by private views, expressed a joy still more general and hearty on her proclamation; and the auspicious commencement of this reign prognosticated that success and vigour which, during its whole course, so uniformly attended it.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and, after a few days, she went thence to London through crowds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. On her entrance into the Tower, she could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her present fortune, and that which a few years before had attended her, when she was conducted to that place as a prisoner, and lay there exposed to all the bigoted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees, and expressed her thanks to Heaven for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody persecutors; a deliverance, she said, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude seems to have been the last circumstance in which she remembered any past hardships and injuries. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. Sir Harry Benningfield himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with severity, never felt, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment. Yet was not the gracious reception which she gave undistinguishing. When the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard; except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity.

After employing a few days in ordering her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts her sister's death, and her own accession. She sent Lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then resided; and she took care to express to that monarch, her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her desire of persevering in that friendship which had so happily commenced between them. Philip, who had long foreseen this event, and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen; and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose. But Elizabeth soon came to the resolution of declining the proposal. She saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance during her sister's reign; and that one great cause of the popularity which she herself enjoyed, was the prospect of being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign subjection. She was sensible that her affinity with Philip was exactly similar to that of her father with



Catherine of Arragon; and that her marrying that monarch was, in effect, declaring herself illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the throne. And, though the power of the Spanish monarchy might still be sufficient, in opposition to all pretenders, to support her title, her masculine spirit disdained such precarious dominion, which, as it would depend solely on the power of another, must be exercised according to his inclinations. But, while these views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, she gave him an evasive answer, and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.

The queen too, on her sister's death, had written to Sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the pope; but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through all the cautious measures concerted by this young princess. He told Carne, that England was a fief of the holy see; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: that being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage: that were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open to her: and that, if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see. When this answer was reported to Elizabeth, she was astonished at the character of that aged pontiff; and, having recalled her ambassador, she continued with more determined resolution to pursue those measures which already she had secretly embraced.

The queen, not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but, in order to balance their authority, she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the protestant communion; the marquiss of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, secretary of state. With these counsellors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprise. Cecil told her, that the greater part of the nation had, ever since her father's reign, inclined to the reformation; and, though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties exercised by her ministers had still more alienated their affections from it: that happily the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: that a sentence, so solemnly pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage, could not possibly be recalled, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even if she were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependant footing: that this circumstance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatsoever; and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable: that the curses and execrations of the

Romish church, when not seconded by military force, were, in the present age, more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: that though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a sentence of excommunication against her, their interests were so incompatible, that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always ensure to her the friendship of the other: that if they encouraged the discontents of her catholic subjects, their dominions also abounded with protestants, and it would be easy to retaliate upon them: that even such of the English as seemed at present zealously attached to the catholic faith, would, most of them, embrace the religion of their new sovereign; and the nation had of late been so much accustomed to these revolutions, that men had lost all idea of truth and falsehood in such subjects: that the authority of Henry VIII. so highly raised by many concurring circumstances, first inured the people to this submissive deference; and it was the less difficult for succeeding princes to continue the nation in a tract to which it had so long been accustomed: and that it would be easy for her, by bestowing on protestants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church and the universities, both to ensure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant.

The education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party which she should embrace. But, though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions, as might give encouragement to the protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, that he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: she readily replied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them.

Elizabeth also proceeded to exert, in favour of the reformers, some acts of power which were authorized by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special licence; and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of her own sect, she took care that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws so far, as to order a great part of the service, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels, to be read in English. And, having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence; an innovation which however frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences.

These declarations of her intentions, concurring with preceding suspicions, made the bishops foresee, with certainty, a revolution in religion. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was with some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony. When she was conducted through London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment; placed it next her bosom; and declared, that, amidst all the costly testimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable. Such were the modes by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements; and, without departing from her dignity, which she knew well how to preserve, she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude; and while a young princess of twenty-five years (for that was her age at her accession), who possessed all the graces and insinuation, though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her services, her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

A sovereign of this disposition was not likely to offend her subjects by any useless or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the protestants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The elections had gone entirely against the catholics, who seem not indeed to have made any great struggle for the superiority; and the houses met, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular which she could desire of them. They began the session with an unanimous declaration, "that Queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God, as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood-royal, according to the order of succession settled in the 35th of Henry VIII." This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herself and her ministers; and she showed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which she employed on that occasion. She followed not Mary's practice, in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy: she knew that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister; and as all the world was sensible, that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his usual violence and caprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous decisions. Satisfied therefore in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted, the less anxiety she discovered in fortifying it by votes and inquiries;

she took possession of the throne, both as her birth-right, and as ensured to her by former acts of parliament, and she never appeared anxious to distinguish these titles.

The first bill brought into parliament, with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion, was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty a bill was next introduced, annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated "governess," not "head," of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power, which, under the latter title, had been exercised by her father and brother. All the bishops who were present in the upper house strenuously opposed this law; and, as they possessed more learning than the temporal peers, they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that house, as well as among the commons, was against them. By this act the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament or even of the convocation, was vested with the whole spiritual power; might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, might alter every point of discipline, and might ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony. In determining heresy, the sovereign was only limited (if that could be called a limitation) to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy, by the authority of the Scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general council which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to such other doctrines as should hereafter be denominated heresy by the parliament and convocation. In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was afterwards founded the court of ecclesiastical commission; which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution. Their proceedings indeed were only consistent with absolute monarchy; but were entirely suitable to the genius of the act on which they were established; an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even these usurping prelates had never been able fully to exercise, without some concurrence of the national clergy.

Whoever refused to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's supremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subject to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treason. These punishments, however severe, were less rigorous than those which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like cases.

A law was passed, confirming all the statutes enacted in King Edward's time with regard to religion: the nomination of bishops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop-elect an equivalent on the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value; and thus the queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers, in committing depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.



The bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years or three lives. This law seemed to be meant for securing the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuses still prevailed. It was usual for the courtiers during this reign to make an agreement with the bishop or incumbent, and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the person agreed on. This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the beginning of James I. The present depression of the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the laity never stopped, till they had reduced the church to such poverty, that her plunder was no longer a compensation for the odium incurred by it.

A solemn and public disputation was held during this session, in presence of lord-keeper Bacon, between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion. The champions, appointed to defend the religion of the sovereign, were, as in all former instances, entirely triumphant; and the popish disputants, being pronounced refractory and obstinate, were even punished by imprisonment. Emboldened by this victory, the protestants ventured on the last and most important step, and brought into parliament a bill for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of King Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well against those who departed from this mode of worship, as against those who absented themselves from the church and the sacraments. And thus, in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion, altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman, whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: an event which, though it may appear surprising to men in the present age, was every where expected on the first intelligence of Elizabeth's accession.

The commons also made a sacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: they voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on moveables, together with two-fifteenths. The house in no instance departed from the most respectful deference and complaisance towards the queen. Even the importunate address which they made her on the conclusion of the session, to fix her choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age. The address was couched in the most respectful expressions; yet met with a refusal from the queen. She told the speaker, that, as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her: that any further interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess: that even while she was a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at present, would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion and the happiness of her subjects: that as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here she

showed her finger with the same gold ring upon it, with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inauguration), so all Englishmen were her children; and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable: that if she ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her subjects' welfare would still be uppermost in her thoughts; but should she live and die a virgin, she doubted not but Divine Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would be able to prevent all dispute with regard to the succession, and secure them a sovereign, who, perhaps better than her own issue, would imitate her example in loving and cherishing her people: and that, for her part, she desired that no higher character or fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity, than to have this inscription engraved on her tomb-stone, when she should pay the last debt to nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

After the prorogation of the parliament, the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution, and met with little opposition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had been reduced to fourteen by a sickly season, which preceded; and all these, except the bishop of Llandaf having refused compliance, were degraded from their sees: but of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there are near 10,000 parishes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. Those in high ecclesiastic stations, being exposed to the eyes of the public, seem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perseverance; but on the whole, the protestants, in the former change introduced by Mary appear to have been much more rigid and conscientious. Though the catholic religion, adapting itself to the senses, and enjoining observances which enter into the common train of life, does at present lay faster hold on the mind than the reformed, which, being chiefly spiritual, resembles more a system of metaphysics; yet was the proportion of zeal, as well as of knowledge, during the first ages after the reformation, much greater on the side of the protestants. The catholics continued, ignorantly and supinely, in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices: but the reformers, obliged to dispute on every occasion, and inflamed to a degree of enthusiasm by novelty and persecution, had strongly attached themselves to their tenets; and were ready to sacrifice their fortunes, and even their lives, in support of their speculative and abstract principles.

The forms and ceremonies still preserved in the English liturgy, as they bore some resemblance to the ancient service, tended further to reconcile the catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out every thing that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy, even those who were addicted to the Romish communion made no scruple of attending the established church. Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumstance with the people, would have been still more similar between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence, which she

affected in every thing, inspired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party, that she gave up either images or the addresses to saints, or prayers for the dead. Some foreign princes interposed to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and she represented the manifest danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions.

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were still conducted, first at Cercamp, then at Château-Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally successful in this transaction. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. So long as he entertained hopes of espousing the queen, he delayed concluding a peace with Henry; and even after the change of religion in England deprived him of all such views, his ministers hinted to her a proposal, which may be regarded as reasonable and honourable. Though all his own terms with France were settled, he seemed willing to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction; provided she would stipulate to adhere to the Spanish alliance, and continue hostilities against Henry during the course of six years; but Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers, wisely rejected this proposal. She was sensible of the low state of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the disorders introduced into every part of the administration; the divisions by which her people were agitated; and she was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during some years could bring the kingdom again into a flourishing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her transactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put upon Calais, and the impossibility, during the present emergency, of recovering it by treaty, she was willing rather to suffer that loss, than to submit to such a dependence on Spain, as she must expect to fall into, if she continued pertinaciously in her present demand. She ordered, therefore, her ambassadors, Lord Effingham, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negotiation, and to settle a peace with Henry, on any reasonable terms. Henry offered to stipulate a marriage between the eldest daughter of the dauphin, and the eldest son of Elizabeth; and to engage for the restitution of Calais as the dowry of that princess; but as the queen was sensible that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evasion, she insisted upon more equitable, at least more plausible conditions. It was at last agreed, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; that he should find the security of seven or eight foreign merchants not natives of France, for the payment of this sum; that he should deliver five hostages till that security were provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, she should forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he

should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress. All men of penetration easily saw that these stipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen on account of the necessity of her affairs: and they even extolled her prudence, in submitting, without further struggle, to that necessity. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France.

Philip and Henry terminated hostilities by a mutual restitution of all places taken during the course of the war; and Philip espoused the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his son Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's sister, and obtained a restitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns, retained by France. And thus general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

But though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared a ground of quarrel, of the most serious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII., that with Catherine of Arragon, and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it seemed impossible, that both of them could be regarded as valid and legal: but still the birth of Elizabeth lay under some disadvantages, to which that of her sister, Mary, was not exposed. Henry's first marriage had obtained the sanction of all the powers, both civil and ecclesiastical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for protestants, as well as Romanists, to allow, on account of the sincere intention of the parties, that their issue ought to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and second marriage had been concluded in direct opposition to the see of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the English parliament and convocation, those who were strongly attached to the catholic communion, and who reasoned with great strictness, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of succession. The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princess, joined to her plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had secretly been soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication against the queen; and she had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from interest more than either friendship or generosity, had negotiated in her favour, and had successfully opposed the pretensions of Henry. But the court of France was not discouraged with this repulse: the duke of Guise, and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit, if their niece should bring an accession of England, as she had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim; and by their persuasion, he ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; that as the queen of Scots was descended from the blood royal of England, she was entitled, by the example of many princes, to assume the arms of that kingdom. But besides that this practice had never prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw, that this pretension



had not been advanced during the reign of her sister Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, she thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II., still continued to assume, without reserve, the title of King of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own safety.

The murder of the cardinal-primate at St. Andrews had deprived the Scottish catholics of a head, whose severity, courage, and capacity, had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion; and the execution of the laws against heresy began thenceforth to be more remiss. The queen-regent governed the kingdom by prudent and moderate counsels; and as she was not disposed to sacrifice the civil interests of the state to the bigotry or interests of the clergy, she deemed it more expedient to temporize, and to connive at the progress of a doctrine which she had not power entirely to repress. When informed of the death of Edward, and the accession of Mary to the crown of England, she entertained hopes, that the Scottish reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would lose their ardour with their prospect of success, and would gradually return to the faith of their ancestors. But the progress and revolutions of religion are little governed by the usual maxims of civil policy; and the event much disappointed the expectations of the regent. Many of the English preachers, terrified with the severity of Mary's government, took shelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder administration, and while they propagated their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the cruelties of the bigoted catholics, and showed their disciples the fate which they must expect, if ever their adversaries should attain an uncontrolled authority over them.

A hierarchy, moderate in its acquisitions of power and riches, may safely grant a toleration to sectaries; and the more it softens the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more securely will it possess those advantages which the legal establishments bestow upon it. But where superstition has raised a church to such an exorbitant height as that of Rome, persecution is less the result of bigotry in the priests, than of a necessary policy; and the rigour of law is the only method of repelling the attacks of men, who, besides religious zeal, have so many other motives, derived both from public and private interest, to engage them on the side of innovation. But though such overgrown hierarchies may long support themselves by these violent expedients, the time comes, when severities tend only to enrage the new sectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reason and moderation. This crisis was now visibly approaching in Scotland; and whoever considers merely the transactions resulting from it, will be inclined to throw the blame equally on both sides; whoever enlarges his view, and reflects on situations, will remark the necessary progress

of human affairs, and the operation of those principles which are inherent in human nature.

We shall not follow Hume in his lengthened notice of Scottish affairs, as they will be treated of in a separate history. After describing the turbulent conduct of the Scotch reformers, he proceeds as follows.

The Constable Montmorency had always opposed the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scots, and had foretold, that, by forming such close connexions with Scotland, the ancient league would be dissolved; and the natives of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke, would soon become, instead of allies attached by interest and inclination, the most inveterate enemies to the French government. But though the event seemed now to have justified the prudence of that aged minister, it is not improbable, considering the violent counsels by which France was governed, that the insurrection was deemed a favourable event; as affording a pretence for sending over armies, for entirely subduing the country, for attacking the rebels, and for preparing means thence to invade England, and support Mary's title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the congregation, well acquainted with these views, were not insensible of their danger, and saw that their only safety consisted in the vigour and success of their measures. They were encouraged by the intelligence received of the sudden death of Henry II.; and having passed an act from their own authority, depriving the queen-dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution against them. They again became masters of Edinburgh; but found themselves unable to keep long possession of that city. Their tumultuary armies, assembled in haste, and supported by no pay, soon separated upon the least disaster, or even any delay of success; and were incapable of resisting such veteran troops as the French, who were also seconded by some of the Scottish nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwell distinguished himself. Hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, brother to the regent, was levying an army against them in Germany, they thought themselves excusable for applying, in this extremity, to the assistance of England; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination, no less than of interest. Maitland of Lidington, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were secretly dispatched by the congregation to solicit succours from Elizabeth.

The wise council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request, which concurred so well with the views and interests of their mistress. Cecil in particular represented to the queen, that the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as Protector Somerset, had employed every expedient, both of war and negotiation, to prevent it: that the claim, which Mary advanced to the crown, rendered the present situation of England still more dangerous, and demanded, on the part of the queen, the greatest vigilance and precaution: that the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views of the family of Guise, who now governed the French counsels, were sufficiently known, and they themselves made no secret of their design to place their niece on the throne of England: that, assuming themselves secure of success, they had

already, somewhat imprudently and prematurely, taken off the mask; and Throgmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, sent over by every courier, incontestable proofs of their hostile intentions: that they only waited till Scotland should be entirely subdued; and having thus deprived the English of the advantages resulting from their situation and naval power, they prepared means for subverting the queen's authority: that the zealous catholics in England, discontented with the present government, and satisfied in the legality of Mary's title, would bring them considerable reinforcement, and would disturb every measure of defence against that formidable power: that the only expedient for preventing these designs was to seize the present opportunity, and take advantage of a like zeal in the protestants of Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the justice of a measure, founded on such evident necessity, and directed only to the ends of self-preservation: that though a French war, attended with great expense, seemed the necessary consequence of supporting the malcontents of Scotland, that power, if removed to the continent, would be much less formidable; and a small disbursement at present would in the end be found the greatest frugality: and that the domestic dissensions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithstanding his bigotry and hypocrisy, would never permit the entire conquest of England, were sufficient to secure the queen against the dangerous ambition and resentment of the house of Guise.

Elizabeth's propensity to caution and economy was, though with some difficulty, overcome by these powerful motives; and she prepared herself to support, by arms and money, the declining affairs of the congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet, which consisted of thirteen ships of war; and giving the command of it to Winter, she sent it to the Frith of Forth: she appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and she assembled at Berwick an army of eight thousand men under the command of Lord Grey, warden of the east and middle marches. Though the court of France, sensible of the danger, offered to make immediate restitution of Calais, provided she would not interpose in the affairs of Scotland, she resolutely replied, that she never would put an inconsiderable fishing-town in competition with the safety of her dominions; and she still continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, which was to last during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and she promised never to desist till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland. And having thus taken all proper measures for success, and received from the Scots six hostages for the performance of articles, she ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

The appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith discontented the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themselves for defence. The English army, reinforced by five thousand Scots, sat down before the place; and after two skirmishes, in the former of which the English had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and, though repulsed with considerable loss in a rash and ill-conducted assault, they reduced the garrison to great difficulties.

Their distress was augmented by two events; the dispersion by a storm of d'Elbeuf's fleet, which carried a considerable army on board, and the death of the queen-regent, who expired about this time in the castle of Edinburgh; a woman endowed with all the capacity which shone forth in her family, but possessed of much more virtue and moderation than appeared in the conduct of the other branches of it. The French, who found it impossible to subsist for want of provisions, and who saw that the English were continually reinforced by fresh numbers, were obliged to capitulate: and the bishop of Valence and Count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, signed a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had sent thither for that purpose. It was there stipulated that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland should henceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom; that further satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth; and the commissioners should meet to settle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain should be umpire between the crowns. Besides these stipulations, which regarded England, some concessions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should enjoy any office in Scotland; that the states should name twenty-four persons of whom the queen of Scots should choose seven, and the states five, and in the hands of these twelve should the whole administration be placed during their queen's absence; and that Mary should neither make peace nor war without consent of the states. In order to hasten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth sent ships, by which the French forces were transported into their own country.

The subsequent measures of the Scottish reformers tended still more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely masters of the kingdom, they made no further ceremony or scruple in fully effecting their purpose. In the treaty of Edinburgh it had been agreed, that a parliament or convention should soon be assembled; and the leaders of the congregation, not waiting till the queen of Scots should ratify that treaty, thought themselves fully entitled, without the sovereign's authority, immediately to summon a parliament. The reformers presented a petition to this assembly; in which they were not contented with desiring the establishment of their doctrine; they also applied for the punishment of the catholics, whom they called vassals to the Roman harlot; and they asserted, that, among all the rabble of the clergy, such is their expression, there was not one lawful minister; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority; and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth. The parliament seem to have been actuated by the same spirit of rage and persecution. After ratifying a confession of faith agreeable to the new doctrines, they passed a statute against the mass, and not only abolished it in all the churches, but enacted, that whoever, any where, either officiated in it, or was present at it, should be chastised, for the first offence, with confiscation of goods and corporal punishment, at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second, with banishment; and for the third, with loss of life. A law was also voted for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland: the



presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics, whom they called Superintendents. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injustice committed on them by the invasion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them; till, at last, these ecclesiastics, tired with fruitless attendance, departed the town. They were then cited to appear; and as nobody presented himself, it was voted by the parliament, that the ecclesiastics were entirely satisfied, and found no reason of complaint.

Sir James Sandilands, prior of St. John, was sent over to France to obtain the ratification of these acts; but was very ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament summoned without the royal consent; and she refused her sanction to those statutes. But the protestants gave themselves little concern about their queen's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution: they abolished the mass; they settled their ministers; they committed every where furious devastations on the monasteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry, and deeming the property of the clergy a lawful prize, they took possession, without ceremony, of the far greater part of the ecclesiastical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority sufficient to incite them to war and insurrection, could not refrain their rapacity; and fanaticism concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The protestant nobility and gentry, united by the consciousness of such unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new possessions, well acquainted with the imperious character of the house of Guise, saw no safety for themselves but in the protection of England; and they dispatched Morton, Glencairne, and Lidington to express their sincere gratitude to the queen for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them.

Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reason to maintain a union with the Scottish protestants; and soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title, and subverting her authority. Francis and Mary, whose counsels were wholly directed by them, refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and she ved no disposition to give her any satisfaction for that mortal affront, which they had put upon her, by their openly assuming the title and arms of England. She was sensible of the danger attending such pretensions; and it was with pleasure she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the French government, and of the opposition which had arisen against the measures of the duke of Guise. That ambitious prince, supported by his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior, men no less ambitious than himself, had engrossed all the authority of the crown; and as he was possessed of every quality which could command the esteem or seduce the affections of men, there appeared no end of his acquisitions and pretensions. The Constable Montmorency, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power: the princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and his brother, the prince of Condé, were entirely excluded from offices and favour: the queen-mother herself, Catherine de Medicis, found her influence every day declining; and as Francis, a young prince, inferior both in mind and

body, was wholly governed by his consort, who knew no law but the pleasure of her uncles, men despaired of ever obtaining freedom from the dominion of that aspiring family. It was the contests of religion which first inspired the French with courage openly to oppose their unlimited authority.

The theological disputes, first started in the north of Germany, next in Switzerland, countries at that time wholly illiterate, had long ago penetrated into France; and as they were assisted by the general discontent against the court and church of Rome, and by the zealous spirit of the age, the proselytes to the new religion were secretly increasing in every province. Henry II. in imitation of his father Francis, had opposed the progress of the reformers; and though a prince addicted to pleasure and society, he was transported by a vehemence, as well as bigotry, which had little place in the conduct of his predecessor. Rigorous punishments had been inflicted on the most eminent of the protestant party; and a point of honour seemed to have arisen, whether the one sect could exercise, or the other suffer most barbarity. The death of Henry put some stop to the persecutions; and the people, who had admired the constancy of the new preachers, now heard with favour their doctrines and arguments. But the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as his brothers, who were possessed of the legal authority, thought it their interest to support the established religion; and when they revived the execution of the penal statutes, they necessarily drove the malcontent princes and nobles to embrace the protection of the new religion. The king of Navarre, a man of mild disposition, but of a weak character, and the prince of Condé, who possessed many great qualities, having declared themselves in favour of the protestants, that sect acquired new force from their countenance; and the Admiral Coligni, with his brother Andelot, no longer scrupled to make open profession of their communion. The integrity of the admiral, who was believed sincere in his attachment to the new doctrine, and his great reputation both for valour and conduct, for the arts of peace as well as of war, brought credit to the reformers; and after a frustrated attempt of the malcontents to seize the king's person at Amboise, of which Elizabeth had probably some intelligence, every place was full of distraction, and matters hastened to an open rupture between the parties. But the house of Guise, though these factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cause of Elizabeth's success, were determined not to relinquish their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they threw the former into prison; they obtained a sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put the sentence into execution, when the king's sudden death saved the noble prisoner, and interrupted the prosperity of the duke of Guise. The queen-mother was appointed regent to her son Charles IX., now in his minority: the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom: the sentence against Condé was annulled: the constable was recalled to court; and the family of Guise, though they still enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoise to their authority.

Elizabeth was determined to make advantage of these events against the queen of Scots, whom she still regarded as a dangerous rival. She saw herself

freed from the perils attending a union of Scotland with France, and from the pretensions of so powerful a prince as Francis but she considered, at the same time, that the English catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princess with more zealous attachment, when they saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, to her ambassador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able minister, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. But though Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she still declined gratifying Elizabeth in this momentous article; and being swayed by the ambitious suggestions of her uncles, she refused to make any formal renunciation of her pretensions.

Meanwhile, the queen-mother of France, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications which she had met with during Francis's lifetime, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France disagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country. Lord James, who had been sent in deputation from the states to invite her over, seconded these intentions; and she applied to Elizabeth, by D'Oisel, for a safe-conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England: but she received for answer, that till she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured. This denial excited her indignation; and she made no scruple of expressing her sentiments to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications to gratify his mistress in a demand which he represented as so reasonable. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to him, "How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell: however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador D'Oisel. There is nothing disturbs me so much, as the having asked, with so much importunity, a favour which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country without 'her' leave; as I came to France, in spite of all the opposition of her brother, King Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of any other person. I have often heard you say, that a good correspondence between her and myself would conduce much to the security and happiness of both our kingdoms: were she well convinced of this truth, she would hardly have denied me so small a request. But perhaps, she bears a better inclination to my rebellious subjects than to me, their sovereign, her equal in royal dignity, her near relation, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Besides her friendship, I ask nothing at her hands; I neither trouble her, nor concern myself in the affairs of her state: not that I am ignorant, that there are now in England a great many malcontents, who are no friends to the present establishment. She is pleased to upbraid me as a person little experienced in the world: I freely own it; but age will cure that defect. However, I am already old

enough to acquit myself honestly and courteously to my friends and relations, and to encourage no reports of your mistress, which would misbecome a queen and her kinswoman. I would also say, by her leave, that I am a queen as well as she, and not altogether friendless: and, perhaps, I have as great a soul too; so that methinks we should be upon a level in our treatment of each other. As soon as I have consulted the states of my kingdom, I shall be ready to give her a reasonable answer; and I am the more intent on my journey, in order to make the quicker dispatch in this affair. But she, it seems, intends to stop my journey; so that either she will not let me give her satisfaction, or is resolved not to be satisfied; perhaps, on purpose to keep up the disagreement between us. She has often reproached me with my being young; and I must be very young indeed, and as ill advised, to treat of matters of such great concern and importance without the advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting in all friendly offices to her; but she disbelieves or overlooks them. I could heartily wish, that I were as nearly allied to her in affection as in blood; for that, indeed, would be a most valuable alliance."

Such a spirited reply, notwithstanding the flattering terms interspersed in it, was but ill-fitted to conciliate friendship between these rival princesses, or cure those mutual jealousies which had already taken place. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of pursuing pirates, but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards. Mary embarked at Calais; and passing the English fleet in a fog, arrived safely at Leith, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers. This change of abode and situation was very little agreeable to that princess. It is said, that, after she was embarked at Calais, she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object, till darkness fell, and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that if in the morning the land were still in sight, he should awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country in which all her affections were centered. The weather proved calm, so that the ship made little way in the night-time: and Mary had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat up on her couch, and still looking towards the land, often repeated the words: "Farewell, beloved France, farewell: I shall never see thee more."

Dr. Lingard says, "The next day a thick fog arose; a propitious circumstance; for though the English admiral fell in with the squadron, though he captured one of the transports carrying the earl of Eglington, and two others laden with the queen's mules, he did not discover, or could not overtake, the galleys." He adds in a note, "Combining the hostile behaviour of the English fleet with the advice so frequently given to Elizabeth to stay the coming of Mary to Scotland, we can hardly doubt any more than her contemporaries did, that the real object was to conduct the Scottish queen to England. Probably the instructions given to the admiral were to seek and invent prettexts for hostilities. As the attempt did not succeed, it was necessary to deny it. Elizabeth wrote to Mary that she had sent a few barks to sea, to cruise after certain Scottish pirates at the request of the king of Spain; and Cecil wrote to Throgmorton, 'That the queen's



majesty's ships that were on the seas, to cleanse them from pirates, saw her and saluted her galleys: and staying her ships examined them gently. One they detained as vehemently suspected of piracy."

No sooner did the French galleys appear off Leith, than people of all ranks flocked towards the shore with an earnest impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign. Some were led by duty, some by interest, some by curiosity; and all combined to express their attachment to her, and to insinuate themselves into her confidence, on the commencement of her administration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth and amiable beauty of her person were further recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Well accomplished in all the superficial, but engaging graces of a court, she afforded, when better known, still more promising indications of her character; and men prognosticated both humanity from her soft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taste in all the refined arts of music, eloquence, and poetry. And as the Scots had long been deprived of the presence of their sovereign, whom they once despaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival seemed to give universal satisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court, but symptoms of affection, joy, and festivity.

It is foreign to English history to pursue further the conduct of Scottish affairs; we shall therefore leave the narration of the unfortunate Mary's contentions with her subjects to our history of Scotland.

Destitute of all force, possessing a narrow revenue, surrounded with a factious turbulent nobility, a bigotted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, she soon found that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preserve a good correspondence with Elizabeth, who, by former connexions and services, had acquired such authority over all these ranks of men. Soon after her arrival in Scotland, Secretary Liddington was sent to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of friendship and a good correspondence; and he received a commission from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing this friendship, that Mary should, by act of parliament or by proclamation, be declared successor to the crown. No request could be more unreasonable, or made at a more improper juncture. The queen replied, that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly, without ceremony or reserve, assumed the title of Queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her throne and kingdom: that though her ambassadors, and those of her husband, the French king, had signed a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, she was so intoxicated with this imaginary right, that she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and even, as some endeavoured to persuade her, had incurred some danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: that her partisans every where had still the assurance to insist on her title, and had presumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate; that while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, so far from being openly renounced, was only suspended till a more favourable opportunity, it would, in her, be the most egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the successor: that no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship than such a de-

claration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was less intimate, and when such cause of disgust and jealousy had already been given, and indeed was still continued, on the part of Mary: that though she was willing, from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe her former pretensions to the advice of others, by whose direction she was then governed; her present refusal to relinquish them could proceed only from her own prepossessions, and was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs against her: that it was the nature of all men to be disgusted with the present, to entertain flattering views of futurity, to think their services ill rewarded, to expect a better recompense from the successor; and she should esteem herself scarcely half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority against her own repose and safety: that she knew the inconstant nature of the people; she was acquainted with the present divisions in religion; she was not ignorant that the same party which expected greater favour during the reign of Mary, did also imagine that the title of that princess was superior to her own: that for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws or by the right of blood, to the succession: that she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid; and, considering the injury which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence, if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any respect, weaken or invalidate it: and that Mary, if her title were really preferable, a point which, for her own part, she had never inquired into, possessed all advantages above her rivals; who, destitute both of present power, and of all support by friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful pretensions.

These views of the queen were so prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: but that she might put the matter to a fuller proof, she offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession; and in this form she again required her to ratify that treaty. Matters at last came to this issue, that Mary agreed to the proposal, and offered to renounce all present pretensions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the successor. But such was the jealous character of this latter princess, that she never would consent to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant, by fixing the succession; much less would she make this concession in favour of a rival queen, who possessed such plausible pretensions for the present, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Mary's proposal, however, bore so specious an appearance of equity and justice, that Elizabeth, sensible that reason would, by superficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that side, made no more mention of the matter; and though further concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

The queen observed that, even without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects; and instead of

giving Scotland, for the present, any inquietude or disturbance, she employed herself, more usefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happiness of her people. She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay upon the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors; she furnished her arsenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was justly styled the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas. The natural frugality of her temper, so far from incapacitating her from these great enterprises, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and success; and all the world saw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perseverance in judicious and well-concerted projects.

It is easy to imagine that so great a princess, who enjoyed such singular felicity and renown, would receive proposals of marriage from every one that had any likelihood of succeeding; and though she had made some public declarations in favour of a single life, few believed that she would persevere for ever in that resolution. The Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor, as well as Casimer, son of the elector palatine, made applications to her; and as this latter prince professed the reformed religion, he thought himself on that account better entitled to succeed in his addresses. Eric, king of Sweden, and Adolph, duke of Holstein, were encouraged by the same views, to become suitors: and the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the states of that kingdom, recommended to her as a suitable marriage. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained hopes of success. The earl of Arundel, a person declining in years, but descended from an ancient and noble family, as well as possessed of great riches, flattered himself with this prospect; as did also Sir William Pickering, a man much esteemed for his personal merit. But the person most likely to succeed, was a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, Lord Robert Dudley, who by means of his exterior qualities, joined to address and flattery, had become, in a manner, her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counsels. The less worthy he appeared of this distinction, the more was his great favour ascribed to some violent affection, which could thus seduce the judgment of this penetrating princess; and men long expected that he would obtain the preference above so many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought that she should the better attach them to her interests if they were still allowed to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions. It is also probable that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though she was determined in her own mind never to share her power with any man, she was not displeased with the courtship, solicitation, and professions of love, which

the desire of acquiring so valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

What is most singular in the conduct and character of Elizabeth is, that though she determined never to have any heir of her own body, she was not only very averse to fix any successor to the crown; but seems also to have resolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one who had pretensions to the succession should ever have any heirs or successors. If the exclusion given by the will of Henry VIII. to the posterity of Margaret, queen of Scotland was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the house of Suffolk; and the Lady Catherine Grey, younger sister to the Lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to Lord Herbert, son of the earl of Pembroke; but having been divorced from that nobleman, she made a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, son of the protector; and her husband, soon after consummation, travelled into France. In a little time she appeared to be pregnant, which so enraged Elizabeth, that she threw her into the Tower, and summoned Hertford to appear, in order to answer for his misdemeanor. He made no scruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's consent, was entirely suitable to both parties; and for this offence he was also committed to the Tower. Elizabeth's severity stopped not here: she issued a commission to inquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witnesses, the commerce between him and his consort was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. They were still detained in custody; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to have further intercourse; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a fresh source of vexation to the queen; who made a fine of fifteen thousand pounds to be set on Hertford by the star-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and severe. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty. This extreme severity must be accounted for, either by the unrelenting jealousy of the queen, who was afraid lest a pretender to the succession should acquire credit by having issue; or by her malignity, which, with all her great qualities, made one ingredient in her character, and which led her to envy, in others, those natural pleasures of love and posterity, of which her own ambition and desire of dominion made her renounce all prospect for herself.

There happened, about this time, some other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and descended from the duke of Clarence, together with Anthony Fortescue, who had married a sister of these gentlemen, and some other persons, were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of soliciting succours from the duke of Guise, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They confessed the indictment, but asserted that they never meant to execute these projects during the queen's lifetime: they had only deemed such precautions requisite in case of her demise, which some pretenders to judicial astrology had assured them they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury; but received a pardon from the queen's clemency.



## CHAP. XLIII.

*State of Europe—Civil Wars of France—Havre de Grace put in possession of the English—A Parliament—Havre lost—Officers of Scotland—Insurrections in Scotland—Imprisonment of Mary—Mary flies into England—Conferences at York and Hampton-court.*

AFTER the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flourishing kingdom, during the course of near forty years, a scene of horror and devastation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animosity, first political, then personal, broke out between the sovereigns of these countries.

Philip II. of Spain, though he reached not any enlarged views of policy, was endowed with great industry and sagacity, a remarkable caution in his enterprises, an unusual foresight in all his measures; and as he was ever cool and seemingly unmoved by passion, and possessed neither talents nor inclination for war, both his subjects and his neighbours had reason to expect justice, happiness, and tranquillity, from his administration. But prejudices had on him as pernicious effects as ever passion had on any other monarch; and the spirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims which governed his counsels, excited the most violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the most enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combustion.

After Philip had concluded peace at Chateau-Cambresis, and had remained some time in the Netherlands, in order to settle the affairs of that country, he embarked for Spain; and as the gravity of that nation, with their respectful obedience to their prince, had appeared more agreeable to his humour than the homely familiar manners and the pertinacious liberty of the Flemings, it was expected that he would, for the future, reside altogether at Madrid, and would govern all his extensive dominions by Spanish ministers and Spanish counsels. Having met with a violent tempest on his voyage, he no sooner arrived in harbour than he fell on his knees; and, after giving thanks for his deliverance, he vowed that his life, which was thus providentially saved, should thenceforth be entirely devoted to the extirpation of heresy. His subsequent conduct corresponded to these professions. Finding that the new doctrines had penetrated into Spain, he let loose the rage of persecution against all who professed them, or were suspected of adhering to them; and by his violence he gave new edge, even to the usual cruelty of priests and inquisitors. He threw into prison Constantine Ponce, who had been confessor to his father, the Emperor Charles; who had attended him during his retreat; and in whose arms that great monarch had terminated his life: and after this ecclesiastic died in confinement, he still ordered him to be tried and condemned for heresy, and his name to be committed to the flames. He even deliberated whether he should not exercise like severity against the memory of his father, who was suspected, during his later years, to have indulged a propensity towards the Lutheran principles: in his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he spared neither age nor condition: he was present, with an insupportable countenance, at the most barbarous exe-

cutions: he issued rigorous orders for the prosecution of heretics in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries: and, having founded his determined tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, he made it apparent to all his subjects, that there was no method, except the most entire compliance, or most obstinate resistance, to escape or elude the severity of his vengeance.

During that extreme animosity which prevailed between the adherents of the opposite religions, the civil magistrate, who found it difficult, if not impossible, for the same laws to govern such enraged adversaries, was naturally led, by specious rules of prudence, in embracing one party, to declare war against the other, and to exterminate, by fire and sword, those bigots, who, from abhorrence of his religion, had proceeded to an opposition of his power, and to a hatred of his person. If any prince possessed such enlarged views as to foresee that a mutual toleration would in time abate the fury of religious prejudices, he yet met with difficulties in reducing this principle to practice; and might deem the malady too violent to await a remedy which, though certain, must necessarily be slow in its operation. But Philip, though a profound hypocrite, and extremely governed by self-interest, seems also to have been himself actuated by an imperious bigotry; and, as he employed great reflection in all his conduct, he could easily palliate the gratification of his natural temper under the colour of wisdom, and find, in this system, no less advantage to his foreign than his domestic politics. By placing himself at the head of the catholic party, he converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partisans of Spanish greatness; and by employing the powerful allurements of religion, he seduced, every where, the subjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native sovereign.

The course of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite; and had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the support of the numerous, though still persecuted, protestants throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found, with pleasure, that the principles of her sect required not such extreme severity in her domestic government as was exercised by that monarch; and, having no object but self-preservation, she united her interests in all foreign negotiations with those who were every where struggling under oppression, and guarding themselves against ruin and extermination. The more virtuous sovereign was thus happily thrown into the more favourable cause; and fortune, in this instance, concurred with policy and nature.

During the lifetime of Henry II. of France, and of his successor, the force of these principles was somewhat restrained, though not altogether overcome, by motives of a superior interest; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy, engaged Philip to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. Yet even during this period he rejected the garter which she sent him; he refused to ratify the ancient league between the house of Burgundy and England; he furnished ships to transport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the earl of Arran, who was hastening to join the malcontents in that country; and the queen's wisest ministers still regarded his friendship as hollow and precarious. But no sooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehensions with regard to Mary's succession,

than his animosity against Elizabeth began more openly to appear; and the interests of Spain and those of England were found opposite in every negotiation and transaction.

The two great monarchies of the continent, France and Spain, being possessed of nearly equal force, were naturally antagonists; and England, from its power and situation, was entitled to support its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident, therefore, tended too much to depress one of these rival powers, as it left the other without control, might be deemed contrary to the interests of England: yet so much were these great maxims of policy overruled, during that age, by the disputes of theology, that Philip found an advantage in supporting the established government and religion of France; and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

The queen-regent of France, when reinstated in authority by the death of her son Francis, had formed a plan of administration more subtle than judicious; and, balancing the catholics with the hugonots, the duke of Guise with the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both, and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. But the equal counterpoise of power, which, among foreign nations, is the source of tranquillity, proves always the ground of quarrel between domestic factions; and if the animosity of religion concur with the frequent occasions which present themselves of mutual injury, it is impossible, during any time, to preserve a firm concord in so delicate a situation. The Constable Montmorency, moved by zeal for the ancient faith, joined himself to the duke of Guise: the king of Navarre, from his inconstant temper, and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, embraced the same party: and Catherine, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection. An edict had been published, granting a toleration to the protestants: but the interested violence of the duke of Guise, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement; and the two parties, after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment, renewed their mutual insults and injuries. Condé, Coligni, Anelot, assembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency got possession of the king's person, and constrained the queen-regent to embrace their party: fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France; each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son; brother against brother; and women themselves, sacrificing their humanity as well as their timidity to the religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of ferocity and valour. Wherever the hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed by fire: where success attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, constrained married persons to pass anew through the nuptial ceremony: and plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties. The parliament of Paris itself, the seat of law and justice, instead of employing its authority to compose these fatal quarrels, published an edict, by which it put the sword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the catholics every where to massacre the hugonots;

and it was during this period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and ferocity.

Philip, jealous of the progress which the hugonots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would spread into the Low Country provinces, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Guise, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy. He now sent six thousand men, with some supply of money, to reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unequal to so great a combination, countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to dispatch the Vidame of Chartres and Brigueumaut to London, in order to crave the assistance and protection of Elizabeth. Most of the province of Normandy was possessed by the hugonots: and Condé offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the English; on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of that place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and should furnish the prince with a supply of a hundred thousand crowns.

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the protestants, and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives which engaged her to accept of this proposal. When she concluded the peace at Château-Cambresis, she had good reason to foresee that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article which regarded the restitution of Calais; and many subsequent incidents had tended to confirm this suspicion. Considerable sums of money had been expended on the fortifications; long leases had been granted of the lands; and many inhabitants had been encouraged to build and settle there, by assurances that Calais should never be restored to the English. The queen therefore wisely concluded, that, could she get possession of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of greater importance than Calais, she should easily constrain the French to execute the treaty, and should have the glory of restoring to the crown that ancient possession, so much the favourite of the nation.

No measure could be more generally odious in France, than the conclusion of this treaty with Elizabeth. Men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guise, who had finally expelled the English, and had debarred these dangerous and destructive enemies from all access into France, with the treasonable politics of Condé, who had again granted them an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. The prince had the more reason to repent of this measure, as he reaped not from it all the advantage which he expected. Three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found so little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a small reinforcement into the place. Though these English troops behaved with gallantry, and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the catholics still continued the attack of the place, and carrying it at last by assault, put the whole garrison to the



sword. The earl of Warwick, eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived soon after at Havre with another body of three thousand English, and took on him the command of the place.

It was expected that the French catholics, flushed with their success at Rouen, would immediately have formed the siege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defence; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom soon diverted their attention to another enterprise. Andelot, seconded by the negotiations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable body of protestants in Germany; and having arrived at Orleans, the seat of the hugonots' power, he enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris during some time, they took their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themselves by the further assistance which they expected from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth. The catholics, commanded by the constable, and under him by the duke of Guise, followed on their rear; and overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with great obstinacy on both sides: and the action was distinguished by this singular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, fell both of them prisoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral, whose fate it ever was to be defeated, and still to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army; and inspiring his own unconquerable courage and constancy into every breast, kept them in a body, and subdued some considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns; and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount.

The expenses incurred by assisting the French hugonots had emptied the queen's exchequer; and, in order to obtain supply, she found herself under a necessity of summoning a parliament: an expedient to which she never willingly had recourse. A little before the meeting of this assembly she had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox; and as her life, during some time, was despaired of, the people became the more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty which, in case of her demise, attended the succession of the crown. The partisans of the queen of Scots, and those of the house of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions; and every one foresaw, that, though it might be possible at present to determine the controversy by law, yet, if the throne were vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor. The commons, therefore, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions, by choosing some husband, whom, they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey: or, if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be named, at least appointed, by act of parliament. They remarked that, during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest, the nation had never

before been so unnappy as not to know the person who, in case of the sovereign's death, was legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they observed, that the fixed order which took place in inheriting the French monarchy, was one chief source of the usual tranquillity, as well as of the happiness of that kingdom.

This subject, though extremely interesting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen; and she was sensible that great difficulties would attend every decision. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a settlement perfectly legal, because that princess was commonly allowed to possess the right of blood; and the exclusion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would lose all authority whenever the queen and parliament had made a new settlement, and restored the Scottish line to its place in the succession. But she dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics, her secret enemies, by this declaration. She was sensible that every heir was, in some degree, a rival; much more one who enjoyed a claim for the present possession of the crown, and who had already advanced, in a very open manner, these dangerous pretensions. The great power of Mary, both from the favour of the catholic princes, and her connexions with the house of Guise, not to mention the force and situation of Scotland, was well known to her; and she saw no security that this princess, if fortified by a sure prospect of succession, would not revive claims which she could never yet be prevailed on formally to relinquish. On the other hand, the title of the house of Suffolk was supported by the more zealous protestants only; and it was very doubtful, whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would bestow on it such validity as to give satisfaction to the people. The republican part of the constitution had not yet acquired such an ascendancy as to control, in any degree, the ideas of hereditary right; and as the legality of Henry's will was disputed, though founded on the utmost authority which a parliament could confer; who could be assured that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have greater validity? In the frequent revolutions which had of late taken place, the right of blood had still prevailed over religious prejudices; and the nation had ever shown itself disposed rather to change its faith than the order of succession. Even many protestants declared themselves in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance; and nothing would occasion more general disgust, than to see the queen, openly and without reserve, take part against it. The Scottish princess also, finding herself injured in so sensible a point, would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and, uniting together her foreign and domestic friends, the partisans of her present title and of her eventual succession, would soon bring matters to extremities against the present establishment. The queen, weighing all these inconveniences, which were great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe, by maintaining still an ambiguous conduct; and she rather chose that the people should run the hazard of contingent events, than that she herself should visibly endanger her throne, by employing expedients, which, at best, would not bestow entire security on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evasive answer to the application of the commons; and when the house, at the end of the session, desired, by the mouth of their speaker, further satisfaction on that head, she could not be prevailed on to make her

reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage; and she added, that the difficulties attending the question of the succession were so great, that she would be contented, for the sake of her people, to remain some time longer in this vale of misery; and never should depart life with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security.

The most remarkable law passed this session, was that which bore the title of "Assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." By this act, the asserting twice, by writing, word, or deed, the pope's authority, was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; as also all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in common law; all schoolmasters, officers in court, or members of parliament: and the penalty of their second refusal was treason. The first offence in both cases, was punished by banishment and forfeiture. This rigorous statute was not extended to any of the degree of a baron; because it was not supposed that the queen could entertain any doubt with regard to the fidelity of persons possessed of such high dignity. Lord Montacute made opposition to the bill; and asserted in favour of the catholics, that they disputed not, they preached not, they disobeyed not the queen, they caused no trouble, no tumults among the people. It is however probable that some suspicions of their secret conspiracies had made the queen and parliament increase their rigour against them; though it is also more than probable that they were mistaken in the remedy.

There was likewise another point, in which the parliament, this session, showed more the goodness of their intention, than the soundness of their judgment. They passed a law against fond and fantastical prophecies, which had been observed to seduce the people into rebellion and disorder: but at the same time they enacted a statute, which was most likely to increase these and such like superstitions: it was levelled against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft. Witchcraft and heresy are two crimes, which commonly increase by punishment, and never are so effectually suppressed as by being totally neglected. After the parliament had granted the queen a supply of one subsidy and two-fifteenths, the session was finished by a prorogation. The convocation likewise voted the queen a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years.

While the English parties exerted these calm efforts against each other, in parliamentary votes and debates, the French factions, inflamed to the highest degree of animosity, continued that cruel war, which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was successful in reducing the towns of Normandy which held for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous garrison of Havre remained totally inactive, and was not employed in any military operation against the common enemy. The queen, in taking possession of that place, had published a manifesto, in which she pretended, that her concern for the interests of the French king had engaged her in that measure, and that her sole intention was to oppose her enemies of the house of Guise, who held their prince in captivity and employed his power to the destruction of his best and most faithful subjects. It was chiefly her

desire to preserve appearances, joined to the great frugality of her temper, which made her, at this critical juncture, keep her soldiers in garrison, and restrain them from committing further hostilities upon the enemy. The duke of Guise, meanwhile, was aiming a mortal blow at the power of the hugonots; and had commenced the siege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the constable was detained prisoner. He had the prospect of speedy success in this undertaking; when he was assassinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman, whose zeal, instigated (as is pretended, though without any certain foundation) by the admiral, and Beza, a famous preacher, led him to attempt that criminal enterprise. The death of this gallant prince was a sensible loss to the catholic party; and though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, still supported the interests of the family, the danger of their progress appeared not so imminent either to Elizabeth or to the French protestants. The union, therefore, between these allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, began thenceforth to be less intimate; and the leaders of the hugonots were persuaded to hearken to terms of a separate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency held conferences for settling the peace; and as they were both of them impatient to relieve themselves from captivity, they soon came to an agreement with regard to the conditions. The character of the queen-regent, whose ends were always violent, but who endeavoured, by subtlety and policy, rather than force, to attain them, led her to embrace any plausible terms; and, in spite of the protestations of the admiral, whose sagacity could easily discover the treachery of the court, the articles of agreement were finally settled between the parties. A toleration, under some restrictions, was anew granted to the protestants; a general amnesty was published; Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments; and after money was advanced for the payment of arrears due to the German troops, they were dismissed the kingdom.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé it had been stipulated, that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was at present but little regarded by the leaders of the French protestants. They only comprehended her so far in the treaty, as to obtain a promise, that, on her relinquishing Havre, her charges, and the money which she had advanced them, should be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, should be restored to her. But she disdained to accept of these conditions; and thinking the possession of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpose, she sent Warwick orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers, had no sooner got possession of Havre, than he employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence; and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his soldiers to make the most desperate defence against the enemy. The constable commanded the French army; the queen-regent herself, and the king, were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterprise; the admiral and Andelot alone, anxious still to preserve the friendship of Elizabeth, kept at a distance, and prudently refused to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their allies.



From the force, and dispositions, and situations of both sides, it was expected that the siege would be attended with some memorable event; yet did France make a much easier acquisition of this important place, than was at first apprehended. The plague crept in among the English soldiers; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill supplied with provisions), it made such ravages, that sometimes a hundred men a day died of it, and there remained not at last fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty. The French, meeting with such feeble resistance, carried on their attacks successfully; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, they prepared for a general assault, which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison. Warwick, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loud demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. The articles were no sooner signed, than Lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men; and found the place surrendered to the enemy. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thousand persons there died of it in one year.

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had not appeared in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the hugenots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England. It was agreed that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored for 220,000 crowns; and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions.

This year the council of Trent was dissolved, which had sitted from 1545. The publication of its decrees excited anew the general ferment in Europe; while the catholics endeavoured to enforce the acceptance of them, and the protestants rejected them. The religious controversies were too far advanced to expect that any conviction would result from the decrees of this council. It is the only general council which has been held in an age truly learned and inquisitive; and as the history of it has been written with great penetration and judgment, it has tended very much to expose clerical usurpations and intrigues, and may serve us as a specimen of more ancient councils. No one expects to see another general council, till the decay of learning and the progress of ignorance shall again fit mankind for these great impostures.

The peace still continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. These princesses made profession of the most entire affection; wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. Elizabeth punished one Hales, who had published a book against Mary's title; and as the lord-keeper Bacon was thought to have encouraged Hales in this undertaking, he fell under her displeasure, and it was with some difficulty he was able to give her satisfaction, and recover her favour. The two queens had agreed in the foregoing summer to an interview at York; in order to

remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to consider of the proper method for settling the succession of England; but as Elizabeth carefully avoided touching on this delicate subject, she employed a pretence of the wars in France, which, she said, would detain her in London; and she delayed till next year the intended interview. It is also probable, that, being well acquainted with the beauty and address and accomplishments of Mary, she did not choose to stand the comparison with regard to those exterior qualities, in which she was eclipsed by her rival; and was unwilling, that a princess, who had already made great progress in the esteem and affections of the English, should have a further opportunity of increasing the number of her partisans.

Mary's close connexions with the house of Guise, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom she had been early educated and constantly protected, was the ground of just and unsurmountable jealousy to Elizabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. They had made offer of their niece to Don Carlos, Philip's son; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the Archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might easily be freed by a dispensation; and they were ready to marry her to any one who could strengthen their interests, or give inquietude and disturbance to Elizabeth. Elizabeth on her part was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their schemes, and was particularly anxious, lest Mary should form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretensions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the side where it was weakest and lay most exposed. As she believed that the marriage with the Archduke Charles was the one most likely to have place, she used every expedient to prevent it; and besides remonstrating against it to Mary herself, she endeavoured to draw off the archduke from that pursuit, by giving him some hopes of success in his pretensions to herself, and by inviting him to a renewal of the former treaty of marriage. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would satisfy her but her espousing some English nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealousy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and she offered on this condition to have her title examined, and to declare her successor to the crown. After keeping the matter in these general terms during a twelvemonth, she at last named Lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary's choice should fall.

The earl of Leicester, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, possessed all those exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex; a handsome person, a polite address, an insinuating behaviour; and by means of these accomplishments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, insolent, interested, ambitious; without honour, without generosity, without humanity; and atoned not for these bad qualities, by such abilities or courage, as could fit him for that high trust and confidence with which she always honoured him. Her constant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him

to aspire to her bed: and in order to make way for these nuptials, he was universally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heiress of one Robesart. The proposal of espousing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always ascribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who, he thought, intended by that artifice to make him lose the friendship of Mary from the temerity of his pretensions, and that of Elizabeth from jealousy of his attachments to another woman. The queen herself had not any serious intention of effecting this marriage; but as she was desirous that the queen of Scots should never have any husband, she named a man, who, she believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and she hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leicester was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the prospect of being declared successor to the crown, seemed at last to hearken to Elizabeth's proposal, this princess receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait which she had thrown out to her rival. This duplicity of conduct, joined to some appearance of an imperious superiority, assumed by her, had drawn a peevish letter from Mary; and the seemingly amicable correspondence between the two queens was, during some time, interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots dispatched Sir James Melvil to London; who has given us in his memoirs a particular account of his negotiation.

Melvil was an agreeable courtier, a man of address and conversation; and it was recommended to him by his mistress, that, besides grave reasonings concerning politics and state-affairs, he should introduce more entertaining topics of conversation, suitable to the sprightly character of Elizabeth; and should endeavour by that means to insinuate himself into her confidence. He succeeded so well, that he threw that artful princess entirely off her guard; and made her discover the bottom of her heart, full of all those levities and follies and ideas of rivalry, which possess the youngest and most frivolous of her sex. He talked to her of his travels, and forgot not to mention the different dresses of the ladies in different countries, and the particular advantages of each, in setting off the beauties of the shape and person. The queen said, that she had dresses of all countries; and she took care thenceforth to meet the ambassador every day apparelled in a different habit: sometimes she was dressed in the English garb, sometimes in the French, sometimes in the Italian; and she asked him, which of them became her most? He answered, the Italian; a reply that, he knew, would be agreeable to her, because that mode showed to advantage her flowing locks, which he remarked, though they were more red than yellow, she fancied to be the finest in the world. She desired to know of him what was reputed the best colour of hair: she asked whether his queen or she had the finest hair: she even inquired which of them he esteemed the fairest person: a very delicate question, and which he prudently eluded, by saying, that her majesty was the fairest person in England, and his mistress in Scotland. She next demanded which of them was tallest: he replied, his queen: then she is too tall, said Elizabeth: for I myself am of a just stature. Having learned from him, that his mistress sometimes recreated herself by playing on the harpsichord, an instrument on which she herself excelled, she gave orders to Lord Hunsdon, that

he should lead the ambassador, as it were casually, into an apartment, where he might hear her perform; and when Melvil, as if ravished with the harmony, broke into the queen's apartment, she pretended to be displeased with his intrusion; but still took care to ask him whether he thought Mary or her the best performer on that instrument? From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil thought he might, on his return, assure his mistress, that she had no reason ever to expect any cordial friendship from Elizabeth, and that all her professions of amity were full of falsehood and dissimulation.

After two years had been spent in evasions and artifices, Mary's subjects and counsellors, and probably herself, began to think it full time that some marriage were concluded; and Lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, was the person in whom most men's opinions and wishes centered. He was Mary's cousin-german, by the Lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had constantly resided, since he had been banished by the prevailing power of the house of Hamilton: and as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely person, tall and delicately shaped, it was hoped that he might soon render himself agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was also by his father a branch of the same family with herself; and would, in espousing her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart he was, after her, next heir to the crown of England and those who pretended to exclude her on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It seemed no inconsiderable advantage, that she could, by marrying, unite both their claims; and as he was by birth an Englishman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of suspicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped that the proposal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princess.

Elizabeth was well informed of these intentions; and was secretly not displeased with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots. She would rather have wished that Mary had continued for ever in a single life: but finding little probability of rendering this scheme effectual, she was satisfied with a choice, which freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the necessity of parting with Leicester, her favourite. In order to pave the way to Darnley's marriage, she secretly desired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverse his attainder, and to restore him to his honours and fortune. And when her request was complied with, she took care, in order to preserve the friendship of the Hamiltons and her other partisans in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of Mary. Hearing that the negotiation for Darnley's marriage advanced apace, she gave that nobleman permission, on his first application, to follow his father into Scotland: but no sooner did she learn that the queen of Scots was taken with his figure and person, and that all measures were fixed for espousing him, than she exclaimed against the marriage; sent Throgmorton to order Darnley immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the countess of Lenox and her second son into the Tower, where they suffered a rigorous confinement; seized all Lenox's English estate, and though it was impossible for her to assign one single reason for her displeasure she menaced, and



protested, and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous injury in the world.

The politics of Elizabeth, though judicious, were usually full of duplicity and artifice; but never more so than in her transactions with the queen of Scots, where there entered so many little passions and narrow jealousies, that she durst not avow to the world the reasons of her conduct, scarcely to her ministers, and scarcely even to herself. But besides a womanish rivalry and envy against the marriage of this princess, she had some motives of interest for feigning a displeasure on the present occasion. It served her as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England; a point to which, for good reasons, she was determined never to consent. And it was useful to her for a purpose still more unfriendly and dangerous, for encouraging the discontents and rebellion of the Scottish nobility and ecclesiastics.

We shall here relate only those affairs of Scotland that are necessary to illustrate the transactions of our own government, as the history of that kingdom will be given separately. Of the dissensions which took place then on account of religion, it is sufficient to say, that the same ground of discontent, which, in other courts, is the source of intrigue, faction, and opposition, commonly produced in Scotland, either projects of assassination, or of rebellion; and besides mutual accusations of the former kind, which it is difficult to clear up, the malcontent lords, as soon as they saw the queen's marriage entirely resolved on, entered into a confederacy for taking arms against their sovereign. They met at Stirling; pretended an anxious concern for the security of religion; framed engagements for mutual defence; and made applications to Elizabeth for assistance and protection. That princess, after publishing the expressions of her displeasure against the marriage, had secretly ordered her ambassadors Randolph and Throgmorton, to give in her name some promises of support to the malcontents; and had even sent them a supply of ten thousand pounds, to enable them to begin an insurrection.

Mary was no sooner informed of the meeting at Stirling, and the movements of the lords, than she summoned them to appear in court, in order to answer for their conduct; and having levied some forces to execute the laws, she obliged the rebels to leave the low countries, and take shelter in Argyleshire. That she might more effectually cut off their resources, she proceeded with the king to Glasgow, and forced them from their retreat. They appeared at Paisley in the neighbourhood with about a thousand horse; and passing the queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton, thence to Edinburgh, which they entered without resistance. They expected great reinforcements in this place, from the efforts of Knox and the seditious preachers; and they beat their drums, desiring all men to enlist, and to receive wages for the defence of God's glory. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion. Mary was esteemed and beloved: her marriage was not generally disagreeable to the people: and the interested views of the malcontent lords were so well known, that their pretence of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army: the rebels were obliged to retire into the south; when being pursued by a force which now amounted to eighteen thousand men, they found themselves under a necessity of abandoning their country, and of taking shelter in England.

Elizabeth, when she found the event so much to disappoint her expectations, thought proper to disavow all connexions with the Scottish malcontents, and to declare every where, that she had never given them any encouragement, nor any promise of countenance or assistance. She even carried further her dissimulation and hypocrisy. Murray had come to London, with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatelault; and she seduced them, by secret assurances of protection, to declare, before the ambassadors of France and Spain, that she had nowise contributed to their insurrection. No sooner had she extorted this confession from them, than she chased them from her presence, called them unworthy traitors, declared that their detestable rebellion was of bad example to all princes; and assured them, that as she had hitherto given them no encouragement, so should they never thenceforth receive from her any assistance or protection. Throgmorton alone, whose honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part which he had acted in the enterprise of the Scottish rebels; and being well apprised of the usual character and conduct of Elizabeth, he had had the precaution to obtain an order of council to authorize the engagements which he had been obliged to make with them.

The banished lords finding themselves so harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign; and after some solicitation and some professions of sincere repentance, the duke of Chatelault obtained his pardon, on condition that he should retire into France. Mary was more implacable against the ungrateful earl of Murray and the other confederates, on whom she threw the chief blame of the enterprise; but as she was continually plied with applications from their friends, and as some of her most judicious partisans in England thought that nothing would more promote her interests in that kingdom, than the gentle treatment of men so celebrated for their zeal against the catholic religion; she agreed to give way to her natural temper, which inclined not to severity, and she seemed determined to restore them to favour. In this interval, Rambouillet arrived as ambassador from France, and brought her advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, to whose opinion she always paid an extreme deference, by no means to pardon these protestant leaders, who had been engaged in a rebellion against her.

The two religions, in France, as well as in other parts of Europe, were rather irritated than tired with their acts of mutual violence; and the peace granted to the hugonots, as had been foreseen by Coligni, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. The queen-regent made a pretence of travelling through the kingdom, in order to visit the provinces, and correct all the abuses arising from the late civil war; and after having held some conferences on the frontiers with the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Savoy, she came to Bayonne, where she was met by her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the congress of these two splendid courts, but gaiety, festivity, love, and joy; but amidst these smiling appearances were secretly fabricated schemes the most bloody, and the most destructive to the repose of mankind, that had ever been thought of in any age or nation. No less than a total and universal extermination of the protestants by fire and sword was concerted by Philip and Catherine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeably to his fierce and sanguinary

disposition, advised the queen-regent to commence the execution of this project, by the immediate massacre of all the leaders of the hugonots. But that princess, though equally hardened against every humane sentiment, would not forgo this opportunity of displaying her wit and refined politics; and she purposed, rather by treachery and dissimulation, which she called address, to lead the protestants into the snare, and never to draw the sword till they were totally disabled from resistance. The cardinal of Lorraine, whose character bore a greater affinity to that of Alva, was a chief author of this barbarous association against the reformers; and having connected hopes of success with the aggrandizement of his niece, the queen of Scots, he took care, that her measures should correspond to those violent counsels which were embraced by the other catholic princes. In consequence of this scheme, he turned her from the road of clemency which she intended to have followed; and made her resolve on the total ruin of the banished lords. A parliament was summoned at Edinburgh for attainting them; and as their guilt was palpable and avowed, no doubt was entertained but sentence would be pronounced against them. It was by a sudden and violent incident, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were saved from the rigour of the law.

The hatred of Mary towards her husband, the jealousy of the king's partisans of Rizzio, and his subsequent murder, are matters, the details of which appear to us to belong to Scottish history; and we shall therefore pass them over.

The vengeance of the queen of Scots, for the murder of her favourite Rizzio, was implacable against her husband alone, whose person was before disagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and duty, had now drawn on him the highest resentment. She engaged him to disown all connexions with the assassins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publish a proclamation containing a falsehood so notorious to the whole world; and having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation. As if she had been making an escape from him, she suddenly withdrew to Alloa, a seat of the earl of Marre's; and when Henry followed her thither, she suddenly returned to Edinburgh; and gave him every where the strongest proofs of displeasure, and even of antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and she was pleased, that his mean equipage and small train of attendants should draw on him the contempt of the very populace. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a son; and as this was very important news to England, as well as to Scotland, she immediately dispatched Sir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Melvil tells us, that this princess, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was displaying all that spirit and alacrity, which usually attended her on these occasions: but when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped: she sunk into melancholy; she reclined her head upon her arm; and complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock. Next day, however, at the recep-

tion of the ambassador, she resumed her former dissimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haste he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expressed the utmost cordiality and friendship to her sister. Some time after she dispatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinsman George Cary, son of Lord Hunsdon, in order to officiate at the baptism of the young prince; and she sent by them some magnificent presents to the queen of Scots.

The birth of a son gave additional zeal to Mary's partisans in England; and even men of the most opposite parties began to cry aloud for some settlement of the succession. These humours broke out with great vehemence in a new session of parliament, held after six prorogations. The house of peers, which had hitherto forbore to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the house of commons soon after imitated the zeal of the lords. Molineux opened the matter in the lower house, and proposed that the question of the succession and that of supply should go hand in hand; as if it were intended to constrain the queen to a compliance with the request of her parliament. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate: Sir Ralph Sadler told the house, that he had heard the queen positively affirm, that, for the good of her people, she was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil and Sir Francis Knollys gave their testimony to the same purpose; as did also Sir Ambrose Cave, chancellor of the duchy, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the household. Elizabeth's ambitious and masculine character was so well known, that few members gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was considered merely as an artifice, by which she endeavoured to retract that positive declaration which she had made in the beginning of her reign, that she meant to live and die a virgin. The ministers, therefore, gained nothing further by this piece of policy, than only to engage the house, for the sake of decency, to join the question of the queen's marriage with that of a settlement of the crown; and the commons were proceeding with great earnestness in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when express orders were brought them from Elizabeth not to proceed further in the matter. Cecil told them, that she pledged to the house the word of a queen for her sincerity in her intentions to marry; that the appointment of a successor would be attended with great danger to her person; that she herself had had experience, during the reign of her sister, how much court was usually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous sacrifices men were commonly disposed to make of their present duty to their future prospects; and that she was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the decision of that important question. The house was not satisfied with these reasons, and still less with the command, prohibiting them all debate on the subject. Paul Wentworth, a spirited member, went so far as to question whether such a prohibition were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the house. Some even ventured to violate that profound respect which had hitherto been preserved to the queen; and they affirmed that she was bound in duty, not only to provide for the happiness of her subjects during her own life, but also to pay regard to their future security, by fixing a successor; that, by an opposite conduct, she showed herself the step-mother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would seem desirous, that England



should no longer subsist than she should enjoy the glory and satisfaction of governing it; that none but timorous princes, or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever stood in fear of their successors; and that the affections of the people were a firm and impregnable rampart to every sovereign who, laying aside all artifice or by-ends, had courage and magnanimity to put his whole trust in that honourable and sure defence. The queen, hearing of these debates, sent for the speaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, she bade him inform the house, that if any member remained still unsatisfied, he might appear before the privy-council, and there give his reasons. As the members showed a disposition, notwithstanding these peremptory orders, still to proceed upon the question, Elizabeth thought proper, by a message, to revoke them, and to allow the house liberty of debate. They were so mollified by this gracious condescension, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmness and temper; and they even voted her a supply, to be levied at three payments, of a subsidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. The queen soon after dissolved the parliament, and told them, with some sharpness in the conclusion, that their proceedings had contained much dissimulation and artifice; that, under the plausible pretences of marriage and succession, many of them covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that, however, she reaped this advantage from the attempts of these men, that she could now distinguish her friends from her enemies. "But do you think," added she, "that I am unmindful of your future security, or will be negligent in settling the succession? That is the chief object of my concern; as I know myself to be liable to mortality. Or do you apprehend, that I meant to encroach on your liberties? No: it was never my meaning; I only intended to stop you before you approached the precipice. All things have their time; and though you may be blessed with a sovereign more wise or more learned than I, yet I assure you, that no one will ever rule over you, who shall be more careful of your safety. And therefore henceforward, whether I live to see the like assembly or no, or whoever holds the reins of government, let me warn you to beware of provoking your sovereign's patience, so far as you have done mine. But I shall now conclude, that, notwithstanding the disgust I have received (for I mean not to part with you in anger), the greater part of you may assure themselves that they go home in their prince's good graces."

Elizabeth carried further her dignity on this occasion. She had received the subsidy without any condition; but as it was believed, that the commons had given her that gratuity with a view of engaging her to yield to their requests, she thought proper, on her refusal, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and she said, that money in her subjects' purses was as good to her as in her own exchequer.

But though the queen was able to elude, for the present, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day in England; and besides the catholics, many of whom kept a treasonable correspondence with her, and were ready to rise at her command, the court itself of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partisans. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and most of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. None but the more

zealous protestants adhered either to the countess of Hertford, or to her aunt, Eleanor, countess of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former seemed liable to some objections, and had been declared invalid, men were alarmed, even on that side, with the prospect of new disputes concerning the succession. Mary's behaviour also, so moderate towards the protestants, and so gracious towards all men, had procured her universal respect; and the public was willing to ascribe any imprudences, into which she had fallen, to her youth and inexperience. But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, or atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and ruin.

We are anxious on all occasions to avoid controversy, but more particularly so on matters that do not come within the scope of the particular subject treated of; we shall therefore not here enter into the details of Mary queen of Scotland's conduct. Suffice it to say, that her husband the king (Darnley) was lodged in a house which was blown up by gunpowder; that his dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contusion, or violence appeared upon it.

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture soon pointed towards the earl of Bothwell as the author of the crime. But as his favour with Mary was visible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his sentiments; and all men remained in silence and mute astonishment. Voices, however, were heard in the streets, during the darkness of the night, proclaiming Bothwell, and even Mary herself, to be the murderers of the king; bills were secretly affixed on the walls to the same purpose; offers were made, that upon giving proper securities, his guilt should be openly proved. But after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one that would discover the author of that villany, greater vigilance was employed in searching out the spreaders of the libels and reports against Bothwell and the queen, than in tracing the contrivers of the king's assassination, or detecting the regicides.

The country was thrown into a dreadful state of commotion, which was heightened and continued by the queen's marrying Bothwell, who was obliged first to be divorced from his wife.

The marriage was solemnized by the bishop of Orkney, a protestant, who was afterwards deposed by the church for this scandalous compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the ceremony: most of them, having either from shame or fear, retired to their own houses. The French ambassador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependant of the house of Guise, to countenance the marriage by his presence. Elizabeth remonstrated, by friendly letters and messages, against the marriage: the court of France made like opposition; but Mary, though on all other occasions she was extremely obsequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion.

The news of these transactions, being carried to foreign countries, filled Europe with amazement, and threw infamy, not only on the principal actors in them, but also on the whole nation. Resort was soon had to arms, and the queen fell into the hands of an enraged faction, and met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects who have their future security to provide for, as well

as their present animosity to gratify. It is pretended, that she behaved with a spirit very little suitable to her condition, avowed her inviolable attachment to Bothwell, and even wrote him a letter, which the lords intercepted, wherein she declared, that she would endure any extremity, nay resign her dignity and crown itself, rather than relinquish his affections. The malcontents, finding the danger to which they were exposed, in case Mary should finally prevail, thought themselves obliged to proceed with rigour against her; and they sent her under a guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a lake of that name. The mistress of the house was mother to the earl of Murray; and as she pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, she naturally bore an animosity to Mary, and treated her with the utmost harshness and severity.

Elizabeth was fully informed of all these incidents, and all her fears and jealousies being now laid asleep, by the consideration of that ruin and infamy in which Mary's conduct had involved her, she began to reflect on the precarious state of royal grandeur, and the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects; and she resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords; and she gave him instructions, which, though mixed with some lofty pretensions, were full of that good sense which was so natural to her, and of that generosity which the present interesting conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare in her name to Mary, that the late conduct of that princess, so enormous and in every respect so unjustifiable, had given her the highest offence; and though she felt the movements of pity towards her, she had once determined never to interpose in her affairs, either by advice or assistance, but to abandon her entirely, as a person whose condition was totally desperate, and honour irretrievable: that she was well assured that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had embraced the same resolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender sympathy, and had made her adopt measures more favourable to the liberty and interests of the unhappy queen: that she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects, but would employ all her good offices, and even her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in such a condition as would at once be compatible with her dignity, and the safety of her subjects: that she conjured her to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, except against the murderers of her husband; and as she herself was his near relation, she was better entitled than the subjects of Mary to interpose her authority on that head, and she therefore besought that princess, if she had any regard to her own honour and safety, not to oppose so just and reasonable a demand: that after those two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the punishment of her husband's assassins, the safety of her infant son was next to be considered; and there seemed no expedient more proper for that purpose, than sending him to be educated in England: and that, besides the security which would attend his removal from a scene of faction and convulsions, there were many other beneficial consequences, which it was easy to foresee as the result of his education in that country.

The remonstrances which Throgmorton was instructed to make to the associated lords, were entirely conformable to these sentiments which Eliza-

beth entertained in Mary's favour. She empowered him to tell them, that, whatever blame she might throw on Mary's conduct, any opposition to their sovereign was totally unjustifiable, and incompatible with all order and good government: that it belonged not to them to reform, much less to punish, the mal-administration of their prince; and the only arms which subjects could in any case lawfully employ against the supreme authority, were entreaties, counsels, and representations: that if these expedients failed, they were next to appeal by their prayers to Heaven; and to wait with patience till the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of princes, should be pleased to turn them to justice and to mercy: that she inculcated not this doctrine, because she herself was interested in its observance; but because it was universally received in all well-governed states, and was essential to the preservation of civil society: that she required them to restore their queen to liberty; and promised, in that case, to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government, for punishing the king's murderers, and for guarding the life and liberty of the infant prince: and that if the services, which she had lately rendered the Scottish nation, in protecting them from foreign usurpation, were duly considered by them, they would repose confidence in her good offices, and would esteem themselves blame-worthy in having hitherto made no application to her.

Elizabeth, besides these remonstrances, sent, by Throgmorton, some articles of accommodation, which he was to propose to both parties, as expedients for the settlement of public affairs; and though these articles contained some important restraints on the sovereign power, they were in the main calculated for Mary's advantage, and were sufficiently indulgent to her. The associated lords, who determined to proceed with greater severity, were apprehensive of Elizabeth's partiality; and being sensible that Mary would take courage from the protection of that powerful princess, they thought proper, after several affected delays, to refuse the English ambassador all access to her. There were four different schemes proposed in Scotland, for the treatment of the captive queen; one, that she should be restored to her authority under very strict limitations: the second, that she should be obliged to resign her crown to the prince, be banished the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England, with assurances from the sovereign, in whose dominions she should reside, that she should make no attempts to the disturbance of the established government: the third, that she should be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment: the fourth was still more severe, and required, that, after her trial and condemnation, capital punishment should be inflicted upon her. Throgmorton supported the mildest proposal; but though he promised his mistress's guarantee for the performance of articles, threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in case of refusal, and warned them not to draw on themselves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon their queen; he found that, excepting Secretary Liddington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders. All counsels seemed to tend towards the more severe expedients; and the preachers, in particular, drawing their examples from the rigorous maxims of the Old Testament, which can only be warranted by particular revela-



tions, inflamed the minds of the people against their unhappy sovereign.

There were several pretenders to the regency of the young prince after the intended deposition of Mary. The earl of Lenox claimed that authority as grandfather to the prince: the duke of Chatelrault, who was absent in France, had pretensions as next heir to the crown: but the greatest number of the associated lords inclined to the earl of Murray, in whose capacity they had entire trust, and who possessed the confidence of the preachers and more zealous reformers. All measures being therefore concerted, three instruments were sent to Mary, by the hands of Lord Lindsey and Sir Robert Melvil; by one of which she was to resign the crown in favour of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to make a council, which should administer the government till his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief, lying justly under apprehensions for her life, and believing that no deed which she executed during her captivity could be valid, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to sign these three instruments; and she took not the trouble of inspecting any one of them. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. He was soon afterwards crowned at Stirling, and the earl of Morton took in his name the coronation oath; in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. Some republican pretensions in favour of the people's power were countenanced in this ceremony; and a coin was soon after struck, on which the famous saying of Trajan was inscribed, *Pro me; si merear, in me*: "For me; if I deserve it, against me." Throgmorton had orders from his mistress not to assist at the coronation of the king of Scots.

The council of regency had not long occasion to exercise their authority. The earl of Murray arrived from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen; and spoke to her in a manner which better suited her past conduct than her present condition. This harsh treatment quite extinguished in her breast any remains of affection towards him. Murray proceeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He summoned a parliament; and that assembly, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent. The regent, a man of vigour and abilities, employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed Sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh: he constrained the garrison of Dunbar to open their gates; and he demolished that fortress.

But though every thing thus bore a favourable aspect to the new government, and all men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority; a violent revolution, however necessary, can never be effected without great discontents; and it was not likely that, in a country where the government, in its most settled state, possessed a very disjointed authority, a new establishment should meet with no interruption or disturbance. Few considerable men of the nation seemed willing to support Mary, so long as Bothwell was present; but the removal of that obnoxious nobleman had altered the sentiments of many. The duke of Chatelrault, being disappointed of the regency, bore no good-will to Murray; and the same sentiments were embraced by all his

numerous retainers. Several of the nobility, finding that others had taken the lead among the associators, formed a faction apart, and opposed the prevailing power: and besides their being moved by some remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the malcontent lords, observing every thing carried to extremity against her, were naturally led to embrace her cause, and shelter themselves under her authority. All who retained any propensity to the catholic religion, were induced to join this party; and even the people in general, though they had formerly either detested Mary's crimes, or blamed her imprudence, were now inclined to compassionate her present situation, and lamented that a person, possessed of so many amiable accomplishments, joined to such high dignity, should be treated with such extreme severity. Animated by all these motives, many of the principal nobility, now adherents to the queen of Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of that princess.

While these humours were in fermentation, Mary was employed in contrivances for effecting her escape; and she engaged, by her charms and caresses, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to assist her in that enterprise. She even went so far as to give him hopes of espousing her, after her marriage with Bothwell should be dissolved on the plea of force; and she proposed this expedient to the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however, persevered in his endeavours to free her from captivity; and having all opportunities of access to the house, he was at last successful in the undertaking. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival in that place being immediately spread abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with their forces. A bond of association for her defence was signed by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglington, Crawford, Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, nine bishops, and nine barons, besides many of the most considerable gentry. And in a few days an army, to the number of six thousand men, was assembled under her standard.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of Mary's escape, than she discovered her resolution of persevering in the same generous and friendly measures which she had hitherto pursued. If she had not employed force against the regent, during the imprisonment of that princess, she had been chiefly withheld by the fear of pushing him to greater extremities against her; but she had proposed to the court of France an expedient, which, though less violent, would have been no less effectual for her service: she desired that France and England should by concert cut off all commerce with the Scots, till they should do justice to their injured sovereign. She now dispatched Leighton into Scotland to offer both her good offices, and the assistance of her forces to Mary; but as she apprehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, she desired that the controversy between the queen of Scots and her subjects might by that princess be referred entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign succours should be introduced into Scotland.

But Elizabeth had not leisure to exert fully her efforts in favour of Mary. The regent made haste to assemble forces; and notwithstanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive in favour of the regent; and though Murray

after his victory, stopped the bloodshed, yet was the action followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess fled southward from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England. She here deliberated concerning her next measures, which would probably prove so important to her future happiness or misery. She found it impossible to remain in her own kingdom: she had an aversion, in her present wretched condition, to return into France, where she had formerly appeared with so much splendour; and she was not, besides, provided with a vessel, which could safely convey her thither: the late generous behaviour of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even assistance, from that quarter; and as the present fears from her domestic enemies were the most urgent, she overlooked all other considerations, and embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle; whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London; notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in consequence of former professions of friendship made her by that princess.

Elizabeth now found herself in a situation when it was become necessary to take some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and as she had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generosity than of policy, she was engaged by that prudent minister to weigh anew all the considerations which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He represented, that the party which had dethroned Mary, and had at present assumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the English alliance, and was engaged, by all the motives of religion and of interest, to persevere in their connexion with Elizabeth: that though Murray and his friends might complain of some unkind usage during their banishment in England, they would easily forget these grounds of quarrel, when they reflected that Elizabeth was the only ally on whom they could safely rely, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the catholic faith, and by her other connexions, excluded them entirely from the friendship of France, and even from that of Spain: that Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her protestant subjects, was in secret entirely governed by the counsels of the house of Guise; much more would she implicitly comply with their views, when, by her own ill conduct, the power of that family and of the zealous catholics was become her sole resource and security: that her pretensions to the English crown would render her a dangerous instrument in their hands; and, were she once able to suppress the protestants in her own kingdom, she would unite the Scottish and English catholics, with those of all foreign states, in a confederacy against the religion and government of England: that it behoved Elizabeth, therefore, to proceed with caution in the design of restoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterprise, if undertaken, should be effected by English forces alone, and that full securities should beforehand be provided for the reformers and the reformation in Scotland: that above all, it was necessary to guard carefully the person of that princess; lest, finding this unexpected reserve in the English friendship, she should suddenly take the resolution of flying

into France, and should attempt, by foreign force, to recover possession of her authority: that her desperate fortunes and broken reputation fitted her for any attempt; and her resentment, when she should find herself thus deserted by the queen, would concur with her ambition and her bigotry, and render her an unrelenting, as well as powerful, enemy to the English government: that if she were once abroad, in the hands of enterprising catholics, the attack on England would appear to her as easy as that on Scotland; and the only method, she must imagine, of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown, to which she would deem herself equally entitled: that a neutrality in such interesting situations, though it might be pretended, could never, without most extreme danger, be upheld by the queen; and the detention of Mary was equally requisite, whether the power of England were to be employed in her favour, or against her: that nothing, indeed, was more becoming a great prince than generosity; yet the suggestions of this noble principle could never, without imprudence, be consulted in such delicate circumstances as those in which the queen was at present placed; where her own safety and the interests of her people were intimately concerned in every resolution which she embraced: that though the example of successful rebellion, especially in a neighbouring country, could nowise be agreeable to any sovereign, yet Mary's imprudence had been so great, perhaps her crimes so enormous, that the insurrection of subjects, after such provocation, could no longer be regarded as a precedent against other princes: that it was first necessary for Elizabeth to ascertain in a regular and satisfactory manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence to determine the degree of protection which she ought to afford her against her discontented subjects: that as no glory could surpass that of defending oppressed innocence, it was equally infamous to patronize vice and murder on the throne; and the contagion of such dishonour would extend itself to all who countenanced, or supported it: and that, if the crimes of the Scottish princess should, on inquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every measure against her, which policy should dictate, would thence be justified; or if she should be found innocent, every enterprise, which friendship should inspire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious.

Agreeably to these views, Elizabeth resolved to proceed in a seemingly generous, but really cautious manner with the queen of Scots; and she immediately sent orders to Lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend to that princess. Soon after, she dispatched to her Lord Scrope himself, warden of the marches, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the castle of Carlisle; and, after expressing the queen's sympathy with her in her late misfortunes, they told her, that her request of being allowed to visit their sovereign, and of being admitted to her presence, could not at present be complied with: till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused, Elizabeth could not, without dishonour, show her any countenance, or appear indifferent to the assassination of so near a kinsman. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration, that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend.



Two days after she sent Lord Herries to London with a letter to the same purpose.

This concession, which Mary could scarcely avoid without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and desired by Elizabeth: she immediately dispatched Midlemore to the regent of Scotland; requiring him both to desist from the further prosecution of his queen's party, and send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might justly be startled at receiving a message so violent and imperious; but as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he was resolved rather to digest the affront than to provoke Elizabeth by a refusal. He also considered, that though that queen had hitherto appeared partial to Mary, many political motives evidently engaged her to support the king's cause in Scotland; and it was not to be doubted but so penetrating a princess would in the end discover this interest, and would at least afford him a patient and equitable hearing. He therefore replied that he would himself take a journey to England, attended by other commissioners; and would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth.

Lord Herries now perceived, that his mistress had advanced too far in her concessions: he endeavoured to maintain, that Mary could not, without diminution of her royal dignity, submit to a contest with her rebellious subjects before a foreign prince; and he required either present aid from England, or liberty for his queen to pass over into France. Being pressed, however, with the former agreement before the English council, he again renewed his consent; but in a few days he began anew to recoil; and it was with some difficulty that he was brought to acquiesce in the first determination. These fluctuations, which were incessantly renewed, showed his visible reluctance to the measures pursued by the court of England.

The queen of Scots discovered no less aversion to the trial proposed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her persevere in the agreement to which she at first consented. This latter princess still said to her, that she desired not, without Mary's consent or approbation, to enter into the question, and pretended only, as a friend, to hear her justification: that she was confident there would be found no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and even if her apology should fall short of full conviction, Elizabeth was determined to support her cause, and procure her some reasonable terms of accommodation: and that it was never meant, that she should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but on the contrary, that they should be summoned to appear, and to justify themselves for their conduct towards her. Allured by these plausible professions, the queen of Scots agreed to vindicate herself by her own commissioners before commissioners appointed by Elizabeth.

During these transactions Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knolles, who resided with Mary at Carlisle, had leisure to study her character, and make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by her misfortunes, resolute in her purpose, active in her enterprises, she aspired to nothing but victory; and was determined to endure any extremity, to undergo any difficulty, and to try every fortune, rather than abandon her cause, or yield the superiority to her enemies. Eloquent, insinuating, affable; she had already convinced all those who approached her, of

the innocence of her past conduct; and as she declared her fixed purpose to require aid of her friends all over Europe, and even to have recourse to infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of vengeance against her persecutors, it was easy to foresee the danger to which her charms, her spirit, her address, if allowed to operate with their full force, would expose them. The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, detained her prisoner, were determined to watch her with greater vigilance. As Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her escape, they removed her to Bolton, a seat of Lord Scrope's in Yorkshire: and the issue of the controversy between her and the Scottish nation was regarded as a subject more momentous to Elizabeth's security and interests, than it had hitherto been apprehended.

The commissioners appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the Lords Herries, Levingstone, and Boyde, with three persons more, appeared as commissioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, Lord Lindesey, and the abbot of Dunfermling, were appointed commissioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Liddington, George Buchanan, the famous poet and historian, with some others, were named as their assistants.

It was a great circumstance in Elizabeth's glory that she was thus chosen umpire between the factions of a neighbouring kingdom, which had during many centuries entertained the most violent jealousy and animosity against England; and her felicity was equally rare, in having the fortunes and fame of so dangerous a rival, who had long given her the greatest inquietude, now entirely at her disposal. Some circumstances of her late conduct had discovered a bias towards the side of Mary: her prevailing interests led her to favour the enemies of that princess: the professions of impartiality, which she had made, were open and frequent; and she had so far succeeded, that each side accused her commissioners of partiality towards their adversaries. She herself appears, by the instructions given them, to have fixed no plan for the decision; but she knew that the advantages which she should reap, must be great, whatever issue the cause might take. If Mary's crimes could be ascertained by undoubted proof, she could for ever blast the reputation of that princess, and might justifiably detain her for ever a prisoner in England: if the evidence fell short of conviction, it was intended to restore her to the throne, but with such strict limitations as would leave Elizabeth perpetual arbiter of all differences between the parties in Scotland, and render her in effect absolute mistress of the kingdom.

Mary's commissioners, before they gave in their complaints against their enemies in Scotland, entered a protest, that their appearance in the cause should nowise affect the independence of her crown, or be construed as a mark of subordination to England: the English commissioners received this protest, but with a reserve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princess was next read, and contained a detail of the injuries which she had suffered since her marriage with Bothwell: that her subjects had taken arms against her, on pretence of freeing her from captivity; that when she put her-

self into their hands, they had committed her to close custody in Lochleven; had placed her son, an infant, on her throne; had again taken arms against her after her deliverance from prison; had rejected all her proposals for accommodation; had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for the safety of her person, to take shelter in England. The earl of Murray, in answer to this complaint, gave a summary and imperfect account of the late transactions: that the earl of Bothwell, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after committing that crime, seized the person of the queen, and led her to Dunbar; that he acquired such influence over her as to gain her consent to marry him, and he had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate his nuptials with the queen; that the scandal of this transaction, the dishonour which it brought on the nation, the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the attempts of that audacious man, had obliged the nobility to take arms, and oppose his criminal enterprises; that after Mary, in order to save him, had thrown herself into their hands, she still discovered such a violent attachment to him, that they found it necessary, for their own and the public safety, to confine her person, during a season, till Bothwell and the other murderers of her husband could be tried and punished for their crimes; and that, during this confinement, she had voluntarily, without compulsion or violence, merely from disgust at the inquietude and vexations attending power, resigned her crown to her only son, and had appointed the earl of Murray regent during the minority. The queen's answer to this apology was obvious: that she did not know, and never could suspect, that Bothwell, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility for her husband, was the murderer of the king; that she ever was, and still continues, desirous that if he be guilty he may be brought to condign punishment; that her resignation of the crown was extorted from her by the well-grounded fears of her life, and even by direct menaces of violence; and that Throgmorton, the English ambassador, as well as others of her friends, had advised her to sign that paper, as the only means of saving herself from the last extremity, and had assured her that a consent, given under these circumstances, could never have any validity.

So far the queen of Scots seemed plainly to have the advantage in the contest: and the English commissioners might have been surprised that Murray had made so weak a defence, and had suppressed all the material imputations against that princess, on which his party had ever so strenuously insisted; had not some private conferences previously informed them of the secret. Mary's commissioners had boasted that Elizabeth, from regard to her kinswoman, and from her desire of maintaining the rights of sovereigns, was determined, how criminal soever the conduct of that princess might appear, to restore her to the throne; and Murray, reflecting on some past measures of the English court, began to apprehend that there were but too just grounds for these expectations. He believed that Mary, if he would agree to conceal the most violent part of the accusation against her, would submit to any reasonable terms of accommodation; but if he once proceeded so far as to charge her with the whole of her guilt, no composition could afterwards take place; and should she ever be restored either by the power of Elizabeth, or the assistance of her other friends,

he and his party must be exposed to her severe and implacable vengeance. He resolved, therefore, not to venture rashly on a measure which it would be impossible for him ever to recall; and he privately paid a visit to Norfolk and the other English commissioners, confessed his scruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and desired to have some security for Elizabeth's protection, in case that evidence should, upon examination, appear entirely satisfactory. Norfolk was not secretly displeased with these scruples of the regent. He had ever been a partisan of the queen of Scots: Secretary Liddington, who began also to incline to that party, and was a man of singular address and capacity, had engaged him to embrace further views in her favour, and even to think of espousing her: and though the duke confessed, that the proofs against Mary seemed to him unquestionable, he encouraged Murray in his present resolution, not to produce them publicly in the conferences before the English commissioners.

Norfolk, however, was obliged to transmit to court the queries proposed by the regent. These queries consisted of four particulars: whether the English commissioners had authority from their sovereign to pronounce sentence against Mary, in case her guilt should be fully proved before them? Whether they would promise to exercise that authority, and proceed to an actual sentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if she were found guilty, should be delivered into the hands of the regent, or, at least, be so secured in England, that she never should be able to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland? and, Whether Elizabeth would also, in that case, promise to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority?

Elizabeth, when these queries, with the other transactions, were laid before her, began to think that they pointed towards a conclusion more decisive and more advantageous than she had hitherto expected. She determined, therefore, to bring the matter into full light; and under pretext that the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of her commissioners, she ordered them to come to London, and there continue the conferences. On their appearance, she immediately joined in commission with them some of the most considerable of her council; Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, Lord Clinton, admiral, and Sir William Cecil, secretary. The queen of Scots, who knew nothing of these secret motives, and who expected that fear or decency would still restrain Murray from proceeding to any violent accusation against her, expressed an entire satisfaction in this adjournment; and declared that the affair, being under the immediate inspection of Elizabeth, was now in the hands where she most desired to rest it. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton-court; and Mary's commissioners, as before, made no scruple to be present at them.

The queen, meanwhile, gave a satisfactory answer to all Murray's demands, and declared, that though she wished and hoped, from the present inquiry, to be entirely convinced of Mary's innocence, yet if the event should prove contrary, and if that princess should appear guilty of her husband's murder, she should, for her own part, deem her for ever unworthy of a throne. The regent, encouraged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge against the queen of Scots, and, after expressing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, and protesting



that nothing but the necessity of self-defence, which must not be abandoned for any delicacy, could have engaged him in such a measure, he proceeded to accuse her in plain terms of participation and consent in the assassination of the king. The earl of Lenox too appeared before the English commissioners; and imploring vengeance for the murder of his son, accused Mary as an accomplice with Bothwell in that enormity.

When this charge was so unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were transmitted to the bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, and the other commissioners of Mary, they absolutely refused to return an answer; and they grounded their silence on very extraordinary reasons: they had orders, they said, from their mistress, if any thing were advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not be subject to any tribunal; and they required that she should previously be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify her innocence. They forgot that the conferences were at first begun, and were still continued, with no other view than to clear her from the accusations of her enemies; that Elizabeth had ever pretended to enter into them only as her friend, by her own consent and approbation, not as assuming any jurisdiction over her; that this princess had, from the beginning, refused to admit her to her presence, till she should vindicate herself from the crimes imputed to her; that she had therefore discovered no new signs of partiality by her perseverance in that resolution; and that though she had granted an audience to the earl of Murray and his colleagues, she had previously conferred the same honour on Mary's commissioners; and her conduct was so far entirely equal to both parties.

As the commissioners of the queen of Scots refused to give in any answer to Murray's charge, the necessary consequence seemed to be, that there could be no further proceedings in the conference. But though this silence might be interpreted as a presumption against her, it did not fully answer the purpose of those English ministers who were enemies to that princess. They still desired to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before the English commissioners; and reproved by them, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign: but though the earl of Murray, they added, and the other commissioners, had so far forgotten the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen never would overlook what she owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinswoman, and she therefore desired to know what they could say in their own justification. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scots; and among the rest, some love-letters and sonnets of her's to Bothwell, written all in her own hand, and two other papers, one written in her own hand, another subscribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley; each of which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwell, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman.

All these important papers had been kept by Bothwell in a silver box or casket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her first husband, Francis; and though the princess had enjoined him to burn the letters as soon as he had

read them, he had thought proper carefully to preserve them as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the custody of Sir James Balfour, deputy-governor of the castle of Edinburgh. When that fortress was besieged by the associated lords, Bothwell sent a servant to receive the casket from the hands of the deputy-governor. Balfour delivered it to the messenger; but as he had at that time received some disgust from Bothwell, and was secretly negotiating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying private intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him. They contained incontestable proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwell, of her consent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwell pretended to commit upon her. Murray fortified this evidence by some testimonies of corresponding facts; and he added, some time after, the dying confession of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called, a servant of Bothwell's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly charged the queen with her being accessory to that criminal enterprise.

Mary's commissioners had used every expedient to ward this blow which they saw coming upon them, and against which, it appears, they were not provided with any proper defence. As soon as Murray opened his charge, they endeavoured to turn the conferences from an inquiry into a negotiation; and though informed by the English commissioners that nothing could be more dishonourable for their mistress, than to enter into a treaty with such undutiful subjects, before she had justified herself from those enormous imputations which had been thrown upon her, they still insisted that Elizabeth should settle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland. They maintained that, till their mistress had given in her answer to Murray's charge, his proofs could neither be called for nor produced: and finding that the English commissioners were still determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply. These papers, at least translations of them, have since been published. The objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force: but were they ever so specious, they cannot now be hearkened to; since Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence against her, by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refusing to give an answer to the accusation of her enemies.

We shall not enter into a long discussion concerning the authenticity of these letters; we shall only remark in general, that the chief objections against them are, that they are supposed to have passed through the earl of Morton's hands, the least scrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that they are to the last degree indecent, and even somewhat inelegant, such as it is not likely she would write. But to these presumptions, we may oppose the following considerations. 1. Though it be not difficult, to counterfeit a subscription, it is very difficult, and almost impossible, to counterfeit several pages, so as to resemble exactly the hand-writing of any person. These letters were examined and compared with Mary's hand-writing by the English privy-council, and by a great many of the nobility, among whom were several partisans of that princess. They might have been examined by the bishop of Ross

Herries, and others of Mary's commissioners. The rogent must have expected that they would be very critically examined by them : and had they not been able to stand that test, he was only preparing a scene of confusion to himself. Bishop Lesley expressly declines the comparing of the hands, which he calls no legal proof. 2. The letters are very long, much longer than they needed to have been, in order to serve the purposes of Mary's enemies ; a circumstance which increased the difficulty, and exposed any forgery the more to the risk of a detection. 3. They are not so gross and palpable as forgeries commonly are, for they still left a pretext for Mary's friends to assert, that their meaning was strained to make them appear criminal. 4. There is a long contract of marriage, said to be written by the earl of Huntley, and signed by the queen, before Bothwell's acquittal. Would Morton, without any necessity, have thus doubled the difficulties of the forgery and the danger of detection ? 5. The letters are indiscreet ; but such was apparently Mary's conduct at that time : they are inelegant ; but they have a careless, natural air, like letters hastily written between familiar friends. 6. They contain such a variety of particular circumstances as nobody could have thought of inventing, especially as they must necessarily have afforded her many means of detection. 7. We have not the originals of the letters, which were in French : we have only a Scotch and Latin translation from the original, and a French translation professedly done from the Latin. Now it is remarkable that the Scotch translation is full of Gallicisms, and is clearly a translation from a French original : such as *make fault, faire des fautes ; make it seem that I believe, faire semblant de le croire ; make brek, faire breche : this is my first journey, c'est ma premiere journée ; have you not desire to laugh, n' avez vous pas envie de rire ; the place will hold unto the death, la place tiendra jusqu' a la mort ; he may not come forth of the house this long time, il ne peut pas sortir du loys de long tems ; to make me advertisement, faire m'avertir ; put order to it, metre ordre cela ; discharge your heart, discharger votre cœur ; make gud watch, faites bonne garde, &c.* 8. There is a conversation which she mentions between herself and the king one evening : but Murray produced before the English commissioners the testimony of one Crawford, a gentleman of the earl of Lenox, who swore that the king, on her departure from him, gave him an account of the same conversation. 9. There seems very little reason why Murray and his associates should run the risk of such a dangerous forgery, which must have rendered them infamous, if detected ; since their cause, from Mary's known conduct, even without these letters, was sufficiently good and justifiable. 10. Murray exposed these letters to the examination of persons qualified to judge of them ; the Scotch council, the Scotch parliament, Queen Elizabeth and her council, who were possessed of a great number of Mary's genuine letters. 11. He gave Mary herself an opportunity of refuting and exposing him, if she had chosen to lay hold of it. 12. The letters tally so well with all the other parts of her conduct during that transaction, that these proofs throw the strongest light on each other. 13. The duke of Norfolk, who had examined these papers, and who favoured so much the queen of Scots that he intended to marry her, and in the end lost his life in her cause, yet believed them authentic, and was fully convinced of her guilt. This appears not only from his letters above mentioned to Queen

Elizabeth and her ministers, but by his secret acknowledgment to Bannister, his most trusty confidant. In the conferences between the duke, Secretary Liddington, and the bishop of Ross, all of them zealous partisans of that princess, the same thing is always taken for granted. Indeed the duke's full persuasion of Mary's guilt, without the least doubt or hesitation, could not have had place, if he had found Liddington or the bishop of Ross of a different opinion, or if they had ever told him that these letters were forged. It is to be remarked that Liddington, being one of the accomplices, knew the whole bottom of the conspiracy against King Henry, and was besides a man of such penetration that nothing could escape him in such interesting events. 14. We need not repeat the presumption drawn from Mary's refusal to answer. The only excuse for her silence is, that she suspected Elizabeth to be a partial judge : it was not indeed the interest of that princess to acquit and justify her rival and competitor ; and we accordingly find that Liddington, from the secret information of the duke of Norfolk, informed Mary, by the bishop of Ross, that the queen of England never meant to come to a decision ; but only to get into her hands the proofs of Mary's guilt, in order to blast her character. But this was a better reason for declining the conference altogether, than for breaking it off on frivolous pretences, the very moment the chief accusation was unexpectedly opened against her. Though she could not expect Elizabeth's final decision in her favour ; it was of importance to give a satisfactory answer, if she had any, to the accusation of the Scottish commissioners. That answer could have been dispersed for the satisfaction of the public, of foreign nations, and of posterity. And surely, after the accusation and proofs were in Queen Elizabeth's hands, it could do no harm to give in the answers. Mary's information, that the queen never intended to come to a decision, could be no obstacle to her justification. 15. The very disappearance of these letters is a presumption of their authenticity. That event can be accounted for no way but from the care of King James's friends, who were desirous to destroy every proof of his mother's crimes. The disappearance of Morton's narrative, and of Crawford's evidence, must have proceeded from a like cause.

We find an objection made to the authenticity of the letters, drawn from the vote of the Scotch privy-council, which affirms the letters to be written and subscribed by Queen Mary's own hand ; whereas the copies given in to the parliament a few days after, were only written, not subscribed. But it is not considered that this circumstance is of no manner of force : there were certain letters, true or false, laid before the council ; and whether the letters were true or false, this mistake proceeds equally from the inaccuracy or blunder of the clerk. The mistake may be accounted for : the letters were only written by her : the second contract with Bothwell was only subscribed. A proper accurate distinction was not made ; and they are all said to be written and subscribed. Goodall has endeavoured to prove that these letters clash with chronology, and that the queen was not in the places mentioned in the letters on the days there assigned : to confirm this, he produces charters and other deeds signed by the queen, where the date and place do not agree with the letters. But it is well known that the date of charters, and such like grants, is no proof of the real day on which they were signed by the sovereign.



Papers of that kind commonly pass through different offices: the date is affixed by the first office, and may precede very long the day of the signature.

The account given by Morton of the manner in which the papers came into his hands, is very natural. When he gave it to the English commissioners, he had reason to think it would be canvassed with all the severity of able adversaries, interested in the highest degree to refute it. It is probable that he could have confirmed it by many circumstances and testimonies, since they declined the contest.

The sonnets are inelegant; insomuch that both Brantome and Ronsard, who knew Queen Mary's style, were assured, when they saw them, that they could not be of her composition. But no person is equal in his productions, especially one whose style is so little formed as Mary's must be supposed to be. Not to mention that such dangerous and criminal enterprises leave little tranquillity of mind for elegant poetical compositions.

In a word, Queen Mary might easily have conducted the whole conspiracy against her husband, without opening her mind to any one person except Bothwell, and without writing a scrap of paper about it; but it was very difficult to have conducted it so that her conduct should not betray her to men of discernment. In the present case her conduct was so gross as to betray her to every body; and fortune threw into her enemies' hands papers by which they could convict her. The same infatuation and imprudence, which happily is the usual attendant of great crimes, will account for both. It is proper to observe, that there is not one circumstance of the foregoing narrative, contained in the history that is taken from Knox, Buchanan, or even Thuanus, or indeed from any suspected authority.

But Elizabeth, though she had seen enough for her own satisfaction, was determined that the most eminent persons of her court should also be acquainted with these transactions, and should be convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She ordered her privy-council to be assembled; and, that she might render the matter more solemn and authentic, she summoned, along with them, the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick. All the proceedings of the English commissioners were read to them: the evidences produced by Murray were perused: a great number of letters, written by Mary to Elizabeth, were laid before them, and the handwriting compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent: the refusal of the queen of Scots' commissioners to make any reply, was related: and on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that as she had from the first thought it improper that Mary, after such horrid crimes were imputed to her, should be admitted to her presence before she had, in some measure, justified herself from the charge; so now, when her guilt was confirmed by so many evidences, and all answer refused, she must, for her part, persevere more steadily in that resolution. Elizabeth next called in the queen of Scots' commissioners, and, after observing that she deemed it much more decent for their mistress to continue the conferences, than to require the liberty of justifying herself in person, she told them, that Mary might either send her reply by a person whom she trusted, or deliver it herself to some English nobleman, whom Elizabeth should appoint to wait upon her: but as to her resolution of making no reply at all, she must regard it as the strongest confession of guilt; nor

could they ever be deemed her friends who advised her to that method of proceeding. These topics she enforced still more strongly in a letter which she wrote to Mary herself.

The queen of Scots had no other subterfuge from these pressing remonstrances, than still to demand a personal interview with Elizabeth: a concession which, she was sensible, would never be granted; because Elizabeth knew that this expedient could decide nothing; because it brought matters to extremity, which that princess desired to avoid; and because it had been refused from the beginning, even before the commencement of the conferences. In order to keep herself better in countenance, Mary thought of another device. Though the conferences were broken off, she ordered her commissioners to accuse the earl of Murray and his associates as the murderers of the king: but this accusation, coming so late, being extorted merely by a complaint of Murray's, and being unsupported by any proof, could only be regarded as an angry recrimination upon her enemy. She also desired to have copies of the papers given in by the regent; but as she still persisted in her resolution to make no reply before the English commissioners, this demand was finally refused her.

As Mary had thus put an end to the conferences, the regent expressed great impatience to return into Scotland; and he complained, that his enemies had taken advantage of his absence, and had thrown the whole government into confusion. Elizabeth therefore dismissed him; and granted him a loan of five thousand pounds to bear the charges of his journey. During the conferences at York, the duke of Chatelrault arrived at London, in passing from France; and as the queen knew that he was engaged in Mary's party, and had very plausible pretensions to the regency of the king of Scots, she thought proper to detain him till after Murray's departure. But notwithstanding these marks of favour, and some other assistance which she secretly gave this latter nobleman, she still declined acknowledging the young king, or treating with Murray as regent of Scotland.

Orders were given for removing the queen o. Scots from Bolton, a place surrounded with catholics, to Tutbury in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes that this princess, discouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late transactions, would be glad to secure a safe retreat from all the tempests with which she had been agitated; and she promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to resign her crown, or to associate her son with her in the government; and the administration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty upon such terms, and declared that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland. Besides many other reasons, she said, which fixed her in that resolution, she knew that if, in the present emergence, she made such concessions, her submission would be universally deemed an acknowledgment of guilt, and would ratify all the calumnies of her enemies.

Mary still insisted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth should assist her in recovering her authority, or should give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the friendship of other princes: and as she asserted that she had come voluntarily into England, invited by many form

professions of amity, she thought that one or other of these requests could not, without the most extreme injustice, be refused her. But Elizabeth, sensible of the danger which attended both these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her still a captive; and as her retreat into England had been little voluntary, her claim upon the queen's generosity appeared much less urgent than she was willing to pretend. Necessity, it was thought, would, to the prudent, justify her detention: her past misconduct would apologize for it to the equitable: and though it was foreseen, that compassion for Mary's situation, joined to her intrigues and insinuating behaviour, would, while she remained in England, excite the zeal of her friends, especially of the catholics; these inconveniences were deemed much inferior to those which attended any other expedient. Elizabeth trusted also to her own address for eluding all those difficulties: she purposed to avoid breaking absolutely with the queen of Scots, to keep her always in hopes of an accommodation, to negotiate perpetually with her, and still to throw the blame of not coming to any conclusion, either on unforeseen accidents, or on the obstinacy and perverseness of others.

We come now to mention some English affairs which we left behind us, that we might not interrupt our narrative of the events in Scotland, which form so material a part of the present reign. The term fixed by the treaty of Château Cambresis for the restitution of Calais, expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, sent Sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that minister, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norris, her resident ambassador, enforced her pretensions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any conclusion satisfactory to the English. The Chancellor De l'Hôpital, told the English ambassadors, that though France, by an article of the treaty, was obliged to restore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the same treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that could accrue to her by that engagement: that it was agreed, if the English should, during the interval, commit hostilities upon France, they should instantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking possession of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pretences that measure might be covered, was a plain violation of the peace between the nations: that though these places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, these governors were rebels; and a correspondence with such traitors was the most flagrant injury that could be committed on any sovereign: that in the treaty which ensued upon the expulsion of the English from Normandy, the French ministers had absolutely refused to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France: and though a general clause had been inserted, implying a reservation of all claims, this concession could not avail the English, who at that time possessed no just claim to Calais, and had previously forfeited all right to that fortress. The queen was nowise surprised at hearing these allegations; and as she knew that the French court intended not from the first to make restitution, much less after they could justify their refusal by such plausible reasons, she thought it better for the present to acquiesce in the loss, than to pursue a doubtful title by a war both dangerous and expensive, as well as unseasonable.

Elizabeth entered anew into negotiations for espousing the Archduke Charles; and she seems, at this time, to have had no great motive of policy, which might induce her to make this fallacious offer: but as she was very rigorous in the terms insisted on, and would not agree that the archduke, if he espoused her, should enjoy any power or title in England, and even refused him the exercise of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that prince, despairing of success in his addresses, married the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria.

## CHAP. XLIV.

*Character of the Puritans—Duke of Norfolk's Conspiracy—Insurrection in the North—Assassination of the earl of Murray—A Parliament—Civil Wars of France—Affairs of the Low Countries—New Conspiracy of the duke of Norfolk—Trial of Norfolk—His Execution—Scotch Affairs—French Affairs—Massacre of Paris—French Affairs—Civil Wars of the Low Countries—A Parliament.*

WE substitute the following account of the Puritans by Hallam, for that given by Hume.

"The two statutes enacted in the first year of Elizabeth, commonly called the acts of supremacy and uniformity, are the main links of the Anglican church with the temporal constitution, and establish the subordination and dependency of the former; the first abrogating all jurisdiction and legislative power of ecclesiastical rulers, except under the authority of the crown; and the second prohibiting all changes of rites and discipline without the approbation of parliament. It was the constant policy of this queen to maintain her ecclesiastical prerogative and the laws she had enacted. But in following up this principle she found herself involved in many troubles, and had to contend with a religious party quite opposite to the Romish, less dangerous indeed and inimical to her government, but full as vexatious and determined.

"I have in another place slightly mentioned the differences that began to spring up under Edward VI. between the moderate reformers who established the new Anglican church, and those who accused them of proceeding with too much forbearance in casting off superstitions and abuses. These diversities of opinion were not without some relation to those which distinguished the two great families of protestantism in Europe. Luther, intent on his own system of dogmatic theology, had shown much indifference about retrenching exterior ceremonies, and had even favoured, especially in the first years of his preaching, that specious worship which some ardent reformers were eager to reduce to simplicity. Crucifixes and images, tapers and priestly vestments, even for a time the elevation of the host and the Latin mass-book, continued in the Lutheran churches; while the disciples of Zuingle and Calvin were carefully eradicating them as popish idolatry and superstition. Crammer and Ridley, the founders of the English reformation, justly deeming themselves independent of any foreign master, adopted a middle course between the Lutheran and Calvinistic ritual. The general tendency however of protestants, even in the reign of Edward VI., was towards the simpler forms; whether through the influence of those foreign divines who co-operated in our reformation, or because it was natural in the



heat of religious animosity to recede as far as possible, especially in such exterior distinctions, from the opposite denomination. The death of Edward seems to have prevented a further approach to the scheme of Geneva in our ceremonies, and perhaps in our discipline. During the persecution of Mary's reign, the most eminent protestant clergymen took refuge in various cities of Germany and Switzerland. They were received by the Calvinists with hospitality and fraternal kindness; while the Lutheran divines, a narrow-minded intolerant faction, both neglected and insulted them. Divisions soon arose among themselves about the use of the English service, in which a pretty considerable party was disposed to make alterations. The chief scene of these disturbances was Frankfort, where Knox, the famous reformer of Scotland, headed the innovators; while Cox, an eminent divine, much concerned in the establishment of Edward VI. and afterwards bishop of Ely, stood up for the original liturgy. Cox succeeded (not quite fairly, if we may rely on the only narrative we possess) in driving his opponents from the city; but these disagreements were by no means healed, when the accession of Elizabeth recalled both parties to their own country, neither of them very likely to display more mutual charity in their prosperous hour, than they had been able to exercise in a common persecution.

"The first mortification these exiles endured on their return was to find a more dilatory advance towards public reformation of religion, and more of what they deemed lukewarmness, than their sanguine zeal had anticipated. Most part of this delay was owing to the greater prudence of the queen's counsellors, who felt the pulse of the nation before they ventured on such essential changes. But there was yet another obstacle, on which the reformers had not reckoned. Elizabeth, though resolute against submitting to the papal supremacy, was not so averse to all the tenets abjured by protestants, and loved also a more splendid worship than had prevailed in her brother's reign; while many of those returned from the continent were intent on copying a still simpler model. She reproved a divine who preached against the real presence, and is even said to have used prayers to the Virgin. But her great struggle with the reformers was about images, and particularly the crucifix, which she retained, with lighted tapers before it, in her chapel; though in the injunctions to the ecclesiastical visitors of 1559, they are directed to have them taken away from churches. This concession she must have made very reluctantly, for we find proofs the next year of her inclination to restore them; and the question of their lawfulness was debated, as Jewel writes word to Peter Martyr, by himself and Grindal on one side, against Parker and Cox, who had been persuaded to argue in their favour. But the strenuous opposition of men so distinguished as Jewel, Sandys, and Grindal, of whom the first declared his intention of resigning his bishopric in case this return towards superstition should be made, compelled Elizabeth to relinquish her project. The crucifix was even for a time removed from her own chapel, but replaced about 1570.

"There was however one other subject of dispute between the old and new religions, upon which her majesty could not be brought to adopt the protestant side of the question. This was the marriage of the clergy, to which she expressed so great an aversion, that she would never consent to repeal the statute of her sister's reign against it. Accordingly, the

bishops and clergy, though they married by connivance, or rather by an ungracious permission, saw, with very just dissatisfaction, their children treated by the law as the offspring of concubinage. This continued, in legal strictness, till the first year of James, when the statute of Mary was explicitly repealed; though I cannot help suspecting that clerical marriages had been tacitly recognised, even in courts of justice long before that time. Yet it appears less probable to derive Elizabeth's prejudice in this respect from any deference to the Roman discipline, than from that strange dislike to the most lawful union between the sexes, which formed one of the singularities of her character.

"Such a reluctance as the queen displayed to return in every point even to the system established under Edward, was no slight disappointment to those who thought that too little had been effected by it. They had beheld at Zurich and Geneva the simplest, and, as they conceived, the purest form of worship. They were persuaded that the vestments still worn by the clergy, as in the days of popery, though in themselves indifferent, led to erroneous notions among the people, and kept alive a recollection of former superstitions, which would render their return to them more easy in the event of another political revolution. They disliked some other ceremonies for the same reason. These objections were by no means confined, as is perpetually insinuated, to a few discontented persons. Except Archbishop Parker, who had remained in England during the late reign, and Cox, bishop of Ely, who had taken a strong part at Frankfort against innovation, all the most eminent churchmen, such as Jewel, Grindal, Sandys, Nowell, were in favour of leaving off the surplice and what were called the popish ceremonies. Whether their objections are to be deemed narrow and frivolous or otherwise, it is inconsistent with veracity to dissemble that the queen alone was the cause of retaining those observances, to which the great separation from the Anglican establishment is ascribed. Had her influence been withdrawn, surplices and square caps would have lost their steadiest friend; and several other little accommodations to the prevalent dispositions of protestants would have taken place. Or this it seems impossible to doubt, when we read the proceedings of the convocation in 1562, when a proposition to abolish most of the usages deemed objectionable was lost only by a vote, the numbers being 59 to 58.\*

"In thus restraining the ardent zeal of reformation, Elizabeth may not have been guided merely by her own prejudices, without far higher motives of prudence and even of equity. It is difficult to pronounce in what proportion the two conflicting religions were blended on her coming to the throne. The reformed occupied most large towns, and were no doubt a more active and powerful body than their opponents. Nor did the ecclesiastical visitors of 1559 complain of any resistance, or even unwillingness, among the people. Still the Romish party was extremely numerous; it comprehended the far greater portion of the beneficed clergy, and all those who, having no turn for controversy, clung with pious reverence to the rites and worship of their earliest associations. It might be thought perhaps not very repugnant to wisdom or to charity,

\* "It was proposed on this occasion to abolish all saints' days, to omit the cross in baptism, to leave kneeling at the communion to the ordinary's discretion, to take away organs, and one or two more of the ceremonies then chiefly in dispute."

What such persons should be won over to the reformed faith by retaining a few indifferent usages, which gratified their eyes, and took off the impression, so unpleasing to simple minds, of religious innovation. It might be urged that, should even somewhat more of superstition remain awhile than rational men would approve, the mischief would be far less than to drive the people back into the arms of popery, or to expose them to the natural consequences of destroying at once all old landmarks of reverence,—a dangerous fanaticism or a careless irreligion. I know not in what degree these considerations had weight with Elizabeth; but they were such as it well became her to entertain.

"We live however too far from the period of her accession, to pass an unqualified decision on the course of policy which it was best for the queen to pursue. The difficulties of effecting a compromise between two intolerant and exclusive sects were perhaps insuperable. In maintaining or altering a religious establishment, it may be reckoned the general duty of governments to respect the wishes of the majority. But it is also a rule of human policy to favour the more efficient and determined, which may not always be the more numerous party. I am far from being convinced that it would not have been practicable, by receding a little from that uniformity which governors delight to prescribe, to have palliated in a great measure, if not put an end for a time, to the discontent that so soon endangered the new establishment. The frivolous usages, to which so many frivolous objections were raised, such as the tippet and surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in matrimony, the posture of kneeling at the communion, might have been left to private discretion, not possibly without some inconvenience, but with less, as I conceive, than resulted from rendering their observance indispensable. Nor should we allow ourselves to be turned aside by the common reply, that no concessions of this kind would have ultimately prevented the disunion of the church, upon more essential differences than these litigated ceremonies; since the science of policy, like that of medicine, must content itself with devising remedies for immediate danger, and can at best only retard the progress of that intrinsic decay which seems to be the law of all things human, and through which every institution of man, like his earthly frame, must one day crumble into ruin.

"The repugnance felt by a large part of the protestant clergy to the ceremonies with which Elizabeth would not consent to dispense, showed itself in irregular transgressions of the uniformity prescribed by statute. Some continued to wear the habits, others laid them aside; the communicants received the sacrament sitting, or standing, or kneeling, according to the minister's taste; some baptized in the font, others in a basin; some with the sign of the cross, others without it. The people in London and other towns, siding chiefly with the malcontents, insulted such of the clergy as observed the prescribed order. Many of the bishops readily connived at deviations from ceremonies which they disapproved. Some, who felt little objection to their use, were against imposing them as necessary. And this opinion, which led to very momentous inferences, began so much to prevail that we soon find the objections to conformity more grounded on the unlawfulness of compulsory regulations in the church prescribed by the civil power, than on any special impropriety in the usages themselves. But this principle, which perhaps the scrupulous party did

not yet very fully avow, was altogether incompatible with the supremacy vested in the queen, of which fairest flower of her prerogative she was abundantly tenacious. One thing was evident, that the puritan malcontents were growing every day more numerous, more determined, and more likely to win over the generality of those who sincerely favoured the protestant cause. There were but two lines to be taken; either to relax and modify the regulations which gave offence, or to enforce a more punctual observation of them. It seems to me far more probable that the former course would have prevented a great deal of that mischief, which the second manifestly aggravated. For in this early stage the advocates of a simpler ritual had by no means assumed the shape of an embodied faction, whom concessions, it must be owned, are not apt to satisfy, but numbered the most learned and distinguished portion of the hierarchy. Parker stood nearly alone on the other side, but alone more than an equipoise in the balance, through his high station, his judgment in matters of policy, and his knowledge of the queen's disposition. He had possibly reason to apprehend that Elizabeth, irritated by the prevalent humour for alteration, might burst entirely away from the protestant side, or stretch her supremacy to reduce the church into a slavish subjection to her caprice. This might induce a man of his sagacity, who took a far wider view of civil affairs than his brethren, to exert himself according to her peremptory command for universal conformity. But it is not easy to reconcile the whole of his conduct to this opposition; and in the copious memorials of Strype, we find the archbishop rather exciting the queen to rigorous measures against the puritans than standing in need of her admonition.

"The unsettled state of exterior religion which has been mentioned lasted till 1565. In the beginning of that year a determination was taken by the queen, or rather perhaps the archbishop, to put a stop to all irregularities in the public service. He set forth a book called *Advertisements*, containing orders and regulations for the discipline of the clergy. This modest title was taken in consequence of the queen's withholding her sanction of its appearance through Leicester's influence. The primate's next step was to summon before the ecclesiastical commission Sampson, dean of Christ-church, and Humphrey, president of Magdalen-college, Oxford, men of signal non-conformity, but at the same time of such eminent reputation that, when the law took its course against them, no other offender could hope for indulgence. On refusing to wear the customary habits, Sampson was deprived of his deanery; but the other seems to have been tolerated. This instance of severity, as commonly happens, rather irritated than intimidated the puritan clergy, aware of their numbers, their popularity, and their powerful friends, but above all sustained by their own sincerity and earnestness. Parker had taken his resolution to proceed in the vigorous course he had begun. He obtained from the queen a proclamation, peremptorily requiring conformity in the use of the clerical vestments and other matters of discipline. The London ministers, summoned before himself and their Bishop Grindal, who did not very willingly co-operate with his metropolitan, were called upon for a promise to comply with the legal ceremonies, which thirty-seven out of ninety-eight refused to make. They were in consequence suspended from their ministry, and their livings put in sequestration. But these unfortunately, as was



the case in all this reign, were the most conspicuous, both for their general character and for their talent in preaching.

"Whatever deviations from uniformity existed within the pale of the Anglican church, no attempt had hitherto been made to form separate assemblies; nor could it be deemed necessary, while so much indulgence had been conceded to the scrupulous clergy. But they were now reduced to determine whether the imposition of those rites they disliked would justify, or render necessary, an abandonment of their ministry. The bishops of that school had so far overcome their repugnance, as not only to observe the ceremonies of the church, but, in some instances, to employ compulsion towards others. A more unexceptionable, because more disinterested judgment, was pronounced by some of the Swiss reformers to whom our own paid great respect—Beza, Gualter, and Bullinger; who while they regretted the continuance of a few superfluous rites, and still more the severity used towards good men, dissuaded their friends from deserting their vocation on that account. Several of the most respectable opponents of the ceremonies were equally adverse to any open schism. But the animosities springing from heated zeal, and the smart of what seemed oppression, would not suffer the English puritans generally to acquiesce in such temperate counsels. They began to form separate conventicles in London, not ostentatiously indeed, but of course without the possibility of eluding notice. It was doubtless worthy of much consideration, whether an established church-government could wink at the systematic disregard of its discipline by those who were subject to its jurisdiction and partook of its revenues. And yet there were many important considerations derived from the posture of religion and of the state, which might induce cool-headed men to doubt the expediency of too much straightening the reins. But there are few, I trust, who can hesitate to admit that the puritan clergy, after being excluded from their benefices, might still claim from a just government a peaceable toleration of their particular worship. This it was vain to expect from the queen's arbitrary spirit, the imperious humour of Parker, and that total disregard of the rights of conscience which was common to all parties in the sixteenth century. The first instance of actual punishment inflicted on protestant dissenters was in June 1567, when a company of more than one hundred were seized during their religious exercises at Plummer's-hall, which they had hired on pretence of a wedding, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison. They behaved on their examination with a rudeness as well as self-sufficiency, that had already begun to characterize the puritan faction. But this cannot excuse the fatal error of molesting men for the exercise of their own religion.

"These coercive proceedings of the archbishop were feebly seconded, or directly thwarted, by most leading men both in church and state. Grindal and Sandys, successively bishops of London and archbishops of York, were naturally reckoned at this time somewhat favourable to the non-conforming ministers, whose scruples they had partaken. Parkhurst and Pilkington, bishops of Norwich and Durham, were openly on their side. They had still more effectual support in the queen's council. The earl of Leicester, who possessed more power than any one to sway her wavering and capricious temper, the earls of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Warwick, regarded as the steadiest protestants among

the aristocracy, the wise and grave Lord-keeper Bacon, the sagacious Walsingham, the experienced Sadler, the zealous Knollys, considered these objects of Parker's severity, either as demanding a purer worship than had been established in the church, or at least as worthy by their virtues and services of more indulgent treatment. Cecil himself, though on intimate terms with the archbishop, and concurring generally in his measures, was not far removed from the latter way of thinking, if his natural caution and extreme dread at this juncture of losing the queen's favour had permitted him more unequivocally to express it. Those whose judgment did not incline them towards the puritan notions, respected the scruples of men in whom the reformed religion could so implicitly confide. They had regard also to the condition of the church. The far greater part of its benefices were supplied by conformists of very doubtful sincerity, who would resume their mass-books with more alacrity than they had cast them aside. Such a deficiency of protestant clergy had been experienced at the queen's accession, that for several years it was a common practice to appoint laymen, usually mechanics, to read the service in vacant churches. These were not always wholly illiterate; or if they were, it was no more than might be said of the popish clergy, the vast majority of whom were destitute of all useful knowledge, and could read little Latin. Of the two universities, Oxford had become so strongly attached to the Romish side during the late reign, that, after the desertion or expulsion of the most zealous of that party had almost emptied several colleges, it still for many years abounded with adherents to the old religion. But at Cambridge, which had been equally popish at the queen's accession, the opposite faction soon acquired the ascendancy. The younger students, imbibing ardently the new creed of ecclesiastical liberty and excited by puritan sermons, began to throw off their surplices, and to commit other breaches of discipline, from which it might be inferred that the generation to come would not be less apt for innovation than the present.

"The first period in the history of puritanism includes the time from the queen's accession to 1570, during which the retention of superstitious ceremonies in the church had been the sole avowed ground of complaint. But when these obnoxious rites came to be enforced with unsparing rigour, and even those who voluntarily renounced the temporal advantages of the establishment were hunted from their private conventicles, they began to consider the national system of ecclesiastical regimen as itself in fault, and to transfer to the institution of episcopacy that dislike they felt for some of the prelates. The ostensible founder of this new school (though probably its tenets were by no means new to many of the sect) was Thomas Cartwright, the Lady Margaret's professor of divinity at Cambridge. He began about 1570 to inculcate the unlawfulness of any form of church-government, except what the apostles had instituted, namely, the presbyterian. A deserved reputation for virtue, learning, and acuteness, an ardent zeal, an inflexible self-confidence, a vigorous, rude, and arrogant style, marked him as the formidable leader of a religious faction. In 1572 he published his celebrated Admonition to the Parliament, calling on that assembly to reform the various abuses subsisting in the church. In this treatise, such a hardy spirit of innovation was displayed, and schemes of ecclesiastical policy so novel and extraordinary were developed, that it made a

most important epoch in the contest, and rendered its termination far more improbable. The hour for liberal concessions had been suffered to pass away; the archbishop's intolerant temper had taught men to question the authority that oppressed them, till the battle was no longer to be fought for a tippet and a surplice, but for the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy, interwoven as it was with the temporal constitution of England.

"It had been the first measure adopted in throwing off the yoke of Rome to invest the sovereign with an absolute control over the Anglican church; so that no part of its coercive discipline could be exercised but by his authority, nor any laws enacted for its governance without his sanction. This supremacy, indeed, both Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had carried so far, that the bishops were reduced almost to the rank of temporal officers, taking out commissions to rule their dioceses during the king's pleasure; and Cranmer had prostrated at the feet of Henry those spiritual functions, which have usually been reckoned inherent in the order of clergy. Elizabeth took some pains to soften and almost explain away her supremacy, in order to conciliate the catholics; while, by means of the high commission-court, established by statute in the first year of her reign, she was practically asserting it with no little despotism. But the avowed opponents of this prerogative were hitherto chiefly those who looked to Rome for another head of their church. The disciples of Cartwright now learned to claim an ecclesiastical independence, as unconstrained as the Romish priesthood in the darkest ages had usurped. 'No civil magistrate in councils or assemblies for church matters,' he says in his Admonition, 'can either be chief moderator, over-ruler, judge, or determiner; nor has he such authority as that, without his consent, it should not be lawful for ecclesiastical persons to make any church orders or ceremonies. Church matters ought ordinarily to be handled by church officers. The principal direction of them is by God's ordinance committed to the ministers of the church and to the ecclesiastical governors. As these meddle not with the making civil laws, so the civil magistrate ought not to ordain ceremonies, or determine controversies in the church, as long as they do not intrench upon his temporal authority. 'Tis the prince's province to protect and defend the councils of his clergy, to keep the peace, to see their decrees executed, and to punish the contemners of them; but to exercise no spiritual jurisdiction.' 'It must be remembered,' he says in another place, 'that civil magistrates must govern the church according to the rules of God prescribed in his word, and that as they are nurses, so they be servants unto the church; and as they rule in the church, so they must remember to submit themselves unto the church, to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns before the church, yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust of the feet of the church.' It is difficult to believe that I am transcribing the words of a protestant writer; so much does this passage call to mind those tones of infatuated arrogance, which had been heard from the lips of Gregory VII. and of those who trod in his footsteps.

"The strength of the protestant party had been derived, both in Germany and in England, far less from their superiority in argument, however decisive this might be, than from that desire which all classes, and especially the higher, had long experienced to emancipate themselves from the thralldom of ecclesi-

astical jurisdiction. For it is ever found, that men do not so much as give a hearing to novel systems in religion, till they have imbibed, from some cause or other, a secret distaste to that in which they have been educated. It was therefore rather alarming to such as had an acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, and knew the encroachments formerly made by the hierarchy throughout Europe, encroachments perfectly distinguishable from those of the Roman see, to perceive the same pretensions urged, and the same ambition and arrogance at work, which had imposed a yoke on the necks of their fathers. With whatever plausibility it might be maintained that a connexion with temporal magistrates could only corrupt the purity and shackle the liberties of a Christian church, this argument was not for them to urge, who called on those magistrates to do the church's bidding, to enforce its decrees, to punish its refractory members; and while they disdained to accept the prince's co-operation as their ally, claimed his service as their minister. The protestant dissenters since the revolution, who have pretty unanimously, and, I doubt not, sincerely, declared their averseness to any religious establishment, especially as accompanied with coercive power, even in favour of their own sect, are by no means chargeable with these errors of the early puritans. But the scope of Cartwright's declaration was not to obtain a toleration for dissent, nor even by abolishing the whole ecclesiastical polity, to place the different professions of religion on an equal footing, but to substitute his own model of government, the one, exclusive, unappealable standard of obedience, with all the endowments, so far as applicable to its frame, of the present church, and with all the support to its discipline that the civil power could afford.

"We are not however to conclude that every one, or even the majority, of those who might be counted on the puritan side in Elizabeth's reign, would have subscribed to these extravagant sentences of Cartwright, or desired to take away the legal supremacy of the crown. That party acquired strength by the prevailing hatred and dread of popery, and by the disgust which the bishops had been unfortunate enough to excite. If the language which I have quoted from the puritans breathed a spirit of ecclesiastical usurpation that might one day become dangerous, many were of opinion that a spirit not less mischievous in the present hierarchy, under the mask of the queen's authority, was actually manifesting itself in deeds of oppression. The upper ranks among the laity, setting aside courtiers, and such as took little interest in the dispute, were chiefly divided between those attached to the ancient church, and those who wished for further alterations in the new. I conceive the church of England party, that is, the party adverse to any species of ecclesiastical change, to have been the least numerous of the three during this reign; still excepting, as I have said, the neutrals, who commonly make a numerical majority, and are counted along with the dominant religion. But by the act of the fifth of Elizabeth, Roman catholics were excluded from the house of commons; or, if some that way affected might occasionally creep into it, yet the terror of penal laws impending over their heads would make them extremely cautious of betraying their sentiments. This contributed with the prevalent tone of public opinion, to throw such a weight into the puritanical scale in the commons, as it required all the queen's energy to counterbalance."

We have thought proper to insert in this place an



account of the rise and genius of the puritans, as they had so extensive an effect on the subsequent politics. We now return to our narration.

The duke of Norfolk was the only peer that enjoyed the highest title of nobility; and as there were at present no princes of the blood, the splendour of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without comparison the first subject in England. The qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station: beneficent, affable, generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, obsequious, he possessed, without giving her any jealousy, the good graces of his sovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that party: but as he had been educated among the reformers, was sincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that strict decorum and regularity of life, by which the protestants were at that time distinguished; he thereby enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular even with the most opposite factions. The height of his prosperity alone was the source of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a distance.

Norfolk was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends and those of that princess: but the first person, who, after Secretary Liddington, opened the scheme to the duke, is said to have been the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland. That nobleman set before Norfolk both the advantage of composing the dissensions in Scotland by an alliance, which would be so generally acceptable, and the prospect of reaping the succession of England; and, in order to bind Norfolk's interest the faster with Mary's, he proposed that the duke's daughter should also espouse the young king of Scotland. The previously obtaining of Elizabeth's consent, was regarded, both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumstance essential to the success of their project; and all terms being adjusted between them, Murray took care, by means of Sir Robert Melvil, to have the design communicated to the queen of Scots. This princess replied, that the vexations which she had met with in her two last marriages, had made her more inclined to lead a single life; but she was determined to sacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare: and therefore as soon as she should be legally divorced from Bothwell, she would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another husband.

It is probable that Murray was not sincere in this proposal. He had two motives to engage him to dissimulation. He knew the danger which he must run in his return through the north of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Mary's partisans in that country; and he dreaded an insurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelrault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom she had appointed her lieutenants during her absence. By these feigned assurances of friendship, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen: and he persuaded the queen of Scots to give her lieutenants permission, and even advice, to conclude a connection of hostilities with the regent's party.

The duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed that Elizabeth's consent should be previously obtained before the completion of his marriage, had reason to apprehend that he never should prevail with her voluntarily to make that concession. He knew her perpetual and unrelenting jealousy against her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all proposals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foresaw that this princess's espousing a person of his power and character and interest, would give the greatest umbrage; and as it would then become necessary to reinstate her in possession of her throne on some tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-establishing of her character, he dreaded lest Elizabeth, whose politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to such indulgent and generous conditions. He therefore attempted previously to gain the consent and approbation of several of the most considerable nobility; and he was successful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sussex. Lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton cordially embraced the proposal: even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained some views of espousing Mary, willingly resigned all his pretensions, and seemed to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests. There were other motives, besides affection to the duke, which produced this general combination of the nobility.

Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, was the most vigilant, active, and prudent minister ever known in England; and as he was governed by no views but the interests of his sovereign, which he had inflexibly pursued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himself, and uninfluenced by prejudice or affection, he checked those sallies of passion, and sometimes of caprice, to which she was subject; and if he failed of persuading her in the first movement, his perseverance, and remonstrances, and arguments, were sure at last to recommend themselves to her sound discernment. The more credit he gained with his mistress, the more was he exposed to the envy of her other counsellors; and as he had been supposed to adopt the interests of the house of Suffolk, whose claim seemed to carry with it no danger to the present establishment, his enemies, in opposition to him, were naturally led to attach themselves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth saw, without uneasiness, this emulation among her courtiers, which served to augment her own authority: and though she supported Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities, and dissipated every conspiracy against him, particularly one laid about this time for having him thrown into the Tower on some pretence or other, she never gave him such unlimited confidence as might enable him entirely to crush his adversaries.

Norfolk, sensible of the difficulty which he must meet with in controlling Cecil's counsels, especially where they concurred with the inclination as well as interest of the queen, durst not open to her his intentions of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded still in the same course, of increasing his interest in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his measures. A letter was written to Mary by Leicester, and signed by several of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly, that she should give sufficient surety to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of

England; that a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, should be made between their realms and subjects; that the protestant religion should be established by law in Scotland; and that she should grant an amnesty to her rebels in that kingdom. When Mary returned a favourable answer to this application, Norfolk employed himself with new ardour in the execution of his project; and besides securing the interests of many of the considerable gentry and nobility who resided at court, he wrote letters to such as lived at their country-seats, and possessed the greatest authority in the several counties. The kings of France and Spain, who interested themselves extremely in Mary's cause, were secretly consulted, and expressed their approbation of these measures. And though Elizabeth's consent was always supposed as a previous condition to the finishing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded such lengths without consulting her, to render his party so strong, that it should no longer be in her power to refuse it.

It was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy could entirely escape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped several intimations to the duke, by which he might learn, that she was acquainted with his designs; and she frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he reposed his head: but he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her first by Leicester, then by Murray,\* who, if ever he was sincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at least intended, for his own safety and that of his party, that Elizabeth should, in reality as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and should not have her consent extorted by any confederacy of her own subjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more so, as those intrigues were attended with other circumstances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

Among the nobility and gentry, that seemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealously attached to the catholic religion, who had no other design than that of restoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expense of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who possessed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to Lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland, or any other place to which she should think proper to retire. Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, sons of the earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Rolstone, and other gentlemen, whose interest lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary resided, concurred in the same views; and required that, in order to facilitate the execution of the scheme, a diversion should, in the mean time, be made from the side of Flanders. Norfolk discouraged, and even in appearance suppressed, these conspiracies; not because his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpose by rebellion, and because he foresaw that, if the queen of Scots

came into the possession of these men, they would rather choose for her husband the king of Spain, or some foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-establish the catholic religion.

When men of honour and good principles, like the duke of Norfolk, engage in dangerous enterprises, they are commonly so unfortunate as to be criminal by halves; and while they balance between the execution of their design and their remorse, their fear of punishment and their hope of pardon, they render themselves an easy prey to their enemies. The duke, in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance; affirmed that his estate in England was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom wasted by civil wars and factions; and declared that, when he amused himself in his own tennis-court at Norwich amidst his friends and vassals, he deemed himself at least a petty prince, and was fully satisfied with his condition. Finding that he did not convince her by these asseverations, and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by the ministers, he retired to his country-seat without taking leave. He soon after repented of this measure, and set out on his return to court, with a view of using every expedient to regain the queen's good graces; but he was met at St. Albans by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windsor, where the court then resided. He was soon after committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevil. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots' ambassador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own house Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were taken into custody. The queen of Scots herself was removed to Coventry; all access to her was, during some time, more strictly prohibited; and Viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, in the office of guarding her.

A rumour had been diffused in the north of an intended rebellion; and the earl of Sussex, president of York, alarmed with the danger, sent for Northumberland and Westmoreland, in order to examine them; but not finding any proof against them, he allowed them to depart. The report meanwhile gained ground daily; and many appearances of its reality being discovered, orders were dispatched by Elizabeth to these two noblemen to appear at court, and answer for their conduct. They had already proceeded so far in their criminal designs, that they dared not to trust themselves in her hands: they had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries; had obtained his promise of a reinforcement of troops, and of a supply of arms and ammunition; and had prevailed on him to send over to London Chiapino Vitelli, one of his most famous captains, on pretence of adjusting some differences with the queen; but in reality with a view of putting him at the head of the northern rebels. The summons, sent to the two earls, precipitated the rising before they were fully prepared; and Northumberland remained in suspense between opposite dangers, when he was informed that some of his enemies were on the way with a commission to arrest him. He took horse instantly, and hastened to his associate Westmoreland, whom he found surrounded with his friends and vassals, and deliberating with regard to

\* It appears by Haynes that Elizabeth had heard rumours of Norfolk's dealing with Murray; and charged the latter to inform her of the whole truth, which he accordingly did.



the measures which he should follow in the present emergence. They determined to begin the insurrection without delay; and the great credit of these two noblemen, with that zeal for the catholic religion, which still prevailed in the neighbourhood, soon drew together multitudes of the common people. They published a manifesto, in which they declared, that they intended to attempt nothing against the queen, to whom they avowed unshaken allegiance; and that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors, and to restore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour. The number of the malcontents amounted to four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England.

The queen was not negligent in her own defence, and she had beforehand, from her prudent and wise conduct, acquired the general good-will of her people, the best security of a sovereign; inasmuch that even the catholics in most countries expressed an affection for her service; and the duke of Norfolk himself, though he had lost her favour, and lay in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his situation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Sussex, attended by the earls of Rutland, the Lords Hunsdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched against the rebels at the head of seven thousand men, and found them already advanced to the bishopric of Durham, of which they had taken possession. They retired before him to Hexham; and hearing that the earl of Warwick and Lord Clinton were advancing against them with a greater body, they found no other resource than to disperse themselves without striking a blow. The common people retired to their houses: the leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found skulking in that country, and was confined by Murray in the castle of Lochleven. Westmoreland received shelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partisans of Mary; and persuaded them to make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This sudden and precipitate rebellion was followed soon after by another still more imprudent, raised by Leonard Dacres. Lord Hunsdon, at the head of the garrison of Berwick, was able, without any other assistance, to quell these rebels. Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in these rash enterprises. Sixty-six petty constables were hanged; and no less than eight hundred persons are said, on the whole, to have suffered by the hands of the executioner. But the queen was so well pleased with Norfolk's behaviour, that she released him from the Tower; allowed him to live, though under some show of confinement, in his own house; and only exacted a promise from him not to proceed any further in his negotiations with the queen of Scots.

Elizabeth now found that the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill consequences which she had foreseen when she first embraced that measure. This latter princess, recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good sense, from that delirium into which she seems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwell, had behaved with such modesty and judgment, and even dignity, that every one who approached her was charmed with her demeanour; and her friends were enabled, on some plausible grounds, to deny the

reality of those crimes which had been imputed to her. Compassion for her situation, and the necessity of procuring her liberty, proved an incitement among all her partisans to be active in promoting her cause; and as her deliverance from captivity, it was thought, could nowise be effected but by attempts dangerous to the established government, Elizabeth had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner in her hands. But as this inconvenience had been preferred to the danger of allowing that princess to enjoy her liberty, and to seek relief in all the catholic courts of Europe, it behoved the queen to support the measure which she had adopted, and to guard, by every prudent expedient, against the mischiefs to which it was exposed. She still flattered Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between that queen and her enemies in Scotland, negotiated perpetually concerning the terms of her restoration, made constant professions of friendship to her; and by these artifices endeavoured both to prevent her from making any desperate efforts for her deliverance, and to satisfy the French and Spanish ambassadors, who never intermitted their solicitations, sometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the same deceit by the queen of Scots: professions of confidence were returned by professions equally insincere: and while an appearance of friendship was maintained on both sides, the animosity and jealousy which had long prevailed between them, became every day more inveterate and incurable. These two princesses in address, capacity, activity, and spirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily, Mary, besides her present forlorn condition, was always inferior in personal conduct and discretion, as well as in power, to her illustrious rival.

Elizabeth and Mary wrote at the same time letters to the regent. The queen of Scots desired, that her marriage with Bothwell might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The queen of England publicly gave Murray the choice of three conditions; that Mary should be restored to her dignity on certain terms; that she should be associated with her son, and the administration remain in the regent's hand, till the young prince should come to years of discretion; or that she should be allowed to live at liberty as a private person in Scotland, and have an honourable settlement made in her favour. Murray summoned a convention of states, in order to deliberate on these proposals of the two queens: no answer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that she had there employed the style of a sovereign, addressing herself to her subjects; but in reality, because they saw that her request was calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or some powerful prince, who could support her cause, and restore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions were so derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not so much as deliberate concerning them: the third alone could be the subject of treaty. It was evident that Elizabeth in proposing conditions so unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refusal of those which were most advantageous to Mary; and as it was difficult, if not impossible, to adjust all the terms of the third, so as to render it secure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded that she was not sincere in any of them.

It is pretended, that Murray had entered into a

private negotiation with the queen to get Mary delivered into his hands; and as Elizabeth found the detention of her in England so dangerous, it is probable that she would have been pleased, on any honourable or safe terms, to rid herself of a prisoner who gave her so much inquietude. But all these projects vanished by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Murray was a person of considerable vigour, abilities, and constancy; but though he was not unsuccessful, during his regency, in composing the dissensions in Scotland, his talents shone out more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and austere; and he possessed not that perfect integrity which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that unamiable character.

By the death of the regent, Scotland relapsed into anarchy. Mary's party assembled together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. The castle, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, seemed to favour her cause; and as many of the principal nobility had embraced that party, it became probable, though the people were in general averse to her, that her authority might again acquire the ascendant. To check its progress, Elizabeth dispatched Sussex with an army to the north, under colour of chastising the ravages committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland, and laid waste the lands of the Kers and the Scots, seized the castle of Hume, and committed hostilities on all Mary's partisans, who, he said, had offended his mistress by harbouring the English rebels. Sir William Drury was afterwards sent with a body of troops, and he threw down the houses of the Hamiltons, who were engaged in the same faction. The English armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the queen of Scots, who promised, in return, that no French troops should be introduced into Scotland, and that the English rebels should be delivered up to the queen by her partisans.

But though the queen, covering herself with the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, so far contributed to support the party of the young king of Scots, she was cautious not to declare openly against Mary; and she even sent a request, which was equivalent to a command, to the enemies of that princess, not to elect, during some time, a regent in the place of Murray. Lenox, the king's grandfather, was therefore chosen temporary governor, under the title of lieutenant. Hearing afterwards that Mary's partisans, instead of delivering up Westmoreland, and the other fugitives, as they had promised, had allowed them to escape into Flanders; she permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of regent, and she sent Randolph, as her resident, to maintain a correspondence with him. But notwithstanding this step, taken in favour of Mary's enemies, she never laid aside her ambiguous conduct, or quitted the appearance of amity to that princess. Being importuned by the bishop of Ross, and her other agents, as well as by foreign ambassadors, she twice procured a suspension of arms between the Scottish factions, and by that means stopped the hands of the regent, who was likely to obtain advantages over the opposite party. By these seeming contrarieties, she kept alive the factions in Scotland, increased their mutual animosity, and rendered the whole country a scene of devastation and of misery. She had no intention to conquer the kingdom, and consequently no interest or design to instigate the parties against each other; but this consequence was

an accidental effect of her cautious politics, by which she was engaged, as far as possible, to keep on good terms with the queen of Scots, and never to violate the appearances of friendship with her, at least those of neutrality.\*

The better to amuse Mary with the prospect of an accommodation, Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay were sent to her with proposals from Elizabeth. The terms were somewhat rigorous, such as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and they thereby bore the greater appearance of sincerity on the part of the English court. It was required that the queen of Scots, besides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the lifetime of Elizabeth, should make a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, between the kingdoms; that she should marry no Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, or any other person without the consent of the states of Scotland; that compensation should be made for the late ravages committed in England; that justice should be executed on the murderers of King Henry (Darnley), that the young prince should be sent into England, to be educated there; and that six hostages, all of them noblemen, should be delivered to the queen of England, with the castle of Hume, and some other fortress, for the security of performance. Such were the conditions upon which Elizabeth promised to contribute her endeavours towards the restoration of the deposed queen. The necessity of Mary's affairs obliged her to consent to them; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the pope, when consulted by her, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars, by which all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the catholic princes from giving her any assistance.

Elizabeth's commissioners proposed also to Mary a plan of accommodation with her subjects in Scotland; and after some reasoning on that head, it was agreed that the queen should require Lenox, the regent, to send commissioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation. The partisans of Mary boasted, that all terms were fully settled with the court of England, and that the Scottish rebels would soon be constrained to submit to the authority of their sovereign; but Elizabeth took care that these rumours should meet with no credit, and that the king's party should not be discouraged, nor sink too low in their demands. Cecil wrote to inform the regent, that all the queen of England's proposals, so far from being fixed and irrevocable, were to be discussed anew in the conference; and desired him to send commissioners who should be constant in the king's cause, and cautious not to make concessions which might be prejudicial to their party. Sussex, also in his letters, dropped hints to the same purpose; and Elizabeth herself said to the abbot of Dunfermling, whom Lenox had sent to the court of England, that she would not insist on Mary's restoration, provided the Scots could make the justice of their cause appear to her satisfaction; and that even if their reasons should

\* Sir James Melvil ascribes to Elizabeth a positive design of animating the Scotch factions against each other; but his evidence is too inconsiderable to counterbalance any other authorities, and is, indeed, contrary to her subsequent conduct, as well as her interest, and the necessity of her situation. It was plainly her interest that the king's party should prevail, and nothing could have engaged her to stop their progress, or even forbear openly assisting them, but her intention of still amusing the queen of Scots, by the hopes of being peaceably restored to her throne.



fall short of full conviction, she would take effectual care to provide for their future security.

The parliament of Scotland appointed the earl of Morton and Sir James Macgill, together with the abbot of Dunfermling, to manage the treaty. These commissioners presented memorials, containing reasons for the deposition of their queen; and they seconded their arguments with examples drawn from the Scottish history, with the authority of laws, and with the sentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas which Elizabeth had entertained, of the absolute, indefeasible right of sovereigns, made her be shocked with these republican topics; and she told the Scottish commissioners, that she was nowise satisfied with their reasons for justifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they might therefore, without attempting any apology, proceed to open the conditions which they required for their security. They replied, that their commission did not empower them to treat of any terms which might infringe the title and sovereignty of their young king, but they would gladly hear whatever proposals should be made them by her majesty. The conditions recommended by the queen were not disadvantageous to Mary; but as the commissioners still insisted that they were not authorized to treat in any manner concerning the restoration of that princess, the conferences were necessarily at an end; and Elizabeth dismissed the Scottish commissioners with injunctions, that they should return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament. The bishop of Ross openly complained to the English council that they had abused his mistress by fair promises and professions; and Mary herself was no longer at a loss to judge of Elizabeth's insincerity. By reason of these disappointments, matters came still nearer to extremities between the two princesses; and the queen of Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, every possible attempt for her liberty and security.

An incident also happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increase the vigilance and jealousy of the latter princess. Pope Pius V., who had succeeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendship of Elizabeth, whom his predecessor's violence had irritated, issued at last a bull of excommunication against her, deprived her of all title to the crown, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. It seems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a measure which was at that time in agitation. John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the bishop of London's palace; and scorning either to fly or to deny the fact, he was seized and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he seems to have entertained so violent an ambition.

A new parliament, after five years' interval, was assembled at Westminster. [We shall here foresake Hume's dissertation on the arbitrary proceedings of Elizabeth; as that celebrated author has been convicted, by the evidence of men of equal intellect and greater research, of exaggerating the subserviency of the people and parliament, in order the better to plead the cause of his favourite Stuarts. The following remarks are from Mackintosh.]

"The parliament, which met in 1571, furnished the first considerable instances of a pacific but vi-

gorous resistance in the house of commons to the power of the crown. The necessity which compelled Henry VIII. to obtain parliamentary concurrence, and thereby national support, to the violent revolutions which he made in the regal succession and in the ecclesiastical establishment, had the most decisive tendency to strengthen the authority of parliament. Both Edward and Mary were obliged for the like purposes to establish the jurisdiction of that assembly by examples of a similar nature; and Elizabeth contributed yet more largely to the same effect.

"Before this period, the struggles for the establishment of liberty, though they breathe an exalted spirit, and are pregnant with instructive lessons to the founders and improvers of free institutions, yet occurred in circumstances so unlike ours, and were justifiably mingled with so much violence, that, even where our information respecting them is complete, we cannot venture to follow them closely, or to copy them with that deference which is due to the precedents of a calmer and more near period. Much of what was done by Elizabeth must be blamed; but a great part of it may be explained under an immature constitution, by the perils which encompassed her, and by her popularity, which disposed the people to acquiesce in the irregular measures of a monarch who was rather their leader than their sovereign. This princess, who was so fortunate (whatever might have been her motives) as to be engaged in a constant and hazardous contest for the preservation of national independence and of religious liberty, was easily pardoned by her people for some of those infractions of the rights of individuals, which she was tempted or provoked to hazard. It must be acknowledged that her example was in this respect dangerous to those of her successors who, without the same glorious justification, employed their feeble faculties in more extensive transgressions.

"The first impulse towards a somewhat systematical opposition of a political nature arose from religion, the prime mover of all the great events of that age. Strickland, 'a grave and ancient man,' like most others zealously well affected to religion, was a member of the sect, or rather party, called Puritans, who were desirous of purifying their worship from practices abused by superstition, and of exalting the fervour of their piety to a pitch which would render it more independent of outward ceremonies. On the 6th of April he moved that a conference be desired with the spiritual lords on the means of bringing all things back to the purity of the primitive church, and to the divine institutions of Christ himself; but more especially to reform the more flagrant abuses by which papists were allowed to hold ecclesiastical office. 'Boys,' he said, 'were permitted by dispensations to have livings, unqualified men promoted, and some allowed to have too many benefices.' The conference was appointed, and several bills for reform in the church were in consequence introduced. Only one, of no great extent, against leasing benefices, was passed into a law. Strickland was called before the privy-council, by whom he was reproved for his boldness, and commanded to abstain from attendance in the house of commons till he should have leave. The queen soon yielded to the intimations thrown out that the house would require his presence, and he quietly resumed his seat. The ministers pretended that the restraint laid on Strickland was not on account of words spoken in the house, but for his exhibiting of a bill

in the house against the prerogative of the queen, which was not to be tolerated; meaning probably by these harsh words, that as the act of supremacy had subjected all ecclesiastical matters to the queen as head or ruler of the church, it would be unconstitutional in the commons without her previous recommendation to entertain questions of which the law had intrusted the sole determination to another constitutional authority. On occasion of the house of commons passing bills against non-residence and simony, she caused it to be intimated to them 'that she approved their good endeavours, but would not suffer these things to be ordered by parliament;' probably meaning, that she would protect her supremacy by the exercise of her negative, if they proceeded to invade her ecclesiastical prerogative, which the laws had vested exclusively in the crown. The commons were still too unrefined to resent, as a breach of privilege, the communication of her intention respecting proposed measures which she had the undisputed right to reject. Of all pretensions, that which savoured the least of an affectation of unbounded or even inherent power, was a claim derived from that royal supremacy over the church, of which the parliamentary origin was so fully established by the recent and very striking examples of its being granted to Henry VIII., continued to Edward, withdrawn under Mary, and restored to Elizabeth.

"Wentworth spoke with singular severity of Sir Humphry Gilbert, the celebrated navigator, whom he described clearly, though without naming him, as disposed 'to flatter and favour the prince; comparing him to a cameleon, which can change itself into all colours saving white, as the speaker to whom he alluded could change himself to all fashions but honesty.\*' This bitterly personal speech, which did not entirely spare the flattered, though it was aimed against the flatterer, was passed over without animadversion. The house took into consideration the case of nine ancient boroughs which had returned no burgesses to the last parliament,† and resolved that 'the burgesses shall remain according to the return, the right of the towns being to be elsewhere examined, if need be.' The house had exercised a similar jurisdiction in 1563, in the case of new representatives from boroughs which had not lately made any return.‡ On other subjects affecting the rights of election they exercised judicial power over offences against a free and pure choice of members, by fining the borough of Westbury in the sum of twenty pounds, for the offence of the mayor, who had sold the seat to Walter Long for four pounds. In discussing a bill concerning the validity of the elections of burgesses not residing in or near the boroughs which chose them, the house§ was led from these judicial proceedings to general

\* "Wentworth was member for Barnstaple, and Strickland for Scarborough."

† "East Loo, Fowey, Chichester, East Retford, Queenborough, Woodstock, Christchurch, Aldborough (in Suffolk), and Eye."

‡ "Tregony, St. Germans, St. Mawes, Minehead, Tamworth, Stockbridge."

"In former times," says the reporter, "it was common for poor or decayed boroughs to escape the payment of wages to burgesses, either by obtaining a licence from the sovereign not to elect, or by discontinuing that privilege themselves by degrees. But of late, since the members of the house, for the most part, bear their own charges, many of the boroughs who had discontinued their privilege resumed it, as the towns above mentioned."

§ "By the statutes of 5 Hen. 5. c. 1, and 23 Hen. 6. c. 15, it was enacted, that citizens and burgesses should be inhabitants of the towns which they represented. These ancient laws, after several centuries of avowed disuse, were repealed by 14 Geo. 3. c. 58. The bill adverted to in the text, which did not pass, seems to have had the same object with the repealing statute of George III."

reasonings on changes in the constitution of that assembly itself, not altogether dissimilar to those which in modern times have borne the name of Parliamentary Reform. Loud complaints were made in that debate of nominations of candidates by noblemen; and it was proposed to amerce any borough which should choose according to such nomination, in the (then not inconsiderable) sum of forty pounds. 'It was meant,' says a speaker whose name is not preserved, 'that men from every quarter, and of all sorts, should come to this court, and that they should freely be chosen.' Another member proposed that one of the members should be resident, but that liberty should be left in the choice of the other; in order that there might be no want 'of men learned and able to utter their opinions.'

"The same party of zealous protestants, who endeavoured to root out all Romish abuses in the church, were prompted by an equal solicitude to provide against the overthrow of the reformation by the queen of Scots, the catholic successor, whose designs could only be defeated by the marriage of Elizabeth, which would afford some likelihood of a protestant succession. Hence the conflicts of this growing party with the queen on the subject of obtaining the chance of an heir who should be protestant. In the preceding parliament of 1566-7 the queen had expressly forbidden the house to proceed further; and yet, two days after, she was content to withdraw her inhibition. The lord keeper, in answer to the speaker of the house of commons, had indeed warned that house, 'that they would do well to meddle with no matters of state but such as were propounded to them, and to occupy themselves in other matters concerning the commonwealth.'

"It is probable that, if the lord keeper had been urged to explain these alarming words, he would have taken refuge in the distinction between advice and command; that he might have represented 'matters of state' as meaning negotiations, international correspondence, and such other pending matters as ought to be left in that secrecy which their nature requires, and from which there is the less reason to drag them, because they cannot, in most cases, be carried into full effect without parliamentary grants, or without laws in which parliament must concur. Grave as the lord keeper was, he might have hinted that the observance of decorum towards the crown, which was a secondary principle of the constitution, almost forbade the exposure of the negotiation regarding the marriage of a female sovereign to the licence of public debate.

"Throughout the transactions of these parliaments Elizabeth found herself more than once under the necessity of retiring from the exposed positions to which she had advanced; nor was it only in her abandonment of hazardous measures, but in the frequent lowering of her tone, and more especially in the unsubdued spirit of her opponents, that the progress of parliamentary power may be most clearly discovered. The greatest accession to the authority of parliament, however, arose from the policy necessarily adopted by her, as it had been by her father, of resting on that authority as the foundation of the throne. By the first act of the parliament of 1571, which was professedly founded on present danger, and to continue in force only during the queen's life, many acts were raised to the character of high treason, of which the greater part by judicial construction have since become permanently overt acts of the ancient treason of compassing (or conspiring) the death of the sovereign



"In the fourth section of that statute it was provided, 'that any person who shall affirm or maintain that the queen's majesty, with and by the consent of the parliament, is not able to make laws of sufficient force to limit and bind the crown of this realm, and the descent, inheritance, and government thereof, every such person during the life of her majesty shall be adjudged a high traitor, and shall suffer and forfeit as in cases of high treason.' By this provision the doctrine of inviolable succession was solemnly condemned, the power of altering it was affirmed, inasmuch as to subject those who denied it to capital punishment, and that high power was declared to be not in the monarch alone, but in the monarch by the consent of parliament. It is wonderful, that after such a declaration of our constitutional law, a powerful party should have grown up in England on the avowed principle of an indefeasible and indeed divine right of succession.

"After the deposing bull, and the audacity with which it was affixed on the bishop of London's palace, a severe measure against papal bulls was naturally to be expected; and if it had been limited within the bounds of reason, would doubtless have been justifiable. But the parliament made it 'high treason to obtain or receive from the bishop of Rome any bull, writing, or instrument, containing any matter or thing whatsoever:' a persecuting enactment, which reduced catholics to the alternative of exposing themselves to death, or of foregoing many of those moral relations of life, which were in their opinion legitimatised only by the intervention of papal authority. This statute adopts a principle of cruel injustice, in order to preclude the possibility of some evasion, and outlaws the members of a great communion to avoid the risk of the introduction of a few criminal bulls, under cover of that multitude of them which were perfectly innocent. It might doubtless be said, and is indeed intimated in the preamble of this bill, that those who acknowledged the power of a pope who had issued the deposing bull lived in a permanent state of treason, and granted to the queen no more than a truce till they were better prepared for warfare. By such modes of reasoning, however, all tyranny might be justified, and peace might be for ever banished from human society. Greater discrimination in making laws, and a more assiduous vigilance in their execution, will always secure a government as much as that object can be obtained with safety to the permanent well-being of mankind. It must, however, be allowed, that it would be unjust to impute the heaviest blame to an European government of the sixteenth century for not reaching that elevation of justice to which scarcely any state in the nineteenth seems to aspire.

"Another cruel act was passed in the same session against emigrants who had left the realm without the queen's licence, subjecting their personal estate for ever, and their landed estates during their lives, to be confiscated, unless they returned within six months of proclamation made to that effect; on the alleged ground that 'they carry with them great sums of money to be spent among strangers,' besides employing it in the relief of traitors, and carrying on abroad their own treasonable projects. Enactments of this sort, or of the like barbarity, not thought beneath the standard of the time when they were adapted, still dishonour most codes; and in the present case may be regarded as examples of that bungling tyranny which punishes the innocent to make sure of including all the guilty; as well as

of that refined cruelty which, after rendering homelands odious, perhaps insupportable, pursues, with unrelenting rage, such of its victims as fly to foreign lands.

"The puritans, hitherto only a powerful and zealous party within the pale of the church, now meditated a separation from the religious establishment. The disputes continued to hinge on the vestments, and on other usages supposed to be superstitious, which formed a part of the established worship. The eminent divines of this party, at the head of whom was Cartwright, professor of theology at Cambridge, seem to have been content with a connivance at their conscientious non-compliance with the directions of the liturgy; and though they considered a parity among pastors to be more purely apostolic than the rank and power of prelates, they were not unwilling to wait in peace for the progress of a more perfect reformation. They were more especially ready to subscribe all the doctrinal articles of the church; praying exemption from those only which related to discipline. Perhaps men so ardent and of so much conscious honesty as the puritans would not long have contained themselves within those boundaries of moderation which were likely in time to be looked on with an evil eye, as compromises of conscience with convenience. The experiment of lenity was, however, not made. Cartwright was deprived of his professorship.

"An act was passed, subjecting all clergymen, not having received orders according to the formularies of Edward or Elizabeth, to deprivation, unless they subscribed all the articles, and read publicly in their parish churches the certificate of a bishop, bearing testimony that they had fulfilled that condition; without regard to a possession of, perhaps, thirteen years, and with no small disrespect towards the protestant churches, from whom the greatest part of the incumbents thus expelled, by a law substantially retrospective, had received holy orders."

We now return to Hume. The penalty of a premium was also imposed on every one who imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or such other implement of superstition, consecrated by the pope. The former laws against usury were enforced by a new statute. A supply of one subsidy and two-fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as she was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious in asking them for any supply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues suffice for the necessities of the crown, or she employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by some such ruinous expedient.

Though Elizabeth possessed such extensive influence over the parliament and the people; though during a course of thirteen years she had maintained the public tranquillity, which was only interrupted by the hasty and ill-concerted insurrection in the north, she was still kept in great anxiety, and felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions excited in France and the Low Countries, as well as in Scotland, seemed in one view to secure her against any disturbance; but they served, on more reflection, to instruct her in the danger of her situation, when she remarked that England, no less than these neighbouring countries, contained the seeds of intestine discord, the differences of religious opinion, and the furious intolerance and animosity of the opposite sectaries.

The league, formed at Bayonne in 1566 for the extermination of the protestants, had not been con-

cluded so secretly but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the hugonots; and finding that the measures of the court agreed with their suspicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the catholics were aware of the danger. The hugonots, though dispersed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of separate empire; and being closely united, as well by their religious zeal as by the dangers to which they were perpetually exposed, they obeyed, with entire submission, the orders of their leaders, who were ready on every signal to fly to arms. The king and queen-mother were living in great security at Monceaux in Brie, when they found themselves surrounded by protestant troops, which had secretly marched thither from all quarters; and had not a body of Swiss come speedily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen, without resistance, into the hands of the malcontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St. Denys; where, though the old Constable Montmorency, the general of the catholics, was killed combating bravely at the head of his troops, the hugonots were finally defeated. Condé, collecting his broken forces, and receiving a strong reinforcement from the German protestants, appeared again in the field; and laying siege to Chartres, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation.

So great was the mutual animosity of those religionists, that even had the leaders on both sides been ever so sincere in their intentions for peace, and reposed ever so much confidence in each other, it would have been difficult to retain the people in tranquillity; much more, where such extreme jealousy prevailed, and where the court employed every pacification as a snare for their enemies. A plan was laid for seizing the person of the prince and admiral; who narrowly escaped to Rochelle, and summoned their partisans to their assistance. The civil wars were renewed with greater fury than ever, and the parties became still more exasperated against each other. The young duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the forces of the catholics; and fought, in 1569, a great battle at Jarnac with the hugonots, where the prince of Condé was killed, and his army defeated. This discomfiture, with the loss of so great a leader, reduced not the hugonots to despair. The admiral still supported the cause; and having placed at the head of the protestants the prince of Navarre, then sixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, he encouraged the party rather to perish bravely in the field, than ignominiously by the hands of the executioner. He collected such numbers, so determined to endure every extremity, that he was enabled to make head against the duke of Anjou; and being strengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans, he obliged that prince to retreat, and to divide his forces.

Coligni then laid siege to Poitiers; and as the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprise, the duke of Guise, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himself into the place, and so animated the garrison by his valour and conduct, that the admiral was obliged to raise the siege. Such was the commencement of that unrivalled fame and grandeur afterwards attained by this duke of Guise. The attachment which all the catholics had borne to his father was immediately transferred to the son; and men

pleased themselves in comparing all the great and shining qualities which seemed in a manner hereditary in that family. Equal in affability, in munificence, in address, in eloquence, and in every quality which engages the affections of men; equal also in valour, in conduct, in enterprise, in capacity; there seemed only this difference between them, that the son, educated in more turbulent times, and finding a greater dissolution of all law and order, exceeded the father in ambition and temerity, and was engaged in enterprises still more destructive to the authority of his sovereign, and to the repose of his native country.

Elizabeth, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was nowise pleased with this new rise of her enemies the Guises; and being anxious for the fate of the protestants, whose interests were connected with her own, she was engaged, notwithstanding her aversion from all rebellion, and from all opposition to the will of the sovereign, to give them secretly some assistance. Besides employing her authority with the German princes, she lent money to the queen of Navarre, and received some jewels as pledges for the loan. And she permitted Henry Champignon to levy, and transport over into France, a regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers; among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to distinguish himself in that great school of military valour. The admiral, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and by the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithstanding their frequent experience of the obstinacy of the hugonots, and the vigour of Coligni, vainly flattered themselves that the force of the rebels was at last finally annihilated; and they neglected further preparations against a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were surprised to hear that this leader had appeared, without dismay, in another quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like constancy; had assembled an army; had taken the field; and was even strong enough to threaten Paris. The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders of the kingdom, and wasted by so many fruitless military enterprises, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithstanding his extreme animosity against the hugonots, was obliged, in 1570, to conclude an accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all past offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience.

Though a pacification was seemingly concluded, the mind of Charles was nowise reconciled to his rebellious subjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a snare, by which the perfidious court had projected to destroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. As the two young princes, the admiral, and the other leaders of the hugonots, instructed by past experience, discovered an extreme distrust of the king's intentions, and kept themselves in security at a distance, all possible artifices were employed to remove their apprehensions, and to convince them of the sincerity of the new counsels which seemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiously observed to them; the toleration was strictly maintained; all attempts made by the zealous catholics to infringe it were punished with severity; offices, and favours, and honours, were



bestowed on the principal nobility among the protestants; and the king and council every where declared, that, tired of civil disorders, and convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, they were therefore determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion.

Among the other artifices employed to lull the protestants into a fatal security, Charles affected to enter into close connexion with Elizabeth; and as it seemed not the interest of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princess the more easily flattered herself that the French monarch would prefer her friendship to that of the queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, proposals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and reputation for valour might naturally be supposed to recommend him to a woman who had appeared not altogether insensible to these endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, she laid herself the more open to be deceived. Negotiations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were proposed; difficulties started and removed; and the two courts, equally insincere, though not equally culpable, seemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and concessions. The great obstacle seemed to lie in adjusting the difference of religion; because Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her husband; and the duke of Anjou seemed unwilling to submit, for the sake of interest, to the dishonour of an apostasy.

The artificial politics of Elizabeth never triumphed so much in any contrivances as in those which were conjoined with her coquetry; and as her character in this particular was generally known, the court of France thought that they might, without danger of forming any final conclusion, venture the further in their concessions and offers to her. The queen also had other motives for dissimulation. Besides the advantage of discouraging Mary's partisans, by the prospect of an alliance between France and England, her situation with Philip demanded her utmost vigilance and attention; and the violent authority established in the Low Countries, made her desirous of fortifying herself even with the bare appearance of a new confederacy.

The theological controversies which had long agitated Europe had, from the beginning, penetrated into the Low Countries; and as these provinces maintained an extensive commerce, they had early received from every kingdom with which they corresponded, a tincture of religious innovation. An opinion at that time prevailed, which had been zealously propagated by priests, and implicitly received by sovereigns, that heresy was closely connected with rebellion, and that every great or violent alteration in the church involved a like revolution in the civil government. The forward zeal of the reformers would seldom allow them to wait the consent of the magistrate to their innovations: they became less dutiful when opposed and punished; and though their pretended spirit of reasoning and inquiry was, in reality, nothing but a new species of implicit faith, the prince took the alarm, as if no institutions could be secure from the temerity of their researches. The Emperor Charles, who proposed to augment his authority, under pretence of

defending the catholic faith, easily adopted these political principles; and notwithstanding the limited prerogative which he possessed in the Netherlands, he published the most arbitrary, severe, and tyrannical edicts against the protestants; and he took care that the execution of them should be no less violent and sanguinary. He was neither cruel nor bigoted in his natural disposition; yet an his torian, celebrated for moderation and caution, has computed, that, in the several persecutions promoted by that monarch, no less than a hundred thousand persons perished by the hands of the executioner.\* But these severe remedies, far from answering the purposes intended, had rather served to augment the numbers as well as the zeal of the reformers; and the magistrates of the several towns, seeing no end of those barbarous executions, felt their humanity rebel against their principles, and declined any further persecution of the new doctrines.

When Philip succeeded to his father's dominions, the Flemings were justly alarmed with new apprehensions; lest their prince, observing the lenity of the magistrates, should take the execution of the edicts from such remiss hands, and should establish the inquisition in the Low Countries, accompanied with all the iniquities and barbarities which attended it in Spain. The severe and unrelenting character of the man, his professed attachment to Spanish manners, the inflexible bigotry of his principles; all these circumstances increased their terror: and when he departed the Netherlands, with a known intention never to return, the disgust of the inhabitants was extremely augmented, and the dread of those tyrannical orders which their sovereign, surrounded with Spanish ministers, would issue from his cabinet at Madrid. He left the duchess of Parma, governess of the Low Countries; and the plain good sense and good temper of that princess, had she been entrusted with the sole power, would have preserved the submission of those opulent provinces, which were lost from that refinement of treacherous and barbarous politics on which Philip so highly valued himself. The Flemings found, that the name alone of regent remained with the duchess; that Cardinal Granville entirely possessed the king's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a resolution was taken never more to assemble the states; that new bishoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the persecuting edicts; and that, on the whole, they must expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under the Spanish monarchy. The discontents of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the populace; and all orders of men showed a strong disposition to revolt. Associations were formed, tumultuary petitions presented, names of distinction assumed, badges of party displayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal and irritated by feeble resistance, rose to such a height, that in several towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invasion on the established worship, pillaged the churches and monasteries, broke the images, and committed the most unwarrantable disorders.

The wiser part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horn, were alarmed at these excesses, to which their own discontents had at first given countenance;

\* Grotius. Father Paul, another great authority, computes that fifty thousand persons were put to death in the Low Countries alone.

and seconding the wisdom of the governess, they suppressed the dangerous insurrections, punished the ring-leaders, and reduced all the provinces to a state of order and submission. But Philip was not contented with the re-establishment of his ancient authority: he considered, that provinces so remote from the seat of government could not be ruled by a limited prerogative; and that a prince, who must entreat rather than command, would necessarily, when he resided among the people, feel every day a diminution of his power and influence. He determined, therefore, to lay hold of the late popular disorders, as a pretence for entirely abolishing the privileges of the Low Country provinces; and for ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary authority.

In the execution of this violent design, he employed a man, who was a proper instrument in the hands of such a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated amidst arms; and having attained a consummate knowledge in the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all government the severe discipline of a camp, and to conceive no measures between prince and subject, but those of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animosity to the Flemings, with his known character, struck that whole people with terror and consternation. It belongs not to our subject to relate at length those violences which Alva's natural barbarity, steeled by reflection, and aggravated by insolence, exercised on those flourishing provinces. It suffices to say, that all their privileges, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected; the Counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their great merits and past services, brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement; and thence delivered over to the executioner: and notwithstanding the peaceable submission of all men, nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death.

Elizabeth was equally displeased to see the progress of that scheme, laid for the extermination of the protestants, and to observe the erection of so great a military power, in a state situated in so near a neighbourhood. She gave protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, she reaped the advantage of introducing into England some useful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. Foreseeing that the violent government of Alva could not long subsist without exciting some commotion, she ventured to commit an insult upon him, which she would have been cautious not to hazard against a more established authority. Some Genoese merchants had engaged by contract with Philip, to transport into Flanders the sum of four hundred thousand crowns; and the vessels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by some privateers equipped by the French hugonots, and had taken shelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ships pretended that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding upon inquiry that it was the property of Genoese merchants, took possession of it as a loan; and by that means de-

prived the duke of Alva of this resource in the time of his greatest necessity. Alva, in revenge, seized all the English merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into prison, and confiscated their effects. The queen retaliated by the like violence on the Flemish and Spanish merchants; and gave all the English liberty to make reprisals on the subjects of Philip.

These differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants; but nothing could repair the loss which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, imposed by his arbitrary will the most ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods; he also demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every sale; an absurd tyranny, which would not only have destroyed all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance: the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbet: and thus matters came still nearer the last extremities between the Flemings and the Spaniards.

All the enemies of Elizabeth, in order to revenge themselves for her insults, had naturally recourse to one policy, the supporting of the cause and pretensions of the queen of Scots; and Alva, whose measures were ever violent, soon opened a secret intercourse with that princess. There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had resided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he conducted his commerce in England, had managed all the correspondence of the court of Rome with the catholic nobility and gentry. He had been thrown into prison at the time when the duke of Norfolk's intrigues with Mary had been discovered; but either no proof was found against him, or the part which he had acted was not very criminal; and he soon after recovered his liberty. This man, zealous for the catholic faith, had formed a scheme, in concert with the Spanish ambassador, for subverting the government, by a foreign invasion and a domestic insurrection; and when he communicated his project, by letter to Mary, he found that as she was now fully convinced of Elizabeth's artifices, and despaired of ever recovering her authority, or even her liberty, by pacific measures, she willingly gave her concurrence. The great number of discontented catholics were the chief source of their hopes on the side of England; and they also observed, that the kingdom was at that time full of indigent gentry, chiefly younger brothers, who having at present, by the late decay of the church, and the yet languishing state of commerce, no prospect of a livelihood suitable to their birth, were ready to throw themselves into any desperate enterprise. But in order to inspire life and courage into all these malcontents, it was requisite that some great nobleman should put himself at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the bishop of Ross, who entered into all these intrigues, so proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

This nobleman, when released from confinement in the Tower, had given his promise that he would drop all intercourse with the queen of Scots; but finding that he had lost, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being still, in some degree, restrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and despair,



to violate his word, and to open anew his correspondence with the captive princess. A promise of marriage was renewed between them: the duke engaged to enter into all her interests; and as his remorses gradually diminished in the course of these transactions, he was pushed to give his consent to enterprises still more criminal. Rodolph's plan was, that the duke of Alva should, on some other pretence, assemble a great quantity of shipping in the Low Countries; should transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, into England; should land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; should thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms the conspirators should please to impose upon her. Norfolk expressed his assent to this plan; and three letters, in consequence of it, were written in his name by Rodolph, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehensive of the danger, refused to sign them. He only sent to the Spanish ambassador a servant and confidant, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to vouch for the authenticity of these letters; and Rodolph, having obtained a letter of credence from the ambassador, proceeded on his journey to Brussels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and the pope embraced the scheme with alacrity: Rodolph informed Norfolk of their intentions: and every thing seemed to concur in forwarding the undertaking.

Norfolk, notwithstanding these criminal enterprises, had never entirely forgotten his duty to his sovereign, his country, and his religion; and though he had laid the plan both of an invasion and insurrection, he still flattered himself, that the innocence of his intentions would justify the violence of his measures, and that, as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the queen of Scots, and the obtaining of Elizabeth's consent to his marriage, he could not justly reproach himself as a rebel and a traitor. It is certain, however, that, considering the queen's vigour and spirit, the scheme, if successful, must finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here exposed to the utmost danger.

The conspiracy hitherto had entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of Secretary Cecil, who now bore the title of Lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's, that they first obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led at last to a full discovery. Mary had intended to send a sum of money to Lord Herries, and her partisans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Bannister, a servant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find some expedient for conveying it to Lord Herries. He entrusted the money to a servant who was not in the secret, and told him, that the bag contained a sum of money in silver, which he was to deliver to Bannister with a letter: but the servant conjecturing, from the weight and size of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh; who immediately ordered Bannister, Barker, and Hicford, the duke's secretary, to be put under arrest, and to undergo a severe examination. Torture, or the fear of it, made them confess the whole truth; and as Hicford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the house, full evidence now appeared against his master. Norfolk himself, who was entirely ignorant of the discoveries made by his servants, was brought before

the council; and though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confession, he persisted in denying every crime with which he was charged. The queen always declared, that, if he had given her this proof of his sincere repentance, she would have pardoned all his former offences; but finding him obstinate, she committed him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The bishop of Ross had, on some suspicion, been committed to custody before the discovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his share in the conspiracy. He at first insisted on his privilege; but he was told, that as his mistress was no longer a sovereign, he would not be regarded as an ambassador, and that, even if that character were allowed, it did not warrant him in conspiring against the sovereign at whose court he resided. As he still refused to answer interrogatories, he was informed of the confession made by Norfolk's servants, after which he no longer scrupled to make a full discovery; and his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond all question.

A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him. The trial was quite regular, even according to the strict rules observed at present in these matters; except that the witnesses gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the prisoner: a laudable practice, which was not at that time observed in trials for high treason.

Some of our historians have descanted on this trial as having been conducted with more than the usual atrocity of the age; the following remarks by Sir James Mackintosh may however be considered as just.

"To form a just estimate of our ancient trials, will be owned, by all who have attempted it, to be no easy undertaking. Our accounts of them are often deficient; still oftener unsatisfactory, from the popular manner in which they are composed, and their want of the legal phraseology, which, though it perplexes the general reader, yet, by its precision and permanence, enables a lawyer either then or afterwards to make an intelligible translation of it into common speech. To the difficulties arising from these circumstances, it must be added, that the rules of evidence (to say nothing of other principles of law) which were then observed were often diametrically opposite to those now accounted inviolable; our ancestors being sometimes accustomed to jumble together, undiscerningly, all kinds and degrees of proof; while we, rushing to the contrary extreme, by our rigorous maxims have excluded very valuable information. In considering a trial of ancient times, we ought to reserve our censure for cases in which either the inviolable and unchangeable principles of reason, justice, and humanity were violated, or where the rules of law, as they were understood, and as they were practised towards men in general, were, in defiance of even-handed justice, withheld from some individuals." He adds in a note, "I should not have said so much on a legal proceeding, if I had not been compelled, in some degree, to dissent from one of the most valuable, and, I must add, one of the most interesting, works of this age,—Mr. Phillips's abridgment of the State Trials, which wants nothing but a continuation of equal merit. That want may not indeed be soon supplied; for it is the work of a man who surveys the most contested, the most obscure, and the most bloody proceedings in our history, with the sagacity, probity, and sincerity of the wisest magistrate.

"I rather agree, however, with Mr. Hume, who considers the proceedings against Norfolk as considerably justified by the ordinary vice of the age."

The queen still hesitated concerning Norfolk's execution, whether that she was really moved by friendship and compassion towards a peer of that rank and merit, or that, affecting the praise of clemency, she only put on the appearance of these sentiments. Twice she signed a warrant for his execution, and twice revoked the fatal sentence; and though her ministers and counsellors pushed her to rigour, she still appeared irresolute and undetermined. After four months' hesitation, a parliament was assembled; and the commons addressed her, in strong terms, for the execution of the duke; a sanction, which, when added to the greatness and certainty of his guilt, would, she thought, justify, in the eyes of all mankind, her severity against that nobleman. Norfolk died with calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. That we may relate together affairs of a similar nature, we shall mention, that the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was also, a few months after, brought to the scaffold for his rebellion.

The following particulars of this transaction, from Lingard, will exemplify the still barbarous manners of the age. "To add to the sorrow of the captive queen (Mary of Scotland), the executions of the duke of Norfolk in England, and of the archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, were followed by that of her chivalrous and devoted adherent the earl of Northumberland. Morton, who during his exile in England, had received many favours from the earl, pretended to be his friend: a negotiation was opened between the countess and William Douglas, the keeper of the prisoner: and two thousand pounds, the stipulated price for his ransom, was deposited at Antwerp. Whether it was paid or not is unknown: but Morton treated, at the same time, with the English government, and accepted from Elizabeth an equal, perhaps a larger, sum. After a confinement of two years and a half, the earl was liberated from the castle of Lochleven, and conveyed on board a vessel to proceed, he was told, towards Flauders. To his surprise, he soon found himself in the harbour of Berwick; was conducted thence to York, and beheaded without a trial, in virtue of an act of attainder. On the scaffold he refused the aid of the clergyman, professed himself a catholic, and declared that he had satisfactorily answered every charge against him, in his letter to the council."

The queen of Scots was either the occasion or the cause of all these disturbances; but as she was a sovereign princess, and might reasonably, from the harsh treatment which she had met with, think herself entitled to use any expedient for her relief, Elizabeth durst not, as yet, form any resolution of proceeding to extremities against her. She only sent Lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Wilson, to espouse with her, and to demand satisfaction for all those parts of her conduct which, from the beginning of her life, had given displeasure to Elizabeth: her assuming the arms of England, refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's consent, concurring in the northern rebellion, practising with Rodolph to engage the king of Spain in an invasion of England, procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and allowing her

friends abroad to give her the title of queen of England. Mary justified herself from the several articles of the charge, either by the denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others. But the queen was little satisfied with her apology; and the parliament was so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. They employed some topics derived from practice and reason, and the laws of nations; but the chief stress was laid on passages and examples from the Old Testament, which, if considered as a general rule of conduct (an intention which it is unreasonable to suppose), would lead to consequences destructive of all principles of humanity and morality. Matters were here carried further than Elizabeth intended; and that princess, satisfied with showing Mary the disposition of the nation, sent to the house her express commands not to deal any further at present in the affair of the Scottish queen. Nothing could be a stronger proof, that the puritanical interest prevailed in the house, than the intemperate use of authorities derived from Scripture, especially from the Old Testament; and the queen was so little a lover of that sect, that she was not likely to make any concession merely in deference to their solicitation. She showed, this session, her disapprobation of their schemes in another remarkable instance. The commons had passed two bills for regulating ecclesiastical ceremonies; but she sent them an imperious message, and stopped all further proceedings in those matters.

But though Elizabeth would not carry matters to such extremities against Mary, as were recommended by the parliament, she was alarmed at the great interest and the restless spirit of that princess, as well as her close connexions with Spain; and she thought it necessary both to increase the rigour and strictness of her confinement, and to follow maxims different from those which she had hitherto pursued in her management of Scotland. That kingdom remained still in a state of anarchy. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged by his countenance, had taken possession of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the regent. By a sudden and unexpected inroad, they seized that nobleman at Stirling: but finding that his friends, rallying from the castle, were likely to rescue him, they instantly put him to death. The earl of Marr was chosen regent in his room; and found the same difficulties in the government of that divided country.

Lingard here introduces the following facts which Hume in a previous note had said had come to his knowledge after the composition of his history:—

"The queen, that she might escape the infamy of dipping her hands in the blood of her nearest relation, and presumptive heir, dispatched Killigrew to Edinburgh, ostensibly to hasten the accord between the regent and Mary's adherents in the castle, in reality, 'upon singular trust, and a matter of far greater moment, wherein all secrecy and circumspection was to be used.' That matter was to procure the death of the Scottish queen by the hands of her own subjects. But he was warned not to commit his sovereign, as if the proposal came from her. He was to assure himself of the real disposition of the regent, of the earl of Morton, and the other lords; to earn the confidence of those whom he found most apt; to lament before them, that Mary was not where she might be justly executed



for her crimes; and to work on their hopes and fears, till he should draw from them some expression, which might lead him to suggest the object of his mission, but as of himself, and merely as a passing thought. If it were entertained, he was authorized to negotiate a treaty on the following basis; that Elizabeth should deliver Mary to the king's lords, 'to receive that she had deserved ther by ordre of justice;' and that they should deliver their children or nearest kindred to Elizabeth as securities; 'that no further perill should ensue by hir escapyng, or setting hyr up agen: for otherwise to have hir, and to keep was over all other things the most dangerous.'

"Such was the delicate and important trust confided to the prudence and fidelity of Killigrew. If we may believe him, his heart revolted from the commission; though his fear of the royal displeasure compelled him to accept it. But the regent Marr was not of a character to pander to the jealousies or resentments of the English queen. His object was to heal the wounds of his unhappy country, and to rally all true Scotsmen round the standard of his royal pupil, on the ground that if Mary should ever recover her liberty, the mother and son might easily reconcile their respective interests. With this view he had sent back to England Randolph, the late envoy, whose policy it had been to perpetuate dissension, by tampering at the same time with the two opposite parties; and he now concluded, with the queen's lords, a private treaty for the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh. While arrangements were making for its publication and execution, he visited the earl of Morton at Dalkeith. Here he felt himself suddenly indisposed; rode immediately to Stirling, and in a few days expired. His friends attributed his death to poison.

"At the election of the next regent, Killigrew employed the English interest in favour of Morton, the most determined enemy of Mary, and the tried friend of the English ministers. The moment he was chosen, he pursued a very different policy from that of his predecessor. Having prevailed, through the persuasion of Elizabeth, on the Hamiltons and Gordons to acknowledge his authority, he demanded the unconditional surrender of the castle of Edinburgh. Kirkcaldy, Hume, and Maitland, the lords who held it, refused to place themselves at the mercy of their enemies; and Drury, marshal of Berwick, arrived in the port of Leith with an English army and battering train to enforce submission. It was in vain that the besieged by a messenger, and Mary by an ambassador, solicited aid in men and money from the French king. Charles replied, that circumstances compelled him to refuse the request. Should he grant it, Elizabeth would immediately send a fleet to the relief of La Rochelle.

"After a siege of thirty-four days the castle was surrendered to Drury and the queen of England, on condition that the fate of the prisoners should be at her disposal. She ordered both to be delivered to the regent; and in a few days Maitland died of poison; whether it was administered to him by order of Morton, as the queen of Scots asserts, or had been taken by himself to elude the malice of his enemies. His gallant associate Kirkcaldy suffered soon after the punishment of a traitor. The latter was esteemed the best soldier, the former the most able statesman, in Scotland: but both, according to the fashion of the age, had repeatedly veered from one party to the other, without regard to honesty or loyalty; and Maitland had been justly attainted

by parliament as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley."

The events which happened in France were not so agreeable to the queen's interests and inclinations. The fallacious pacifications, which had been so often made with the hugonots, gave them reason to suspect the present intentions of the court; and, after all the other leaders of that party were deceived into a dangerous credulity, the sagacious admiral still remained doubtful and uncertain. But his suspicions were at last overcome, partly by the profound dissimulation of Charles, partly by his own earnest desire to end the miseries of France, and return again to the performance of his duty towards his prince and country. He considered besides, that as the former violent conduct of the court had ever met with such fatal success, it was not unlikely that a prince, who had newly come to years of discretion, and appeared not to be rivetted in any dangerous animosities or prejudices, would be induced to govern himself by more moderate maxims. And as Charles was young, was of a passionate, hasty temper, and addicted to pleasure, such deep perfidy seemed either remote from his character, or difficult, and almost impossible, to be so uniformly supported by him. Moved by these considerations, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the hugonots, began to repose themselves in full security, and gave credit to the treacherous caresses and professions of the French court. Elizabeth herself, notwithstanding her great experience and penetration, entertained not the least distrust of Charles's sincerity; and being pleased to find her enemies of the house of Guise removed from all authority, and to observe an animosity every day growing between the French and Spanish monarchs, she concluded a defensive league with the former, and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walsingham, her ambassador, sent her over, by every courier, the most satisfactory accounts of the honour, and plain-dealing, and fidelity of that perfidious prince.

The better to blind the jealous hugonots, and draw their leaders into the snare prepared for them, Charles offered his sister, Margaret, in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral, with all the considerable nobility of the party, had come to Paris, in order to assist at the celebration of these nuptials, which, it was hoped, would finally, if not compose the differences, at least appease the bloody animosity of the two religions. The queen of Navarre was poisoned by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin: yet Charles, redoubling his dissimulation, was still able to retain the hugonots in their security; till, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, a few days after the marriage, the signal was given for a general massacre of those religionists, and the king himself, in person, led the way to these assassinations. The hatred long entertained by the Parisians against the protestants, made them second, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished ruin. The admiral, his son-in-law Teligni, Soubize, Rochefoucault, Pardailhon, Piles, Lavardin, men who, during the late wars, had signalized themselves by the most heroic actions, were miserably butchered, without resistance; the streets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people more enraged than satiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had saved the victims from further

insult, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank perished in this massacre, and near ten thousand of inferior condition. Orders were instantly dispatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the protestants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé, had been proposed by the duke of Guise; but Charles, softened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that these young princes might easily be converted to the catholic faith, determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety by a seeming change of their religion.

Dr. Lingard, who, as a catholic writer, is anxious to excuse the professors of his creed in this most barbarous transaction, in speaking of the numbers who fell victims to it, says, "Of the number of the victims in all these towns\* it is impossible to speak with certainty. Among the hugenot writers, Perefex reckons 100,000, Sully 70,000, Thuanus 30,000, La Popelinière 20,000, the reformed martyrologist 15,000, and Masson 10,000. But the martyrologist adopted a measure, which may enable us to form a probable conjecture. He procured from the ministers in the different towns, where massacres had taken place, lists of the names of the persons who had suffered, or were supposed to have suffered. He published the result in 1582, and the reader will be surprised to learn that in all France he could discover the names of no more than 786 persons. Perhaps, if we double that number, we shall not be far from the real amount."

Such is Dr. Lingard's opinion; but we think an account taken under such circumstances can be no criterion. An unauthorized individual of a proscribed and dreaded sect making inquiries on a subject full of danger, to people struck into the most abject state, that such a terrible and sudden event could produce, was not likely to gain any information worth noticing.

Charles, (we now return to Hume,) in order to cover this barbarous perfidy, pretended that a conspiracy of the hugenots to seize his person had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Fenelon, his ambassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late transaction. That minister, a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court; and even scrupled not to declare, that he was now ashamed to bear the name of Frenchman: yet he was obliged to obey his orders, and make use of the apology which had been prescribed to him. He met with that reception from all the courtiers, which he knew, the conduct of his master had so well merited. Nothing could be more awful and affecting than the solemnity of his audience. A melancholy sorrow sat on every face: silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment: the courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed him to pass, without affording him one salute or favourable look; till he was admitted to the queen herself. That princess received him with a more easy, if not a more gracious countenance; and heard his apology, without discovering any visible symptoms

of indignation. She then told him, that though, on the first rumour of this dreadful intelligence, she had been astonished that so many brave men and loyal subjects, who rested secure on the faith of their sovereign, should have been suddenly butchered in so barbarous a manner, she had hitherto suspended her judgment, till further and more certain information should be brought her: that the account which he had given, even if founded on no mistake or bad information, though it might alleviate, would by no means remove the blame of the king's counsellors, or justify the strange irregularity of their proceedings: that the same force which, without resistance, had massacred so many defenceless men, could easily have secured their persons, and have reserved them for a trial, and for punishment, by a legal sentence, which would have distinguished the innocent from the guilty: that the admiral, in particular, being dangerously wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whose protection he seemed entirely to rely, had no means of escape, and might surely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes imputed to him: that it was more worthy of a sovereign to reserve in his own hands the sword of justice, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who being the declared and mortal enemies of the persons accused, employed it without mercy and without distinction: that if these sentiments were just, even supposing the conspiracy of the protestants to be real, how much more so, if that crime was a calumny of their enemies, invented for their destruction? That if, upon inquiry, the innocence of these unhappy victims should afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abused his confidence, had murdered so many of his brave subjects, and had done what in them lay to cover him with everlasting dishonour: and that for her part, she should form her judgment of his intentions by his subsequent conduct; and in the mean time should act as desired by the ambassador, and rather pity than blame his master for the extremities to which he had been carried.

Elizabeth was fully sensible of the dangerous situation in which she now stood. In the massacre of Paris, she saw the result of that general conspiracy, formed for the extermination of the protestants; and she knew that she herself, as the head and protectress of the new religion, was exposed to the utmost fury and resentment of the catholics. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Low Countries was another branch of the same conspiracy; and as Charles and Philip, two princes nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity as well as in bigotry, had now laid aside their pretended quarrel, and had avowed the most entire friendship, she had reason, as soon as they had appeased their domestic commotions, to dread the effects of their united counsels. The duke of Guise also, and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive the admiral, had hitherto kept at a distance, had now acquired an open and entire ascendant in the court of France; and she was sensible that these princes, from personal as well as political reasons, were her declared and implacable enemies. The queen of Scots, their near relation and close confederate, was the pretender to her throne; and, though detained in custody, was actuated by a restless spirit, and, besides her foreign allies, possessed numerous and zealous partisans in the heart of the kingdom. For these reasons, Elizabeth thought it more prudent not to reject all commerce with the French monarch, but still to

\* Paris, Orleans, Lyons, Rouen, Toulouse, and Bordeaux.



listen to the professions of friendship which he made her. She allowed even the negotiations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother: those with the duke of Anjou had already been broken off. She sent the earl of Worcester to assist in her name at the baptism of a young princess, born to Charles; but before she agreed to give him this last mark of condescension, she thought it becoming her dignity, to renew her expressions of blame, and even of detestation, against the cruelties exercised on his protestant subjects. Meanwhile, she prepared herself for that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romanists: she fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, cultivated popularity with her subjects, acted with vigour for the further reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself at these treacherous and sanguinary measures, so universally embraced by the catholics.

But though Elizabeth cautiously avoided coming to extremities with Charles, the greatest security that she possessed against his violence was derived from the difficulties which the obstinate resistance of the hugonots still created to him. Such of that sect as lived near the frontiers, immediately, on the first news of the massacres, fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland; where they excited the compassion and indignation of the protestants, and prepared themselves, with increased forces, and redoubled zeal, to return into France, and avenge the treacherous slaughter of their brethren. Those who lived in the middle of the kingdom, took shelter in the nearest garrisons occupied by the hugonots; and finding, that they could repose no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, were determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. The sect, which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thousand men on foot, and possessed, in different parts of the kingdom, above a hundred cities, castles, or fortresses; nor could that prince deem himself secure from the invasion threatened him by all the other protestants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were roused to such a pitch of resentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own charge: but Elizabeth, who was cautious in her measures, and who feared to inflame further the quarrel between the two religions by these dangerous crusades, refused her consent, and moderated the zeal of her subjects. The German princes, less political or more secure from the resentment of France, forwarded the levies made by the protestants; and the young prince of Condé, having escaped from court, put himself at the head of these troops, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorency, and many considerable men even among the catholics, displeased, either on a private or public account, with the measures of the court, favoured the progress of the hugonots; and every thing relapsed into confusion. The king, instead of repenting his violent counsels, which had brought matters to such extremities, called aloud for new violences; nor could even the mortal distemper under which he laboured, moderate the rage and animosity by which he was actuated. He died without male issue, at the age of twenty-five years;

a prince, whose character, containing that unusual mixture of dissimulation and ferocity, of quick resentment and unrelenting vengeance, executed the greatest mischiefs, and threatened still worse, both to his native country and to all Europe.

The duke of Anjou, who had, some time before, been elected king of Poland, no sooner heard of his brother's death, than he hastened to take possession of the throne of France as Henry the Third; and found the kingdom not only involved in the greatest present disorders, but exposed to infirmities, for which it was extremely difficult to provide any suitable remedy. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or suffered; and as all faith had been violated and moderation banished, it seemed impracticable to find any terms of composition between them. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands had more authority than the will of the sovereign; and even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counsels of Guise and his family. The religious connexions had, on both sides, superseded the civil; or rather (for men will always be guided by present interest), two empires being secretly formed in the kingdom, every individual was engaged by new views of interest to follow those leaders, to whom, during the course of past convulsions, he had been indebted for his honours and preferment.

Henry, observing the low condition of the crown, had laid a scheme for restoring his own authority, by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the talents of dissimulation requisite for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, application, and sound judgment, instead of acquiring a superiority over both factions, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partisans of each to adhere still more closely to their particular leaders, whom they found more cordial and sincere in the cause which they espoused. The hugonots were strengthened by the accession of a German army under the prince of Condé and Prince Casimir; but much more by the credit and personal virtues of the king of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himself at the head of that formidable party. Henry, in prosecution of his plan, entered into a composition with them; and being desirous of preserving a balance between the sects, he granted them peace on the most advantageous conditions. This was the fifth general peace made with the hugonots; but though it was no more sincere on the part of the court than any of the former, it gave the highest disgust to the catholics; and afforded the duke of Guise the desired pretence of declaiming against the measures, and maxims, and conduct of the king.

That artful and bold leader took thence an occasion of reducing his party into a more formed and regular body; and he laid the first foundations of the famous League, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the hugonots. Such was the unhappy condition of France from the past severities and violent conduct of its princes, that toleration could no longer be admitted; and concession for liberty of conscience, which would probably have appeased the reformers, excited the greatest resentment in the catholics. Henry, in order to divert the force of the league from himself, and even to elude its

efforts against the hugonots, declared himself the head of that seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romanists. But his dilatory and feeble measures betrayed his reluctance to the undertaking; and after some unsuccessful attempts he concluded a new peace, which, though less favourable than the former to the protestants, gave no contentment to the catholics. Mutual diffidence still prevailed between the parties; the king's moderation was suspicious to both; each faction continued to fortify itself against that breach, which, they foresaw, must speedily ensue; theological controversy daily wetted the animosity of the sects; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.

The king, hoping by his artifice and subtlety, to allure the nation into a love of pleasure and repose, was himself caught in the snare; and, sinking into a dissolute indolence, wholly lost the esteem, and, in a great measure, the affections of his people. Instead of advancing such men of character and abilities as were neutrals between these dangerous factions, he gave all his confidence to young agreeable favourites, who, unable to prop his falling authority, leaned entirely upon it, and inflamed the general odium against his administration. The public burdens, increased by his profuse liberality, and felt more heavily by a disordered kingdom, became another ground of complaint; and the uncontrolled animosity of parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open state of foreign or even domestic hostility. The artifices of the king were too refined to succeed, and too frequent to be concealed; and the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themselves without reserve to one or the other of those great leaders.

The civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's foresight and vigilance, though somewhat restrained by her frugality, led her to take secretly some part in them. Besides employing on all occasions her good offices in favour of the hugonots, she had expended no inconsiderable sums in levying that army of Germans which the prince of Condé and Prince Casimir conducted into France; and notwithstanding her negotiations with the court, and her professions of amity, she always considered her own interests as connected with the prosperity of the French protestants and the depression of the house of Guise. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the league: had entered into the closest correspondence with Guise; and had employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. The sympathy of religion, which of itself begat a connexion of interests, was one considerable inducement; but that monarch had also in view, the subduing of his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands; who, as they received great encouragement from the French protestants, would, he hoped, finally despair of success, after the entire suppression of their friends and confederates.

The same political views which engaged Elizabeth to support the hugonots, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in these mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithstanding

all temptations and all provocations, to preserve some terms of amity with that monarch. The Spanish ambassador represented to her, that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas, and preyed on his master's subjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to dispose of their prizes; and by these remonstrances the queen found herself under a necessity of denying them all entrance into her dominions. But this measure proved in the issue extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip. These desperate exiles, finding no longer any possibility of subsistence, were forced to attempt the most perilous enterprises; and they made an assault on the Brille, a sea-port town in Holland, where they met with success, and, after a short resistance, became masters of the place. The duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and, stopping those bloody executions which he was making on the defenceless Flemings, he hastened with his army to extinguish the flame, which, falling on materials so well prepared for combustion, seemed to menace a general conflagration. His fears soon appeared to be well-grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppression, insolence, usurpation, and persecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days almost the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared against the tyranny of Alva. This event happened in the year 1572.

William, prince of Orange, descended from a sovereign family of great lustre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the possessions of a sovereign family in France, had fixed his residence in the Low Countries; and on account of his noble birth and immense riches, as well as of his personal merit, was universally regarded as the greatest subject that lived in those provinces. He had opposed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progress of the Spanish usurpations; and when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and assumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical spirit of the court of Madrid, wisely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal estate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in absence, was declared a rebel, and his ample possessions in the Low Countries were confiscated. In revenge he had levied an army of protestants in the empire, and had made some attempts to restore the Flemings to liberty; but was still repulsed with loss by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery, as well as discipline, of those veteran Spaniards who served under that general.

The revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him anew from his retreat; and he added conduct, no less than spirit, to that obstinate resistance which was here made to the Spanish dominion. By uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, the offspring of industry and liberty, whose arms and policy have long made so signal a figure in every transaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom could inspire. Though the present greatness of the Spanish monarchy might de-



prive them of all courage, he still flattered them with the concurrence of the other provinces, and with assistance from neighbouring states; and he exhorted them, in defence of their religion, their liberties, their lives, to endure the utmost extremities of war. From this spirit proceeded the desperate defence of Haerlem; a defence which nothing but the most consuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thousand of the inhabitants. This extreme severity, instead of striking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by despair; and the vigorous resistance made at Alcemaer, where Alva was finally repulsed, showed them that their insolent enemies were not invincible. The duke, finding at last the pernicious effects of his violent councils, solicited to be recalled: Medina-celi, who was appointed his successor, refused to accept the government: Requesens, commendator of Castile, was sent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574; leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boasting in his turn, that, during the course of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thousand of these rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner.

Requesens, though a man of milder dispositions, could not appease the violent hatred which the revolted Hollanders had conceived against the Spanish government; and the war continued as obstinate as ever. In the siege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dikes and sluices, in order to drive them from the enterprise; and the very peasants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the hated tyranny of Spain. But notwithstanding this repulse, the governor still pursued the war; and the contest seemed too unequal between so mighty a monarchy, and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the desperate resolution of the inhabitants. The prince of Orange, therefore, in 1575, was resolved to sue for foreign succour and to make applications to one or other of his great neighbours, Henry or Elizabeth. The court of France was not exempt from the same spirit of tyranny and persecution which prevailed among the Spaniards; and that kingdom, torn by domestic dissensions, seemed not to enjoy, at present, either leisure or ability to pay regard to foreign interests. But England, long connected, both by commerce and alliance, with the Netherlands, and now more concerned in the fate of the revolted provinces by sympathy in religion, seemed naturally interested in their defence; and as Elizabeth had justly entertained great jealousy of Philip, and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity, hopes were entertained, that her policy, her ambition, or her generosity, would engage her to support them under their present calamities. They sent therefore a solemn embassy to London, consisting of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Neville, Buys, and Melsen; and after employing the most humble supplications to the queen, they offered her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence.

There were many strong motives which might impel Elizabeth to accept of so liberal an offer. She was apprised of the injuries which Philip had done her, by his intrigues with the malcontents in England and Ireland: she foresaw the danger which she must incur from a total prevalence of the catholics in the Low Countries: and the maritime situation of those provinces, as well as their command over

the great rivers, was an inviting circumstance to a nation like the English, who were beginning to cultivate commerce and naval power. But this princess, though magnanimous, had never entertained the ambition of making conquests, or gaining new acquisitions; and the whole purpose of her vigilant and active politics was to maintain, by the most frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spanish monarchy was the apparent consequence of her accepting the dominion of these provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never afterwards in honour abandon them, but, however desperate their defence might become, she must embrace it, even further than her convenience or interest would permit. For these reasons, she refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty proffered her; but told the ambassadors, that, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the States had shown her, she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the most reasonable terms that could be obtained. She sent accordingly Sir Henry Cobham to Philip; and represented to him the danger which he would incur of losing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the least interval from her intestine disorders, and find leisure to offer her protection to those mutinous and discontented provinces. Philip seemed to take this remonstrance in good part; but no accord ensued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the same rage and violence as before.

It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their present desperate situation. Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny, and threw every thing into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maestricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants: they threatened the other cities with a like fate: and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had so fortified themselves, and that the Spanish troops were so divided by their situation, that there was no possibility of resistance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and these provinces seemed at last to breathe a little from their calamities.

But it was not easy to settle entire peace, while the thirst of revenge and dominion governed the king of Spain, and while the Flemings were so strongly agitated with resentment of past, and fear of future, injuries. The ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for his military talents, engaged him rather to inflame than appease the quarrel; and as he found the States determined to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, seized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish army from Italy. This prince, endowed with a lofty genius, and elated by the prosperous successes of his youth, had opened his mind to vast undertakings; and looking much beyond the

conquests of the revolted provinces, had projected to espouse the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the British kingdoms. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and seeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair prospect of their making a long and vigorous defence against Spain, she no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which seemed so intimately connected with her own safety. After sending them a sum of money, about twenty thousand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, she concluded a treaty with them; in which she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thousand pounds, on receiving the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, for her repayment within the year. It was further agreed, that the commander of the English army should be admitted into the council of the States; and nothing be determined concerning war or peace, without previously informing the queen or him of it; that they should enter into no league without her consent; that if any discord arose among themselves, it should be referred to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, should attempt hostilities against her, they should send to her assistance an army equal to that which she had employed in their defence. This alliance was signed on the 7th of January 1578.

One considerable inducement to the queen for entering into treaty with the States, was to prevent their throwing themselves into the arms of France; and she was desirous to make the king of Spain believe that it was her sole motive. She represented to him, by her ambassador, Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto she had religiously acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had advised the prince of Orange to submit to the king; and had even accompanied her counsel with menaces, in case of his refusal. She persevered, she said, in the same friendly intentions; and, as a proof of it, would venture to interpose with her advice for the composure of the present differences: let Don John, whom she could not but regard as her mortal enemy, be recalled; let some other prince more popular be substituted in his room; let the Spanish armies be withdrawn; let the Flemings be restored to their ancient liberties and privileges: and if, after these concessions, they were still obstinate not to return to their duty, she promised to join her army with those of the king of Spain, and force them to compliance. Philip dissembled his resentment against the queen; and still continued to supply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulsed at Rimenant by the valour of the English under Norris, and though opposed, as well by the army of the States as by Prince Cassimir who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen, gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in the midst of his prosperity by poison, given him secretly, as was suspected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma succeeded to the command; who, uniting valour and clemency, negotiation and military exploits, made great progress against the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progress of the Spaniards by his arts, as well as by his arms.

During these years, while Europe was almost every where in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing chiefly to the pru-

dence and vigour of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions which she employed in all her measures. By supporting the zealous protestants in Scotland, she had twice given them the superiority over their antagonists, had closely connected their interests with her own, and had procured herself entire security from that quarter, whence the most dangerous invasions could be made upon her. She saw in France her enemies, the Guises, though extremely powerful, yet counterbalanced by the hugonots, her zealous partisans; and even hated by the king, who was jealous of their restless and exorbitant ambition. The bigotry of Philip gave her just ground of anxiety; but the same bigotry had happily excited the most obstinate opposition among his own subjects, and had created him enemies, whom his arms and policy were not likely soon to subdue. The queen of Scots, her antagonist and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a prisoner in her hands; and by her impatience and high spirit had been engaged in practices, which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partisans in England.

Religion was the capital point, on which depended all the political transactions of that age; and the queen's conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could scarcely be accused of severity or imprudence. She established no inquisition into men's bosoms: she imposed no oath of supremacy, except on those who receive trust or emolument from the public: and though the exercise of every religion but the established was prohibited by statute, the violation of this law, by saying mass, and receiving the sacrament in private houses, was, in many instances, connived at; while, on the other hand, the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, showed little reluctance against going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worship. The pope, sensible that this practice would by degrees reconcile all his partisans to the reformed religion, hastened the publication of the bull, which excommunicated the queen, and freed her subjects from their oath of allegiance; and great pains were taken by the emissaries of Rome, to render the breach between the two religions as wide as possible, and to make the frequenting of protestant churches appear highly criminal in the catholics. These practices, with the rebellion which ensued, increased the vigilance and severity of the government; but the Romanists, if their condition were compared with that of the Nonconformists in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not justly complain of violence or persecution.

The queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a strict hand over the puritans; who, though their pretensions were not so immediately dangerous to her authority, seemed to be actuated by a more unreasonable obstinacy, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to discern the full scope and intention. Some secret attempts of that sect to establish a separate congregation and discipline had been carefully repressed in the beginning of this reign; and when any of the established clergy discovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had shown a determined resolution to punish them by fines and deprivation; though her orders to that purpose had been frequently eluded, by the secret protection



which these secretaries received from some of her most considerable courtiers.

But what chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the hearts of her subjects, was, her frugality, which, though carried sometimes to an extreme, led her not to amass treasures, but only to prevent impositions upon her people, who were at that time very little accustomed to bear the burthens of government. By means of her rigid economy, she paid all the debts which she found on the crown, with their full interest; though some of these debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father. Some loans which she had exacted at the commencement of her reign, were repaid by her; a practice in that age somewhat unusual: and she established her credit on such a footing, that no sovereign in Europe could more readily command any sum, which the public exigencies might at any time require. During this peaceable and uniform government, England furnishes few materials for history; and except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

As we intend in the appendix to give a connected view of the system of Elizabeth's government, and a review of the parliaments and the progress of their power, we shall not stay to give an account of the debates of the commons of this period, further than to say that they maintained, this session, their dignity against an encroachment of the peers, and would not agree to a conference, which they thought was demanded of them in an irregular manner. They acknowledged, however, with all humbleness (such is their expression), the superiority of the lords: they only refused to give that house any reason for their proceedings; and asserted, that, where they altered a bill sent them by the peers, it belonged to them to desire a conference, not to the upper house to require it.

The commons granted an aid of one subsidy and two fifteenths. Mildmay, in order to satisfy the house concerning the reasonableness of this grant, entered into a detail of the queen's past expenses in supporting the government, and of the increasing charges of the crown, from the daily increase in the price of all commodities. He did not, however, forget to admonish them, that they were to regard this detail as the pure effect of the queen's condescension, since she was not bound to give them any account how she employed her treasure.

## CHAP. XLV.

*Affairs of Scotland—Spanish Affairs—Sir Francis Drake—A Parliament—Negotiations of Marriage with the Duke of Anjou—Affairs of Scotland—Letter of Queen Mary to Elizabeth—Conspiracies in England—A Parliament—The ecclesiastical Commission—Affairs of the Low Countries—Hostilities with Spain.*

THE greatest and most absolute security that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign, never exempted her from vigilance and attention; but the scene began now to be more overcast, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from more than one quarter.

The earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in strict alliance with the queen, and had also restored domestic tranquillity to that kingdom: but

it was not to be expected that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itself in a country unacquainted with law and order; where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes so often met with opposition and control. The nobility began anew to break into factions: the people were disgusted with some instances of Morton's avarice: and the clergy, who complained of further encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and increased the discontent of the other orders. The regent was sensible of his dangerous situation; and having dropped some peevish expressions, as if he were willing or desirous to resign, the noblemen of the opposite party, favourites of the young king, laid hold of this concession, and required that demission which he seemed so frankly to offer them. James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having secured himself, as he imagined, by a general pardon, resigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the administration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government, and seemed to employ himself entirely in the care of his domestic affairs; but, either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared insipid after the agitations of ambition, or thinking it time to throw off dissimulation, he came again to court; acquired an ascendancy in the council; and though he resumed not the title of regent, governed with the same authority as before. The opposite party, after holding separate conventions, took to arms, on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and restoring him to the free exercise of his government: Queen Elizabeth interposed by her ambassador, Sir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factions: Morton kept possession of the government: but his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority seemed to become every day more precarious.

The Count d'Aubigny, of the house of Lenox, cousin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good address and a sweet disposition, he appeared to the duke of Guise a proper instrument for detaching James from the English interest, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He too soon appeared at Stirling, where James resided, than he acquired the affections of the young monarch; and joining his interests with those of James Stuart of the house of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour, he employed himself, under the appearance of play and amusement, in instilling into the tender mind of the prince new sentiments of politics and government. He represented to him the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain thoughts either of resigning the crown into her hands, or of associating her with him in the administration. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which might ensue from the prevalence of this interest in Scotland, sent anew Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and accusing D'Aubigny, now created earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James against entertaining such auspicious and dangerous connexions. The king excused himself, by Sir Alexander Hume his ambassador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared against him, was further confirmed in his intention of overturning the English interest, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arrested in council, accused as an accomplice in the

late king's murder, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. He confessed that Bothwell had communicated to him the design, had pleaded Mary's consent, and had desired his concurrence; but he denied that he himself had ever expressed any approbation of the crime; and, in excuse for his concealing it, he alleged the danger of revealing the secret, either to Henry, who had no resolution nor constancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder. Sir Thomas Randolph was sent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambassador, not content with discharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his persuasion, the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Marr, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be assembled on the borders of England; but this expedient served only to hasten his sentence and execution. Morton died with that constancy and resolution, which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation, which was less disputed with regard to abilities than probity and virtue. But this conclusion of the scene happened not till the subsequent year.

Elizabeth was, during this period, extremely anxious on account of every revolution in Scotland; both because that country alone, not being separated from England by sea, and bordering on all the catholic and malcontent counties, afforded her enemies a safe and easy method of attacking her; and because she was sensible, that Mary, thinking herself abandoned by the French monarch, had been engaged by the Guises to have recourse to the powerful protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and suffered, more exasperated against her. That he might retaliate the assistance which she gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had sent, under the name of the pope, a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent, and discontented with the English government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spanish general, San Josepho, built a fort in Kerry; and being there besieged by the earl of Ormond, president of Munster, who was soon after joined by Lord Gray, the deputy, he made a weak and cowardly defence. After some assaults, feebly sustained, he surrendered at discretion; and Gray, who commanded but a small force, finding himself encumbered with so many prisoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the sword without mercy, and hanged about fifteen hundred of the Irish: a cruelty which gave great displeasure to Elizabeth.

When the English ambassador made complaints of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who had assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the new world. This man, sprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired considerable riches by depredations made in the isthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a sight of the Pacific ocean, was so stimulated by ambition and avarice, that he scrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through those seas, so much unknown at that time to all the European nations. By means of Sir Christopher Hat-

ton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen's, he obtained her consent and approbation; and he set sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four able sailors. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the same way homewards, by which he had reached the Pacific ocean, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprise, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the first Englishman who sailed round the Globe; and the first commander-in-chief: for Magellan, whose ship executed the same adventure, died in his passage. His name became celebrated on account of so bold and fortunate an attempt; but many, apprehending the resentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to persuade the queen, that it would be more prudent to disavow the enterprise, to punish Drake, and to restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the prospect of sharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant sailor: she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had achieved so memorable a voyage. When Philip's ambassador, Mendoza, exclaimed against Drake's piracies, she told him, that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole new world, and excluding thence all other European nations, who should sail thither, even with a view of exercising the most lawful commerce, naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into those countries. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, she caused part of the booty to be restored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants whom Drake had spoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had seized the money, and had employed part of it against herself in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the prince of Parma's troops, she determined to make no more restitutions.

There was another cause, which induced the queen to take this resolution: she was in such want of money, that she was obliged to assemble a parliament, a measure, which, as she herself openly declared, she never embraced, except when constrained by the necessity of her affairs. The parliament besides granting her a supply of one subsidy and two-fifteenths, enacted some statutes for the security of her government, chiefly against the attempts of the catholics. Whoever, in any way, reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treason; to say mass was subjected to the penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being present was punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of one hundred marks: a fine of twenty pounds a month was imposed on every one who continued, during that time, absent from church. To utter slanderous or seditious words against the queen was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence. The puritans prevailed so far as to have further applications made for reformation in religion. And Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that



name who had distinguished himself in the preceding session, moved, That the commons, from their own authority, should appoint a general fast and prayers: a motion, to which the house unwarily assented. For this presumption, they were severely reprimanded by a message from the queen, as encroaching on the royal prerogative and supremacy; and they were obliged to submit and ask forgiveness.

The queen and parliament were engaged to pass these severe laws against the catholics, by some late discoveries of the treasonable practices of their priests. When the ancient worship was suppressed, and the reformation introduced into the universities, the king of Spain reflected, that, as some species of literature was necessary for supporting these doctrines and controversies, the Romish communion must decay in England, if no means were found to give erudition to the ecclesiastics; and for this reason, he founded a seminary at Douay, where the catholics sent their children, chiefly such as were intended for the priesthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like seminary in his diocese of Rheims; and though Rome was somewhat distant, the pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the same nature, that capital of orthodoxy. These seminaries, founded with so hostile an intention, sent over every year a colony of priests, who maintained the catholic superstition in its full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an extreme hatred against the queen; whom they treated as an usurper, a schismatic, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and one solemnly and publicly anathematized by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purposes against her; and the severe restraint, not to say persecution, under which the catholics laboured, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghostly fathers, such violent doctrines.

These seminaries were all of them under the direction of the Jesuits, a new order of regular priests erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived, that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who were suffered in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side, and that the inquisitive spirit of the age required a society more active and more learned, to oppose its dangerous progress. These men, as they stood foremost in the contest against the protestants, drew on them the extreme animosity of that whole sect; and by assuming a superiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were even exposed to the envy of their brethren: so that it is no wonder, if the blame, to which their principles and conduct might be exposed, has, in many instances, been much exaggerated. This reproach, however, they must bear from posterity, that, by the very nature of their institution, they were engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual remedy against superstition, into a nourishment of that infirmity; and, as their education was chiefly of the ecclesiastical and scholastic kind (though a few members have cultivated polite literature), they were only the more enabled, by that acquisition, to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, and to erect a regular system of casuistry, by which prevarication, perjury,

and every crime, when it served their ghostly purposes, might be justified and defended.

The Jesuits, as devoted servants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and, by maintaining his authority of deposing kings, set no bounds either to his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. This doctrine became so prevalent among the zealous catholics in England, that the excommunication fulminated against Elizabeth excited many scruples of a singular kind, to which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to resist the queen's usurpation; and many Romanists were apprehensive, that, by this clause, they were obliged in conscience, even though no favourable opportunity offered, to rebel against her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indispensable duty. But Parsons and Campion, two Jesuits, were sent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their disciples, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partisans, it did not oblige the catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new summons, to require it. Campion was afterwards detected in treasonable practices; and being put to the rack, and confessing his guilt, he was publicly executed. His execution was ordered at the very time when the duke of Anjou was in England, and prosecuted with the greatest appearance of success, his marriage with the queen; and this severity was probably intended to appease her protestant subjects, and to satisfy them, that whatever measures she might pursue, she never would depart from the principles of the reformation.

The duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, (his brother Henry, who had hitherto borne that title being on the French throne,) had never entirely dropped his pretensions to Elizabeth; and that princess, though her suitor was near twenty-five years younger than herself, and had no knowledge of her person, but by pictures or descriptions, was still pleased with the image, which his addresses afforded her, of love and tenderness. The duke, in order to forward his suite, besides employing his brother's ambassador, sent over Simier, an agent of his own; an artful man, of an agreeable conversation, who, soon remarking the queen's humour, amused her with gay discourse, and instead of serious political reasonings, which, he found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his master's interests, he introduced every moment all the topics of passion and of gallantry. The pleasure which she found in this man's company, soon produced a familiarity between them; and, amidst the greatest hurry of business, her most confidential ministers had not such ready access to her, as had Simier, who on pretence of negotiation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the duke of Anjou. The earl of Leicester, who had never before been alarmed with any courtship payed her, and who always trusted, that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage, began to apprehend that she was at last caught in her own snare, and that the artful encouragement which she had given to this young suitor had unawares engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himself of the credulity of the times, and spread reports, that that minister had gained an ascendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by incantations and

love potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to discredit Leicester with the queen; and he revealed to her a secret, which none of her courtiers dared to disclose, that this nobleman was secretly, without her consent, married to the widow of the earl of Essex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of respect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and which so provoked her, that she threatened to send him to the Tower. The quarrel went so far between Leicester and the French agent, that the former was suspected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it necessary, by proclamation, to take Simier under her immediate protection. It happened, that, while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier, and some of her courtiers, a shot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen finding, upon inquiry, that the piece had been discharged by accident, gave the person his liberty, without further punishment. So far was she from entertaining any suspicion against her people, that she was often heard to say, "That she would lend credit to nothing against them, which parents would not believe of their own children."

The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossessions in his favour, paid her a secret visit at Greenwich; and after some conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had lost no ground by being personally known to her; and soon after, she commanded Burleigh (now treasurer), Sussex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and Secretary Walsingham, to concert with the French ambassadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had sent over on this occasion a splendid embassy, consisting of Francis de Bourbon, prince dauphin, and many considerable noblemen; and as the queen had in a manner the power of prescribing what terms she pleased, the articles were soon settled with the English commissioners. It was agreed, that the marriage should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue should have the exercise of their religion; that after the marriage he should bear the title of King, but the administration remain solely in the queen; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years; that the laws and customs of England should be preserved inviolate, and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

These articles, providing for the security of England, in case of its annexation to the crown of France, opened but a dismal prospect to the English; had not the age of Elizabeth, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed very much to allay their apprehensions of this nature. The queen also, as a proof of her still remaining uncertainty, added a clause, that she was not bound to complete the marriage, till further articles, which were not specified, should be agreed on between the parties; and till the king of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after, the queen sent over Walsingham, as ambassador to France, in order to form closer connexions with Henry, and enter into a

league offensive and defensive against the increasing power and dangerous usurpations of Spain. The French king, who had been extremely disturbed with the inquiet spirit, the restless ambition, the enterprising, yet timid and inconstant disposition of Anjou, had already sought to free the kingdom from his intrigues, by opening a scene for his activity in Flanders; and having allowed him to embrace the protection of the States, had secretly supplied him with men and money for the undertaking. The prospect of settling him in England was for a like reason very agreeable to that monarch; and he was desirous to cultivate, by every expedient, the favourable sentiments which Elizabeth seemed to entertain towards him. But this princess, though she had gone further in her amorous dalliance than could be justified or accounted for by any principles of policy, was not yet determined to carry matters to a final conclusion; and she confined Walsingham in his instructions to negotiating conditions of a mutual alliance between France and England. Henry with reluctance submitted to hold conferences on that subject; but no sooner had Walsingham begun to settle the terms of alliance, than he was informed that the queen, foreseeing hostility with Spain to be the result of this confederacy, had declared that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage. The French court, pleased with this change of resolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a negotiation for the marriage. But matters had not long proceeded in this train before the queen again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walsingham to renew the conferences for that purpose. Before he had leisure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of resolution; and not only the court of France, but Walsingham himself, Burleigh, and all the wisest ministers of Elizabeth, were in amazement, doubtful where this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition, would at last terminate.\*

In the course of this affair, Elizabeth felt another variety of intentions, from a new contest between her reason and her ruling passions. The duke of Anjou expected from her some money, by which he might be enabled to open the campaign in Flanders; and the queen herself, though her frugality made her long reluctant, was sensible that this supply was necessary; and she was at last induced, after much hesitation, to comply with his request. She sent him a present of a hundred thousand crowns; by which, joined to his own demesnes, and the assistance of his brother and the queen-dowager, he levied an army, and took the field against the prince of Parma. He was successful in raising the siege of Cambray; and being chosen by the States governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter-quarters, and came over to England in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. The reception which he met with made him expect entire success, and gave him hopes that Elizabeth had surmounted

\* That the queen's negotiations for marrying the duke of Anjou were not feigned nor political, appears clearly from many circumstances; particularly from a passage in Dr. Forbes's manuscript collections, at present in the possession of Lord Royston. She there enjoins Walsingham, before he opens the treaty, to examine the person of the duke; and as that prince had lately recovered from the small-pox, she desires her ambassador to consider, whether he yet retained so much of his good looks, as that a woman could fix her affections on him. Had she not been in earnest, and had she only meant to amuse the public, or the court of France, this circumstance was of no moment.



all scruples, and was finally determined to make choice of him for her husband. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it upon his; and all the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambassador from the States, dispatched immediately a letter to his masters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who as well as the other Flemings regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, testified their joy by bonfires and the discharge of their great ordnance. A puritan of Lincoln's-Inn had written a passionate book, which he entitled, "The Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage." He was apprehended and prosecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. Such was the constancy and loyalty of the man, that immediately after the sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried, "God save the queen!"

But notwithstanding this attachment which Elizabeth so openly discovered to the duke of Anjou, the combat of her sentiments was not entirely over; and her ambition, as well as prudence, rousing itself by intervals, still filled her breast with doubt and hesitation. Almost all the courtiers whom she trusted and favoured, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, discovered an extreme aversion to the marriage; and the ladies of her bed-chamber made no scruple of opposing her resolution with the most zealous remonstrances. Among other enemies to the match, Sir Philip, son of Sir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, and nephew to Leicester, a young man the most accomplished of the age, declared himself: and he used the freedom to write her a letter, in which he dissuaded her from her present resolution, with an unusual elegance of expression, as well as force of reasoning. He told her, that the security of her government depended entirely on the affections of her protestant subjects; and she could not, by any measure, more effectually disgust them, than by espousing a prince who was son of the perfidious Catharine, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himself imbrued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceless protestants: that the catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed either that she had originally usurped the crown, or was now lawfully deposed by the pope's bull of excommunication; and nothing had ever so much elevated their hopes as the prospect of her marriage with the duke of Anjou: that her chief security at present against the efforts of so numerous, rich, and united a faction, was, that they possessed no head who could conduct their dangerous enterprises; and she herself was rashly supplying that defect, by giving an interest in the kingdom to a prince whose education had zealously attached him to that communion: that though he was a stranger to the blood-royal of England, the dispositions of men were now such that they preferred the religious to the civil connexions; and were more influenced by sympathy in theological opinions, than by the principles of legal and civil government: that the duke himself had been educated a very restless and turbulent spirit; and having often violated his loyalty to his elder brother and his sovereign, there remained no hopes that he

would passively submit to a woman whom he might in quality of husband think himself entitled to command: that the French nation, so populous, so much abounding in soldiers, so full of nobility who were devoted to arms, and for some time accustomed to serve for plunder, would supply him with partisans dangerous to a people unwarlike and defenceless like the generality of her subjects: that the plain and honourable path which she had followed, of cultivating the affections of her people, had hitherto rendered her reign secure and happy; and however her enemies might seem to multiply upon her, the same invincible rampart was still able to protect and defend her: that so long as the throne of France was filled by Henry or his posterity, it was in vain to hope that the ties of blood would ensure the amity of that kingdom, preferably to the maxims of policy or the prejudices of religion; and if ever the crown devolved on the duke of Anjou, the conjunction of France and England would prove a burden rather than a protection to the latter kingdom: that the example of her sister Mary was sufficient to instruct her in the danger of such connexions; and to prove that the affection and confidence of the English could never be maintained where they had such reason to apprehend that their interests would every moment be sacrificed to those of a foreign and hostile nation. That notwithstanding these great inconveniences, discovered by past experience, the house of Burgundy, it must be confessed, was more popular in the nation than the family of France; and what was of chief moment, Philip was of the same communion with Mary, and was connected with her by this great band of interest and affection: and that however the queen might remain childless, even though old age should grow upon her, the singular felicity and glory of her reign would preserve her from contempt; the affections of her subjects, and those of all the protestants in Europe, would defend her from danger; and her own prudence, without other aid or assistance, would baffle all the efforts of her most malignant enemies.

These reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and irresolution; and she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep or repose. At last her settled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having sent for the duke of Anjou, she had a long conference with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her; threw away the ring which she had given him; and uttered many curses on the mutability of women, and of islanders. Soon after he went over to his government of the Netherlands; lost the confidence of the States by a rash and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France; and there died. The queen, by timely reflection, saved herself from the numerous mischiefs which must have attended so imprudent a marriage: and the distracted state of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that resentment which she had reason to dread from the affront so wantonly put upon that royal family.

The anxiety of the queen from the attempts of the English catholics never ceased during the whole course of her reign; but the variety of revolutions which happened in all the neighbouring kingdoms, were the source sometimes of her hopes, sometimes of her apprehensions. This year the affairs of Scotland strongly engaged her attention. The in-

fluence which the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, who now assumed the title of earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a slender foundation of authority; while the generality of the nobles and all the preachers were so much discontented with their administration. The assembly of the church appointed a solemn fast; of which one of the avowed reasons was the danger to which the king was exposed from the company of wicked persons. And on that day the pulpits resounded with declamations against Lenox, Arran, and all the present counsellors. When the minds of the people were sufficiently prepared by these lectures, a conspiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of James at Ruthven, a seat of the earl of Gowry's, and the design being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. The leaders in this enterprise were, the earl of Gowry himself, the earl of Marr, the Lords Lincesey and Boyd, the masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dumfermline, Paisley, and Cambuskenneth. The king wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but the master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears: better that boys weep than bearded men;" an expression which James could never afterwards forgive. But notwithstanding his resentment, he found it necessary to submit to the present necessity. He pretended an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the associators; acknowledged the detention of his person to be acceptable service; and agreed to summon both an assembly of the church and a convention of estates, in order to ratify that enterprise.

The assembly, though they had established it as an inviolable rule, that the king on no account and under no pretence should ever intermeddle in ecclesiastical matters, made no scruple of taking civil affairs under their cognisance, and of deciding on this occasion, that the attempt of the conspirators was acceptable to all that feared God, or tendered the preservation of the king's person, and prosperous state of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend these sentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with ecclesiastical censures every man who should oppose the authority of the confederated lords. The convention being composed chiefly of these lords themselves, added their sanction to these proceedings. Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house: Lenox, though he had power to resist, yet rather than raise a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed, chose to retire into France, where he soon after died. He persevered to the last in the protestant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scottish clergy could never be persuaded that he had sincerely embraced. The king sent for his family, restored his son to his paternal honours and estate, took care to establish the fortunes of all his other children; and to his last moments never forgot the early friendship which he had borne their father: a strong proof of the good dispositions of that prince.

No sooner was this revolution known in England, than the queen sent Sir Henry Cary and Sir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counsels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the seeming violence committed on him by the confederated lords; and to procure from him permission for the return of the earl of Angus, who ever since Morton's fall had lived in England. They easily prevailed in procuring the recall of Angus; and as James suspected that Elizabeth had not been en-

tirely unacquainted with the project of his detention, he thought proper before the English ambassadors to dissemble his resentment against the authors of it. Soon after, La Mothe-Fenelon, and Menneville, appeared as ambassadors from France: their errand was to inquire concerning the situation of the king, make professions of their master's friendship, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots. This last proposal gave great umbrage to the clergy; and the assembly voted the settling of terms between the mother and son to be a most wicked undertaking. The pulpits resounded with declamations against the French ambassadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the messenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of Guise; and as that minister, being knight of the Holy Ghost, wore a white cross on his shoulder, they commonly denominated it in contempt the badge of Antichrist. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to repress these insolent reflections; but in order to make the ambassadors some compensation, he desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to give them a splendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this entertainment, the clergy appointed that very day for a public fast; and finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their sermons in thundering curses on the magistrates, who, by the king's direction, had put this mark of respect on the ambassadors. They even pursued them afterwards with the censures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from issuing the sentence of excommunication against them, on account of their submission to royal, preferably to clerical, authority.

What increased their alarm with regard to an accommodation between James and Mary was, that the English ambassadors seemed to concur with the French in this proposal; and the clergy were so ignorant as to believe the sincerity of the professions made by the former. The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, she wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more spirited strain than usual; craving the assistance of that princess both for her own and her son's liberty. She said that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her most tender concern; and the experience which she herself, during so many years, had of the extreme infelicity attending that situation, had made her the more apprehensive lest a like fate should pursue her unhappy offspring: that the long train of injustice which she had undergone, the calumnies to which she had been exposed, were so grievous, that finding no place for right or truth among men, she was reduced to make her last appeal to Heaven, the only competent tribunal between princes of equal jurisdiction, degree and dignity: that after her rebellious subjects, secretly instigated by Elizabeth's ministers, had expelled her the throne, had confined her in prison, had pursued her with arms, she had voluntarily thrown herself under the protection of England; fatally allured by those reiterated professions of amity which had been made her, and by her confidence in the generosity of a friend, an ally, and a kinswoman: that not content with excluding her from her presence, with supporting the usurpers of her throne, with contributing to the destruction of her faithful subjects, Elizabeth had reduced her to a worse captivity than that from which she had escaped, and had made her this cruel return for the



unlimited confidence which she had reposed in her; that though her resentment of such severe usage had never carried her further than to use some disappointed efforts for her deliverance, unhappy for herself, and fatal to others, she found the rigours of confinement daily multiplied upon her; and at length carried to such a height that it surpassed the bounds of all human patience any longer to endure them: that she was cut off from all communication, not only with the rest of mankind, but with her only son; and her maternal fondness, which was now more enlivened by their unhappy sympathy in situation, and was her sole remaining attachment to this world, was deprived even of that melancholy solace which letters or messages could give: that the bitterness of her sorrows, still more than her close confinement, had preyed upon her health, and had added the insufferable weight of bodily infirmity to all those other calamities under which she laboured: that while the daily experience of her maladies opened to her the comfortable prospect of an approaching deliverance into a region where pain and sorrow are no more, her enemies envied her that last consolation; and having secluded her from every joy on earth, had done what in them lay to debar her from all hopes in her future and eternal existence: that the exercise of her religion was refused her; the use of those sacred rites in which she had been educated; the commerce with those holy ministers whom Heaven had appointed to receive the acknowledgment of our transgressions, and to seal our penitence by a solemn re-admission into heavenly favour and forgiveness: that it was in vain to complain of the rigours of persecution exercised in other kingdoms, when a queen and an innocent woman was excluded from an indulgence which never yet, in the most barbarous countries, had been denied to the meanest and most obnoxious malefactor: that could she ever be induced to descend from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal to which she would appeal from all her enemies; to the justice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breast, and to that lenity which, uninfluenced by malignant counsel, she would naturally be induced to exercise towards her: and that she finally entreated her to resume her natural disposition, and to reflect on the support as well as comfort, which she might receive from her son and herself, if joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, she would deign to raise them from their present melancholy situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled.

Elizabeth was engaged to obstruct Mary's restoration, chiefly because she foresaw an unhappy alternative attending that event. If this princess recovered any considerable share of authority in Scotland, her resentment, ambition, zeal, and connexions, both domestic and foreign, might render her a dangerous neighbour to England, and enable her, after suppressing the protestant party among her subjects, to revive those pretensions which she had formerly advanced to the crown, and which her partisans in both kingdoms still supported with great industry and assurance. If she were reinstated in power with such strict limitations as could not be broken, she might be disgusted with her situation; and flying abroad, form more desperate attempts than any sovereign who had a crown to hazard would willingly undertake. Mary herself, sensible of these difficulties, and convinced by ex-

perience that Elizabeth would for ever debar her the throne, was now become more humble in her wishes; and as age and infirmities had repressed those sentiments of ambition by which she had formerly been so much actuated, she was willing to sacrifice all her hopes of grandeur in order to obtain a little liberty; a blessing to which she naturally aspired with the fondest impatience. She proposed, therefore, that she should be associated with her son in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that the administration should remain solely in him: and she was content to live in England in a private station, and even under a kind of restraint; but with some more liberty, both for exercise and company, than she had enjoyed since the first discovery of her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, afraid lest such a loose method of guarding her would facilitate her escape into France or Spain, or at least would encourage and increase her partisans, and enable her to conduct those intrigues to which she had already discovered so strong a propensity, was secretly determined to deny her requests; and though she feigned to assent to them, she well knew how to disappoint the expectations of the unhappy princess. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, she never gave any reply to all the applications made to her by the Scottish queen: at present, when her own creatures had acquired possession of the government, she was resolved to throw the odium of refusal upon them; and pretending that nothing further was required to a perfect accommodation than the concurrence of the council of state in Scotland, she ordered her ambassador, Bowes, to open the negotiation for Mary's liberty, and her association with her son in the title to the crown. Though she seemed to make this concession to Mary, she refused her the liberty of sending any ambassador of her own; and that princess could easily conjecture from this circumstance what would be the result of the pretended negotiation. The privy-council of Scotland, instigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed that he had never agreed to an association with his mother, and that the matter had never gone further than some loose proposals for that purpose.

The affairs of Scotland remained not long in the present situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrew's, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marshal, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the opposite party found themselves unable to resist so powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their submission, and an acknowledgment of their fault in seizing the king's person, and restraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: the greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marr, Glamis, left the country, and took shelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found that by their resistance they had thrown all power into the hands of a person whose counsels were as violent as his manners were profligate.

Elizabeth wrote a letter to James; in which she quoted a moral sentence from Isocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconstancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply,

justified his measures; and retaliated by turning two passages of Isocrates against "her." She next sent Walsingham in an embassy to him; and her chief purpose in employing that aged minister in an errand where so little business was to be transacted, was to learn from a man of so much penetration and experience, the real character of James. This young prince possessed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigour and industry which his station required; and as he excelled in general discourse and conversation, Walsingham entertained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real business was transacted, to have fully merited. The account which he gave his mistress induced her to treat James thenceforth with some more regard than she had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

The king of Scots persevering in his present views, summoned a parliament; where it was enacted, that no clergyman should presume in his sermons to utter false, untrue, or scandalous speeches against the king, the council, or the public measures, or to meddle in an improper manner with the affairs of his majesty and the states. The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a sanctuary for them, were extremely offended: they said that the king was become popish in his heart; and they gave their adversaries the epithets of gross libertines, belly gods, and infamous persons. The violent conduct of Arran soon brought over the populace to their side. The earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to prison, was tried on some new accusations, condemned and executed. Many innocent persons suffered from the tyranny of this favourite; and the banished lords, being assisted by Elizabeth, now found the time favourable for the recovery of their estates and authority. After they had been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they prevailed in another; and being admitted to the king's presence, were pardoned and restored to his favour.

Arran was degraded from authority; deprived of that estate and title which he had usurped; and the whole country seemed to be composed to tranquillity. Elizabeth, after opposing, during some time, the credit of the favourite, had found it more expedient before his fall to compound all differences with him by means of Davison, a minister whom she sent to Scotland; but having more confidence in the lords whom she had helped to restore, she was pleased with this alteration of affairs; and maintained a good correspondence with the new court and ministry of James.

These revolutions in Scotland would have been regarded as of small importance to the repose and security of Elizabeth, had her own subjects been entirely united, and had not the zeal of the catholics, excited by constraint more properly than persecution, daily threatened her with some dangerous insurrection. The vigilance of the ministers, particularly of Burleigh and Walsingham, was raised in proportion to the activity of the malcontents; and many arts, which had been blameable in a more peaceful government, were employed in detecting conspiracies, and even discovering the secret inclinations of men.

As Hume passes over in a very superficial manner the minor conspiracies (or asserted conspiracies), we give the following details from the continuator of Mackintosh.

"The first real design against the queen's life appears to have been formed in mere madness: It

took place in 1583. John Somerville, a gentleman of Warwickshire, inflamed, if Dugdale may be credited, by 'popish books,' and 'seminary priests,' proceeded to London breathing fury against protestants, drew his sword upon one or two whom he met on his way, was taken up, and confessed that he was going to court for the purpose of killing the queen. A gentleman, named Arden, of the same county, father-in-law of Somerville, with his wife and daughter, and a priest named Hall, were taken up and convicted as accessories with Somerville the principal. Arden had spoken disparagingly of the character of Leicester, his neighbour, at Kenilworth, and opposed his interests or wishes in Warwickshire. He was found guilty and executed, on the confession of the priest Hall, who was supposed to have been suborned by Leicester. The favourite's vengeance being thus satiated, a pardon was granted to the priest and the women. Somerville confessed his crime; but escaped the scaffold, by strangling himself in prison.

"In the next year (1584), the system of spies, informers, forged letters, and intercepted correspondence, genuine or fabricated, was carried to its utmost height. Spurious letters, bearing the name of the queen of Scots, or of some catholic exile, were introduced into the houses of catholics, in order to discover, not their designs alone, but their sentiments, and to implicate them accordingly. Nothing remained for those who had the ability but to fly their country, at the peril of being branded as traitors, and of the confiscation of their estates.

"Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the last executed duke of Norfolk, had become a catholic, and found himself so harassed by examinations and imprisonments, upon the secret information of spies and informers, that he resolved to abandon his country. He intimated his design to the queen by a letter, in which 'lamenting the unhappy fate of his father and grandfather, either beheaded for small matters, or circumvented by the arts of their enemies, he declared to her that, to prevent his inheriting their misfortunes, and for the good of his soul, he had quitted his country, but not his allegiance.' His own servants, and the master of the vessel, in the pay of Walsingham, denounced his departure, and he was brought back from a small creek in the coast of Sussex, where he had embarked, to be consigned to the Tower, in which, after many years' captivity, he died of the wretchedness of his condition, and austerity of his devotions. At the time when Arundel began, the earl of Northumberland, brother of the last earl who was executed for the northern rebellion, terminated his captivity in the Tower. He was imprisoned on suspicion of conspiring to liberate Mary queen of Scots; and shot himself, from impatience of temper, as he was said to have declared, 'to balk Queen Elizabeth of the forfeiture of his lands.' An inquiry took place in the star-chamber touching his death and the crime with which he was charged. His death, by three pistol-bullets discharged into his left breast, was clearly proved his own act;—but the proof and sentence of treason against him on his posthumous trial are at least doubtful.

"Emissaries were scattered through the country, in order to catch and report what they heard; and these reports, however false or idle, were well received, and acted upon. Throgmorton's plot, so called, was detected or invented in 1584. Francis Throgmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, was taken up on the evidence of an alleged intercepted letter.



He retracted confessions which he had made on the rack, repeated them on an assurance that he should be pardoned by the queen, was disappointed, and again denied on the scaffold the truth of declarations which had been extorted from him, in the first instance, by torture; in the next, by a treacherous promise of the royal mercy. The truth of the conspiracy, then, may very well be doubted. The common pretence of taking up suspected or obnoxious persons, was that of carrying on a correspondence with the queen of Scots: it was the charge made against Throgmorton. One presumption against him was, the flight of Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, upon his arrest. They, however, put forth a declaration in France, where they had sought refuge, that they fled, not because they were guilty, but because they feared the enmity of Leicester and Walsingham, and knew that innocence could not protect their lives against forged or forsworn evidence, the enmity of the queen's ministers, and her own prejudice. The relations of Throgmorton with the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, were more suspicious and important. He is said\* to have sent off a packet of secret papers before his arrest to the ambassador; and lists of the ports best suited for an invasion, with the names of the principal Roman-catholics of England, were, on searching his house, found in his cabinet. These papers were exhibited to him while he was stretched on the rack. He declared that he had never before seen them; that they were forgeries, and introduced into his house for the purpose of destroying him. Upon their being again presented to him, in presence of the executioner and the engine, he confessed that he had made the list some years before, when consulting, at Spa, with Jenev and Englefield on the best mode of invading England, and changing the government. He further stated, that Morgan, a known adherent of the queen of Scots, had written to him from France a letter, stating the design of the Roman-catholic princes of Europe to invade England, for the purpose of liberating her; that the expedition would be commanded by the duke of Guise; that nothing was wanted—but 'money' and 'men'; that Charles Paget was sent over to Sussex, where he passed under the name of Mope, to obtain money and raise troops; and that he had concerted the means of carrying this design into effect with the Spanish ambassador. Brought to trial after these confessions had been made by him, and finding himself arraigned under the 25 Edw. III., he retracted them, and declared that they were pure inventions of his own to avoid being again tortured, under the supposition that he saved himself, by having fixed the time so as to bring his case within the exemptions of the 13 Eliz., by which he expected to be tried. Upon the strength of confessions thus extorted, and retracted, the jury found him guilty; but his execution was postponed. The delay appears to have been adopted for an inhuman purpose. He was induced to assert once more the truth of his confession; and having done so, was ordered to be executed at Tyburn, two months after his trial and conviction. On the scaffold he declared again that the confession was a mere fiction, to which he was coerced for the purpose of escaping a second application of the rack. The Spanish ambassador being summoned before the privy-council, repelled the charge against him with indignation, and was or-

dered out of the kingdom. Wade, clerk of the council, was sent at the same time to offer explanations to Philip, and returned without being admitted to the presence of the haughty Spaniard.

"The conviction of Throgmorton, upon confessions obtained from him by deceitful promises and the fear of torture, shows that in England, at this period, life was as insecure as under the most implicit and barbarous despotism of the east or west. The process, indeed, of applying conjointly bodily torture and perfidious hope, was exactly similar to that of the tribunal, which, in England, is a by-word for judicial iniquity. But, whatever his guilt or innocence, the queen of Scots does not appear to have had communication with him, and the intercepted letter must have been fabricated as a pretext for seizing his person and his papers.

"In 1584, Shrewsbury was relieved from a charge under which, not only his health but, ultimately, his reason broke down; and Mary was transferred to the custody of Sir Ralph Sadler. She was removed from Sheffield to Wingfield, under an escort, and in the immediate care of Somer, the secretary of her new gaoler. Somer made a minute report to Elizabeth of his conversation with Mary on the way. He evidently had his instructions to draw from her some avowal which could be turned to her prejudice. She appears to have been so closely kept as to be ignorant of the affair of Throgmorton, and spoke of the duke of Guise in such a manner as to show that she knew nothing of any design, real or pretended, of invading England, entertained by him. There is in the reported conversation a characteristic tone of sadness, playfulness, fascination, and finesse. 'Do you think,' said she, 'I would escape from hence if I might?' The secretary answered, that he thought she would, for it was natural to seek liberty. 'No, by my troth!' said she, 'I would rather die with honour than fly with shame.' 'I would be sorry to see the trial,' was the secretary's frank reply. She next asked him, whether he thought she would go, if she were at liberty. He replied, he thought she would go to 'her own' in Scotland. 'It is true,' said she, 'I would go to Scotland, but only to see, and give good counsel to my son. But unless her majesty (Elizabeth) would give me her countenance and some maintenance in England, I would go into France, and live there among my friends, with the little portion I have there, and never trouble myself with government again, or dispose myself to marry any more.' Whether the allusion to marriage was made from a feeling of the miseries which her marriages, including even that with Francis II., had brought upon her, or with the intention to disarm the jealous fears of Elizabeth, is doubtful.

"Leicester now originated the association for the personal safety of Elizabeth 'against popish conspirators.' Those who subscribed it bound themselves to prosecute to death, as far as they were able, all who should attempt any thing against the queen. The queen of Scots saw in it her death-warrant. By way of proving her innocence of all design against the life of Elizabeth, she requested to be allowed to subscribe it;—a vain proceeding on her part, which proved nothing in her favour, and did not tend to mitigate her enemies. 'Her majesty,' says Walsingham, in a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, 'could like well that this association were showed unto the queen, your charge, upon some apt occasion, and that there were some good regard had both unto her countenance and speech after

\* The only evidence of his having done so is his alleged confession.

the perusing thereof.\* It is not easy to determine which was the more revolting, the sovereign who commanded, or the minister who became the vehicle of this base experiment. The queen of Scots, who saw the axe suspended over her head, made new efforts to obtain her freedom from Elizabeth. She sent her secretary, Naue, with terms of submission so implicit, that Elizabeth gave her hopes. But that princess, who knew well how to throw the responsibility of odious measures from herself upon her instruments, excited, underhand, a clamour among her partisans in Scotland, against both the liberty and life of the queen of Scots.

"The bond in which the associators obliged themselves was immediately converted into an act of parliament, summoned for the purpose. The act provided, that any person by, or "for," whom rebellion should be excited, or the queen's life attacked, might be tried by commission under the great seal, and adjudged to capital punishment; and if the queen's life should be taken away, then any person by or for whom such act was committed, should be capitally punished, and the issue of such person cut off from the succession to the crown. It is unnecessary to point out the monstrous hardship of making the queen of Scots, a prisoner in the hands of Elizabeth, responsible for acts done for her, or in her name. The contingent exclusion of her son from the succession was ascribed to Leicester, who had views for himself, or his brother-in-law Lord Huntingdon, upon the crown."

A severe law was also enacted against jesuits and popish priests: it was ordained that they should depart the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured or relieved them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of treason; and that if any, so submitting themselves, should within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void. By this law the exercise of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed. In the subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed by the capital punishment of priests; and though the partisans of that princess asserted that they were punished for their treason, not their religion, the apology must only be understood in this sense, that the law was enacted on account of the treasonable views and attempts of the sect, not that every individual who suffered the penalty of the law was convicted of treason.\* The catholics, therefore, might now with justice complain of a violent persecution; which we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigoted maxims of that age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established government and religion.

The parliament, besides arming the queen with these powers, granted her a supply of one subsidy and two-fifteenths. The only circumstance in which their proceedings were disagreeable to her, was an application made by the commons for a further reformation in ecclesiastical matters. Yet even in this attempt, which affected her as well as them in

a delicate point, they discovered how much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the house were puritans, or inclined to that sect;\* but the severe reprimands which they had already in former sessions met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion; a proceeding which would have been interpreted as an encroachment on the prerogative: they were content to proceed by way of humble petition, and that not addressed to her majesty, which would have given offence, but to the house of lords, or rather the bishops, who had a seat in that house, and from whom alone they were willing to receive all advances towards reformation.

The commons desired, in their humble petition, that no bishop should exercise his function of ordination but with the consent and concurrence of six presbyters: but this demand, as it really introduced a change of ecclesiastical government, was firmly rejected by the prelates. They desired that no clergyman should be instituted into any benefice, without previous notice being given to the parish, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: an attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the same fate. In another article of the petition, they prayed that the bishops should not insist upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omitting part of the service: as if uniformity in public worship had not been established by law; or as if the prelates had been endowed with a dispensing power. They complained of abuses which prevailed in pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of some law for the remedy of these abuses: implying, that those matters were too high for the commons of themselves to attempt.

But the most material article which the commons touched upon in their petition, was the court of ecclesiastical commission, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a subject of such importance as to merit some explanation.

The first primate after the queen's accession was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575; and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of "prophesyings," or the assemblies of the zealots in private houses, which she apprehended had become so many academies of fanaticism; and for this offence she had, by an order of the star-chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to fall into the same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalized his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power,

\* Some even of those who defend the queen's measures allow, that in ten years fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished.

\* Besides the following petition, another proof of the prevalence of the puritans among the commons was their passing a bill for the reverent observance of Sunday, which they termed the Sabbath, and the depriving the people of those amusements which they were accustomed to take on that day. It was a strong symptom of a contrary spirit in the upper house, that they proposed to add Wednesday to the fast-days, and to prohibit entirely the eating of flesh on that day.



and by the execution of penal statutes. He informed the queen that all the spiritual authority lodged in the prelates was insignificant without the sanction of the crown; and as there was no ecclesiastical commission at that time in force, he engaged her to issue a new one; more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority. She appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics; three commissioners made a quorum; the jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of law and natural equity. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, in a word, to regulate all opinions, as well as to punish all breach of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment. Where they found reason to suspect any person they might administer to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines which they levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. The imprisonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other spiritual courts were subject, since the reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from that legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no control. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incests, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, misbehaviours, and disorders in marriage; and the punishments which they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience, and discretion. In a word, this court was a real "inquisition;" attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. And as the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court was destructive of all law, so its erection was deemed by many a mere usurpation of this imperious princess; and had no other foundation than a clause of a statute, restoring the supremacy to the crown, and empowering the sovereign to appoint commissioners for exercising that prerogative. But prerogative in general, especially the supremacy, was supposed in that age to involve powers which no law, precedent, or reason could limit and determine.

But though the commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched so gently and submissively on the ecclesiastical grievances, the queen, in a speech from the throne at the end of the session, could not forbear taking notice of their presumption, and reproving them for those murmurs which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced so low as not directly to reach the royal ears. After giving them some general thanks for their attachment to her, and making professions of affection to her subjects, she told them, that whoever found fault with the church threw a slander upon her, since she was appointed "by God" supreme ruler over it, and no heresies or schisms could prevail in the kingdom but by her permission and negligence: that some

abuses must necessarily have place in every thing, but she warned the prelates to be watchful; for if she found them careless of their charge, she was fully determined to depose them: that she was commonly supposed to have employed herself in many studies, particularly philosophical (by which we suppose she meant theological), and she would confess that few, whose leisure had not allowed them to make profession of science, had read or reflected more: that as she could discern the presumption of many, in curiously canvassing the Scriptures, and starting innovations, she would no longer endure this licentiousness; but meant to guide her people, by God's rule, in the just mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern sectaries. and that as the Romanists were the inveterate enemies of her person, so the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and, under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgment, and to censure the actions of the prince.\*

From the whole of this transaction we may observe, that the commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in some particular articles of their petition, showed themselves wholly ignorant, no less than the queen, of the principles of liberty, and a legal constitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, so far from yielding to the displeasure of the parliament against the ecclesiastical commission, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission; in which she enlarged, rather than restrained the powers of the commissioners.

As the establishment of this despotic court has been a subject of considerable contest amongst our best historians, we shall make a few remarks upon it. Those writers who have inclined to what is termed the popular side of politics have accused Hume (and apparently in many instances justly) of heightening the despotic conduct of the Tudor, in order by contrast, to soften that of the Stuart princes. And his dissertation on the despotic powers of the court has particularly attracted attention. To us who consider that the principles of rational liberty rest on much surer foundations than historical precedents or even immemorial rights, it appears of little consequence whether the Stuarts were legally authorized in their deposition or not. It is sufficient justification of their despotism, that they violated the abstract rights of mankind, and we are inclined to think we have the great historian, who has been accused of being the champion of monarchy, on our side.

On the disputed subject of the High Commission-court, Mr. Brodie,† who has proved himself a worthy opponent of Hume, has the following remarks:—

"The next subject that demands attention is the court of high-commission, which was founded upon a clause of the act that restored the supremacy to the crown, in the 1st of Elizabeth. The words are these: 'The queen and her successors shall have power, by their letters patent under the great seal, to assign, name, and authorize, when and as often

\* The puritanical sect had indeed gone so far, that a book of discipline was secretly subscribed by above five hundred clergymen; and the presbyterian government thereby established in the midst of the church, notwithstanding the rigour of the prelates and of the high commission. So impossible is it by penal statutes, however severe, to suppress all religious innovation.

† A history of the British Empire, from the accession of Charles I. to the Restoration. By George Brodie, Esq., Advocate. 4 vols. Bell and Bradburn, Edinburgh, 1822.

as they shall think meet and convenient, and for as long time as they shall please, persons, being natural born subjects, to exercise, use, occupy, and execute, under her and them, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, in any wise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within the realms of England and Ireland, and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever, 'which, by any manner spiritual, or ecclesiastical power, authority or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended.' provided that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical Scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical Scripture; or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation.' This statute confers no power whatever to fine, imprison, or inflict corporal punishment; and when the court transgressed its limits, the remedy was always in the power of the injured, by applying to the ordinary courts for a prohibition. The real object was to correct the heresies of the clergy, by suspension and deprivation; and surely, if there be a national establishment, all, that enjoy functions under it, ought to conform to its rules. Were it otherwise, the office might be converted to a very different purpose; and here it may be remarked, that the numerous suspensions and deprivations in this reign, (their number, by the way, may be fairly doubted,) afford no ground for charging the government with tyranny, since the doctrine and conduct of the ecclesiastics were irreconcilable to the establishment under which they accepted of livings. At this day the same consequences would follow.—Various commissions were issued by this princess; and, in 1584, she granted one to forty-four individuals, by which she empowers them to inquire into all misdemeanors, not only by the oath of twelve men, and by witnesses, 'but by all other means and ways they can devise.' Mr. Hume, following Mr. Neal, says, that this included the rack, torture, inquisition, imprisonment: but, besides that the rack never was attempted, the other clauses distinctly show that it never was contemplated. The very next clause distinctly appoints them to punish all who obstinately absent themselves from church, &c. by censure, or any other 'lawful' ways and means, and to levy the penalties according to the forms prescribed by the act of uniformity. The third clause authorizes them to visit and reform heresies, &c. which may 'lawfully be reformed or restrained by censures ecclesiastical, deprivation, or otherwise, according to the power and authority limited and appointed by the laws, ordinances, and statutes of the realm.' The fifth clause empowers them to punish 'incest, adulteries, and all grievous offences punishable by the ecclesiastical laws, according to the tenour of the laws in that behalf, and according to your wisdom, consciences, and discretions; commanding you, or any three of you, to devise all such lawful' ways and means for the searching out the premises, as by you shall be thought necessary.' Having cleared up this point, we may observe, that the commission was extremely arbitrary in authorizing the oath *ex officio*, by which the accused was

bound to answer interrogatories against himself, and in empowering the commissioners to fine and imprison. Of its illegality the queen and commissioners were so fully aware, that, as we learn from Sir Edward Coke, the commission was not, as it ought to have been, enrolled in chancery, lest it should have been questioned. Besides, though fines were 'imposed,' not one was 'levied' in Elizabeth's time, by any judicial process out of the exchequer; 'nor any subject, in his body, lands or goods, charged therewith.'

"Many arbitrary acts were committed by the commissioners; but, though Mr. Neal is pleased in one place to say, that the privilege of prohibition from Westminster-hall was seldom allowed by the commissioners, there does not appear, even from his own writings, to have been an instance of the prohibition having been refused. Indeed, when it came to that, the ordinary courts were bound to support their own jurisdiction, and the judges, in that reign, afforded many proofs of their readiness to assert the laws. The great cause of so many submitting to injustice and oppression from this court, seems to have been their unwillingness to forfeit all hope of ecclesiastical preferment; for, they never scrupled to accept of livings under an establishment, which yet they would not allow to be a church. The commissioners used to send pursuivants to ransack houses; but, when an individual defended his rights by killing the officer who attempted to enter his house by virtue of a warrant from the commissioners, the ordinary judges declared that he was not liable to prosecution, and dismissed him from the bar. It was in the time of Charles I. that this court lost all decency, and was no longer under the control of the laws, as the judges, who were governed by Laud, and changed at the pleasure of the king, did not longer vindicate their own jurisdiction."

Hallam has only the following brief notice of this important institution:—

"The act of supremacy while it restored all ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the crown, empowered the queen to execute it by commissioners appointed under the great seal, in such manner and for such time as she should direct; whose power should extend to visit, correct and amend all heresies, schisms, abuses and offences whatever, which fall under the cognisance and are subject to the correction of spiritual authority. Several temporary commissions had sat under this act with continually augmented powers, before that appointed in 1583, wherein the jurisdiction of this anomalous court almost reached its zenith. It consisted of forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were bishops, many more privy-counsellors, and the rest either clergymen or civilians. This commission, after reciting the acts of supremacy, uniformity, and two others, directs them to inquire from time to time, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses and all other means they can devise of all offences, contempts or misdemeanors done and committed contrary to the tenour of the said several acts and statutes; and also to inquire of all heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours or talks, slanderous words and sayings, &c., contrary to the aforesaid laws. Power is given to any three commissioners, of whom one must be a bishop, to punish all persons absent from church, according to the act of uniformity, or to visit and reform heresies and schisms according to law; to deprive all beneficed persons holding



doctrine contrary to the thirty-nine articles, to punish incests, adulteries, and all offences of the kind; to examine all suspected persons on their oaths, and to punish all who should refuse to appear or to obey their orders, by spiritual censure or by discretionary fine or imprisonment; to alter and amend the statutes of colleges, cathedrals, schools, and other foundations, and to tender the oath of supremacy according to the act of parliament."

He calls this "tremendous machinery," and says Lord Burleigh wrote in strong terms to Whitgift against the articles of examination as "so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as he thought the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys." Hallam says in a note, "The germ of the high commission-court seems to have been a commission granted to Mary (Feb. 1557) to certain bishops and others to inquire after all heresies, punish persons misbehaving at church, and such as refused to come thither either by means of presentment, by witness, or any other politic way they could devise; with full power to proceed as their discretions and consciences should direct them; and to use all such means as they could invent for the searching of the premises, to call witnesses, and force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after. But the primary model was the inquisition itself.

"It was questioned whether the power of deprivation for not reading the common prayer granted to the high-commissioners were legal; the act of uniformity having annexed a much smaller penalty. But it was held by the judges in the case of Cawdrey that the act did not take away the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and supremacy which had ever appertained to the crown, and by virtue of which it might erect courts with as full spiritual jurisdiction as the archbishops and bishops exercised."

During this session of parliament there was discovered a conspiracy, which much increased the general animosity against the catholics, and still further widened the breach between the religious parties. William Parry, a catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and, having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by Palmio, a jesuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and his benefactress; the nuncio Campeggio, when consulted, approved extremely of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though still agitated with doubts, came to Paris, with an intention of passing over to England, and executing his bloody purpose. He was here encouraged in the design by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of great credit in the party; and though Watts and some other catholic priests told him that the enterprise was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Raggazzoni, the nuncio at Paris, and determined to persist in his resolution. He wrote a letter to the pope, which was conveyed to Cardinal Como; he communicated his intention to the holy father; and craved his absolution and paternal benediction. He received an answer from the cardinal, by which he found that his purpose was extremely applauded; and he came over to England with a full design of carrying it into execution. So deeply are the sentiments of morality engrained in the human breast, that it is difficult even for the

prejudices of false religion totally to efface them; and this bigoted assassin resolved, before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the persecutions under which the catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her; and exhorted her, as she tendered her life, to give the Romanists some more indulgence in the exercise of their religion; but lest he should be tempted by the opportunity to assassinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offensive weapon. He even found means to be elected member of parliament; and having made a vehement harangue against the severe laws enacted this last session, was committed to custody for his freedom, and sequestered from the house. His failure in these attempts confirmed him the more in his former resolution; and he communicated his intentions to Nevil, who entered zealously into the design, and was determined to have a share in merits of its execution. A book newly published by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, served further to efface all their scruples with regard to the murder of an heretical prince; and having agreed to shoot the queen while she should be taking the air on horseback, they resolved, if they could not make their escape, to sacrifice their lives, in fulfilling a duty so agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes that by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from Cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all question; and that criminal, having received sentence of death, suffered the punishment which the law appointed for his treasonable conspiracy.

About this time Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the same design against the prince of Orange; and that great man perished at Delft, by the hands of a desperate assassin, who, with a resolution worthy of a better cause, sacrificed his own life, in order to destroy the famous restorer and protector of religious liberty. The Flemings, who regarded that prince as their father, were filled with great sorrow, as well when they considered the miserable end of so brave a patriot, as their own forlorn condition from the loss of so powerful and prudent a leader, and from the rapid progress of the Spanish arms. The prince of Parma had made every year great advances upon them, had reduced several of the provinces to obedience, and had laid close siege to Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands, whose subjection, it was foreseen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted provinces. The only hopes which remained to them arose from the prospect of foreign succours. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better success in France; and, in the view of engaging Henry to embrace their defence, they tendered him the sovereignty of their provinces. But the present condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject so advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which he

thought would have tended to restore public tranquillity, by delivering him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepest distress; and the king of Navarre, a professed hugonot, being next heir to the crown, the duke of Guise took thence occasion to revive the catholic league, and to urge Henry by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that brave and virtuous prince. Henry himself, though a zealous catholic, yet, because he declined complying with their precipitate measures, became an object of aversion to the league; and as his zeal, in practising all the superstitious observances of the Romish church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life; the catholic faction, in contradiction to universal experience, embraced thence the pretext of representing his devotion as mere deceit and hypocrisy. Finding his authority to decline, he was obliged to declare war against the hugonots, and to put arms into the hands of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretensions at home, and their close alliance with Philip, he secretly regarded as his more dangerous enemies. Constrained by the same policy, he dreaded the danger of associating himself with the revolted protestants in the Low Countries, and was obliged to renounce that inviting opportunity of revenging himself for all the hostile intrigues and enterprises of Philip.

The States, reduced to this extremity, sent over a solemn embassy to London, and made anew an offer to the queen, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth's wisest counsellors were divided in opinion with regard to the conduct which she should hold in this critical and important emergence. Some advised her to reject the offer of the States, and represented the imminent dangers, as well as injustice, attending the acceptance of it. They said, that the suppression of rebellious subjects was the common cause of all sovereigns, and any encouragement given to the revolt of the Flemings, might prove the example of a like pernicious licence to the English: that though princes were bound by the laws of the Supreme Being not to oppress their subjects, the people never were entitled to forget all duty to their sovereign, or transfer, from every fancy or disgust, or even from the justest ground of complaint, their obedience to any other master: that the queen, in the succours hitherto afforded the Flemings, had considered them as labouring under oppression, not as entitled to freedom; and had intended only to admonish Philip not to persevere in his tyranny, without any view of ravishing from him these provinces which he enjoyed by hereditary right from his ancestors: that her situation in Ireland, and even in England, would afford that powerful monarch sufficient opportunity of retaliating upon her; and she must thenceforth expect that, instead of secretly fomenting faction, he would openly employ his whole force in the protection and defence of the catholics: that the pope would undoubtedly unite his spiritual arms to the temporal ones of Spain: and that the queen would soon repent her making so precarious an acquisition in foreign countries, by exposing her own dominions to the most imminent danger.

Other counsellors of Elizabeth maintained a contrary opinion. They asserted, that the queen had not, even from the beginning of her reign, but certainly had not at present, the choice whether she would embrace friendship or hostility with Philip: that by the whole tenour of that prince's conduct it

appeared, that his sole aims were, the extending of his empire, and the entire subjection of the protestants, under the specious pretence of maintaining the catholic faith: that the provocations which she had already given him, joined to his general scheme of policy, would for ever render him her implacable enemy; and as soon as he had subdued his revolted subjects, he would undoubtedly fall, with the whole force of his united empire, on her defenceless state: that the only question was, whether she would maintain a war abroad, and supported by allies, or wait till the subjection of all the confederates of England should give her enemies leisure to begin their hostilities in the bowels of the kingdom: that the revolted provinces, though in a declining condition, possessed still considerable force; and by the assistance of England, by the advantages of their situation, and by their inveterate antipathy to Philip, might still be enabled to maintain the contest against the Spanish monarchy: that their maritime power, united to the queen's, would give her entire security on the side from which alone she could be assaulted, and would even enable her to make inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe and the Indies: that a war which was necessary could never be unjust; and self-defence was concerned, as well in preventing certain dangers at a distance, as in repelling any immediate invasion: and that, since hostility with Spain was the unavoidable consequence of the present interests and situations of the two monarchies, it were better to compensate that danger and loss by the acquisition of such important provinces to the English empire.

Amidst these opposite counsels the queen, apprehensive of the consequences attending each extreme, was inclined to steer a middle course; and though such conduct is seldom prudent, she was not, in this resolution, guided by any prejudice or mistaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interests she deemed so closely connected with her own: but foreseeing that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expose her to the reproach of ambition and usurpation, imputations which hitherto she had carefully avoided, she immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: that she should send over an army to their assistance, of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expenses should be refunded after the conclusion of the war; and that the towns of Flushing and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins, should, in the mean time, be consigned into her hands by way of security.

The queen knew that this measure would immediately engage her in open hostilities with Philip; yet was not she terrified with the view of the present greatness of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and populous; and the late addition of Portugal, besides securing internal tranquillity, had annexed an opulent kingdom to Philip's dominions, had made him master of many settlements in the East Indies, and of the whole commerce of those regions, and had much increased his naval power, in which he was before chiefly deficient. All the princes of Italy, even the pope and



the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of subjection under him, and seemed to possess their sovereignty on terms somewhat precarious. The Austrian branch in Germany, with their dependent principalities, was closely connected with him, and was ready to supply him with troops for every enterprise. All the treasures of the West Indies were in his possession; and the present scarcity of the precious metals in every country of Europe, rendered the influence of his riches the more forcible and extensive. The Netherlands seemed on the point of relapsing into servitude; and small hopes were entertained of their withstanding those numerous and veteran armies which, under the command of the most experienced generals, he employed against them. Even France, which was wont to counterbalance the Austrian greatness, had lost all her force from intestine commotions; and as the catholics, the ruling party, were closely connected with him, he rather expected thence an augmentation than a diminution of his power. Upon the whole, such prepossessions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, that she had now taken the diadem from her head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war. Yet was this princess rather cautious than enterprising in her natural temper: she never needed more to be impelled by the vigour, than restrained by the prudence of her ministers. But when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimous courage; and trusting to her own consummate wisdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, she prepared herself to resist and even to assault the whole force of the catholic monarch.

The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliary forces. He carried with him a splendid retinue; being accompanied by the young earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the Lords Audley and North, Sir William Russell, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervase Clifton, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was received on his arrival at Flushing by his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town through which he passed expressed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the queen's protection had brought them the most certain deliverance. The States, desirous of engaging Elizabeth still further in their defence, and knowing the interest which Leicester possessed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him in some respects as their sovereign. But this step had a contrary effect to what they expected. The queen was displeased with the artifice of the States, and the ambition of Leicester. She severely reprimanded both; and it was with some difficulty, that after many humble submissions they were able to appease her.

America was regarded as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in that quarter. The great success of the Spaniards and Portuguese in both Indies had excited a spirit of emulation in England; and as the progress of commerce, still more than of colonies, is slow and gradual,

it was happy that a war in this critical period had opened a more flattering prospect to the avarice and ambition of the English, and had tempted them, by the view of sudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterprises. A fleet of twenty sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies: two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen, engaged on board of it; Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Christopher Carlisle commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by surprise; and found in it plenty of provisions, but no riches. They sailed to Hispaniola; and easily making themselves master of St. Domingo by assault, obliged the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a sum of money. Cartagena fell next into their hands after some more resistance, and was treated in the same manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coast of Florida. Sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies and in the noble principles of liberty and industry, on which they are founded; they had here been so unsuccessful, that the miserable planters abandoned their settlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with so much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries, as served extremely to inflame the spirits of the nation to future enterprises. The great mortality which the climate had produced in his fleet was, as is usual, but a feeble restraint on the avidity and sanguine hopes of young adventurers. It is thought that Drake's fleet first introduced the use of tobacco into England.

The enterprises of Leicester were much less successful than those of Drake. This man possessed neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust reposed in him by the queen; and as he was the only bad choice she made for any considerable employment, men naturally believed that she had here been influenced by an affection still more partial than that of friendship. He gained at first some advantage in an action against the Spaniards; and threw succours into Grave, by which that place was enabled to make a vigorous defence: but the cowardice of the governor, Van Hemert, rendered all these efforts useless. He capitulated after a feeble resistance; and being tried for his conduct, suffered a capital punishment from the sentence of a court-martial. The prince of Parma next undertook the siege of Venloo, which was surrendered to him after some resistance. The fate of Nuys was more dismal; being taken by assault while the garrison was treating of a capitulation. Rhimberg, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under the command of Colonel Morgan, was afterwards besieged by the Spaniards; and Leicester, thinking himself too weak to attempt raising the siege, endeavoured to draw off the prince of Parma by forming another enterprise. He first attacked Doesburg, and succeeded: he then sat down before Zutphen, which the Spanish general thought so important a fortress that he hastened to its relief. He made the marquess of Guesto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but falling by accident on a body of English cavalry, a furious action

ensued, in which the Spaniards were worsted, and the marquess of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was slain. The pursuit was stopped by the advance of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spanish army; and the English cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compensated by the loss of Sir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after died. This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit which he possessed with the queen and the earl of Leicester, was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this last action, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, "This man's necessity is still greater than mine;" and resigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, struck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses, which he composed on the death of that young hero.

The English, though a long peace had deprived them of all experience, were strongly possessed of military genius; and the advantages gained by the prince of Parma were not attributed to the superior bravery and discipline of the Spaniards, but solely to the want of military abilities in Leicester. The States were much discontented with his management of the war; still more with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and at the end of the campaign they applied to him for a redress of all their grievances. But Leicester, without giving them any satisfaction, departed soon after for England.

The queen, while she provoked so powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful to secure herself on the side of Scotland; and she endeavoured both to cultivate the friendship and alliance of her kinsman, James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt which she had made some time before was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had dispatched Wotton as her ambassador to Scotland; but though she gave him private instructions with regard to her affairs, she informed James, that when she had any political business to discuss with him, she would employ another minister; that this man was not fitted for serious negotiations; and that her chief purpose in sending him, was to entertain the king with witty and facetious conversation, and to partake without reserve of his pleasures and amusements. Wotton was master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs and most dangerous artifices. When but a youth of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle Dr. Wotton, ambassador in France during the reign of Mary, to ensnare the Constable Montmorency; and had not his purpose been frustrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged minister. It is no wonder that, after years had improved him in all the arts of deceit, he should gain an ascendant over

a young prince of so open and unguarded a temper as James; especially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for his reception. He was admitted into all the pleasures of the king; made himself master of his secrets; and had so much the authority with him in political transactions, as he did not seem to pay the least attention to these matters. The Scottish ministers, who observed the growing interest of this man, endeavoured to acquire his friendship; and scrupled not to sacrifice to his intrigues the most essential interests of their master. Elizabeth's usual jealousies with regard to her heirs began now to be levelled against James; and as that prince had attained the years proper for marriage, she was apprehensive lest, by being strengthened with children and alliances, he should acquire the greater interest and authority with her English subjects. She directed Wotton to form a secret concert with some Scottish noblemen, and to procure their promise that James, during three years, should not on any account be permitted to marry. In consequence of this view, they endeavoured to embroil him with the king of Denmark, who had sent ambassadors to Scotland on pretence of demanding restitution of the Orkneys, but really with a view of opening a proposal of marriage between James and his daughter. Wotton is said to have employed his intrigues to purposes still more dangerous. He formed, it is pretended, a conspiracy with some malcontents, to seize the person of the king, and to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth, who would probably have denied all concurrence in the design, but would have been sure to retain him in perpetual thralldom, if not captivity. The conspiracy was detected, and Wotton fled hastily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king.

James's situation obliged him to dissemble his resentment of this traitorous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him soon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negotiations for a strict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's friendship, she granted him a pension equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the countess of Lenox, lately deceased. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was stipulated, that if Elizabeth were invaded, James should aid her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like case, should send to his assistance three thousand horse and six thousand foot; that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; that if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign kingdom, so far as religion was concerned.

By this league James secured himself against all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring the confidence and affections of the English, and might entertain some prospect of domestic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never expect long to enjoy. Besides the turbulent disposition and inveterate feuds of the nobility, ancient maladies of the Scottish government, the spirit of fanaticism had introduced a new disorder; so much the more dangerous, as religion,



when corrupted by false opinion, is not restrained by any rules of morality, and is even scarcely to be accounted for in its operations by any principles of ordinary conduct and policy. The insolence of the preachers, who triumphed in their dominion over the populace, had at this time reached an extreme height: and they carried their arrogance so far, not only against the king, but against the whole civil power, that they excommunicated the archbishop of St. Andrews, because he had been active in parliament for promoting a law which restrained their seditious sermons. Nor could that prelate save himself by any expedient from this terrible sentence, but by renouncing all pretensions to ecclesiastical authority. One Gibson said in the pulpit, that Captain James Stuart (meaning the late earl of Arran) and his wife Jezabel had been deemed the chief persecutors of the church; but it was now seen that the king himself was the great offender: and for this crime the preacher denounced against him the curse which fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race.

The secretary, Thirlstone, perceiving the king so much molested with ecclesiastical affairs, and with the refractory disposition of the clergy, advised him to leave them to their own courses: for that in a short time they would become so intolerable, that the people would rise against them, and drive them out of the country. "True," replied the king: "If I purposed to undo the church and religion, your counsel were good: but my intention is to maintain both; therefore cannot I suffer the clergy to follow such a conduct, as will in the end bring religion into contempt and derision."

## CHAP. XLVI.

### *Zeal of the Catholics—Babington's Conspiracy—*

*Mary's knowledge of the Conspiracy—The Conspirators seized and executed—Resolution to try the Queen of Scots—The Commissioners prevail on her to submit to the Trial—The Trial—Sentence against Mary—Interposition of King James—Reasons for the Execution of Mary—The Execution—Mary's Character—The Queen's affected Sorrow—Drake destroys the Spanish Fleet at Cadiz—Philip projects the invasion of England—The Invincible Armada—Preparations in England—The Armada arrives in the Channel—Defeated—A Parliament—Expedition against Portugal—Affairs of Scotland.*

THE dangers which arose from the character, principles, and pretensions of the queen of Scots, had very early engaged Elizabeth to consult, in her treatment of that unfortunate princess, the dictates of jealousy and politics, rather than of friendship or generosity: resentment of this usage had pushed Mary into enterprises which had nearly threatened the repose and authority of Elizabeth: the rigour and restraint, thence redoubled upon the captive queen, still impelled her to attempt greater extremities; and while her impatience of confinement, her revenge, and her high spirit, concurred with religious zeal, and the suggestions of desperate bigots, she was at last engaged in designs which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reason for effecting her final ruin.

Mary's extreme animosity against Elizabeth may easily be conceived, and it broke out about this time in an incident which may appear curious.

While the former queen was kept in custody by the earl of Shrewsbury, she lived during a long time in great intimacy with the countess; but that lady entertaining a jealousy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendship was converted into enmity; and Mary took a method of revenge, which at once gratified her spite against the countess and that against Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen, informing her of all the malicious scandalous stories which, she said, the countess of Shrewsbury had reported of her: that Elizabeth had given a promise of marriage to a certain person, whom she afterwards often admitted to her bed: that she had been equally indulgent to Simier the French agent, and to the duke of Anjou: that Hatton was also one of her paramours, who was even disgusted with her excessive love and fondness: that though she was, on other occasions, avaricious to the last degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few, she spared no expense in gratifying her amorous passions: that notwithstanding her licentious amours, she was not made like other women; and all those who courted her marriage would in the end be disappointed: that she was so conceited of her beauty, as to swallow the most extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could not, on these occasions, forbear even sneering at her for her folly: that it was usual for them to tell her, that the lustre of her beauty dazzled them like that of the sun, and they could not behold it with a fixed eye: she added, that the countess had said, that Mary's best policy would be to engage her son to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that such a proposal would be taken for mockery; so ridiculous was the opinion which she had entertained of her own charms. She pretended that the countess had represented her as no less odious in her temper than prodigate in her manners, and absurd in her vanity: that she had so beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore as to break that lady's finger; and in order to cover the matter, it was pretended that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candlestick: that she had cut another across the hand with a knife, who had been so unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the countess had informed her, that Elizabeth had suborned Rolstone to pretend friendship to her, in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival. This imprudent and malicious letter was written a very little before the detection of Mary's conspiracy; and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings against her the more rigorous. How far all these imputations against Elizabeth can be credited, may perhaps appear doubtful: but her extreme fondness for Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious passages between her and Admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chastity very much to be suspected. Her self-conceit with regard to beauty, we know from other undoubted authority to have been extravagant. Even when she was a very old woman, she allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her "excellent beauties." Her passionate temper may also be proved from many lively instances; and it was not unusual with her to beat her maids of honour. The blow she gave to Essex before the privy-council is another instance. There remains in the Museum a letter of the earl of Huntingdon's, in which he complains grievously of the queen's pinching his wife very sorely, on account of some quarrel between them. Had this princess been born in a private station, she would not have

been very amiable: but her absolute authority, at the same time that it gave an uncontrolling swing to her violent passions, enabled her to compensate her infirmities by many great and signal virtues.

The English seminary at Rheims had wrought themselves up to a high pitch of rage and animosity against the queen. The recent persecutions from which they had escaped; the new rigours which they knew awaited them in the course of their missions; the liberty which for the present they enjoyed of declaiming against that princess; and the contagion of that religious fury which every where surrounded them in France: all these causes had obliterated with them every maxim of common sense, and every principle of morals or humanity. Intoxicated with the admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and deposed the queen; and some of them had gone to that height of extravagance as to assert, that that performance had been immediately dictated by the Holy Ghost. The assassination of heretical sovereigns, and of that princess in particular, was represented as the most meritorious of all enterprises; and they taught that whoever perished in such pious attempts, enjoyed without dispute the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By such doctrines they instigated John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who had served some years in the Low Countries under the prince of Parma, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this assassin having made a vow to persevere in his design, was sent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous catholics.

About the same time, John Ballard, a priest of that seminary, had returned to Paris from his mission in England and Scotland; and as he had observed a spirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among the catholic devotees in these countries, he had founded on that disposition, the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of restoring by force of arms the exercise of the ancient religion. The situation of affairs abroad seemed favourable to this enterprise: the pope, the Spaniard, the duke of Guise, concurring in interests, had formed a resolution to make some attempt against England: and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, strongly encouraged Ballard to hope for succours from these princes. Charles Paget alone, a zealous catholic, and a devoted partisan of the queen of Scots, being well acquainted with the prudence, vigour, and general popularity of Elizabeth, always maintained that so long as that princess was allowed to live, it was in vain to expect any success from an enterprise upon England. Ballard, persuaded of this truth, saw more clearly the necessity of executing the design formed at Rheims: he came over to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of Captain Fortescue: and he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion.

The first person to whom he addressed himself was Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Derby. This young gentleman was of a good family, possessed a plentiful fortune, had discovered an excellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station. Being zealously devoted to the catholic communion, he had secretly made a journey to Paris some time before; and had fallen into intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a bigoted fugitive from England, and with the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court

of France. By continually extolling the amiable accomplishment and heroic virtues of that princess, they impelled the sanguine and unguarded mind of young Babington to make some attempt for her service; and they employed every principle of ambition, gallantry, and religious zeal, to give him a contempt of those dangers which attended any enterprise against the vigilant government of Elizabeth. Finding him well disposed for their purpose, they sent him back to England, and secretly, unknown to himself, recommended him to the queen of Scots, as a person worth engaging in her service. She wrote him a letter full of friendship and confidence; and Babington, ardent in his temper, and zealous in his principles, thought that these advances now bound him in honour to devote himself entirely to the service of that unfortunate princess. During some time, he had found means of conveying to her all her foreign correspondence; but after she was put under the custody of Sir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he experienced so much difficulty and danger in rendering her this service, that he had desisted from every attempt of that nature.

When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal suspended, not extinguished: his former ardour revived on the mention of any enterprise which seemed to promise success in the cause of Mary and of the catholic religion. He had entertained sentiments conformable to those of Paget, and represented the folly of all attempts which during the lifetime of Elizabeth, could be formed against the established religion and government of England. Ballard, encouraged by this hint, proceeded to discover to him the design undertaken by Savage; and was well pleased to observe that, instead of being shocked with the project, Babington only thought it not secure enough, when entrusted to one single hand, and proposed to join five others with Savage in this desperate enterprise.

In prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in increasing the number of his associates; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many catholic gentlemen discontented with the present government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnoc, a gentleman of Lancashire, and Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household, readily undertook the assassination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Tichborne of Southampton, when the design was proposed to them, expressed some scruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refused during some time to share the glory of the enterprise with any others; he challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty he was induced to depart from this preposterous ambition.

The deliverance of the queen of Scots at the very same instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated, was requisite for effecting the purpose of the conspirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horse, to attack her guards while she should be taking the air on horseback. In this enterprise he engaged Edward Windsor, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Salisbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones, and Henry Donne: most of them men of family and interest. The conspirators much wanted, but could not find any nobleman of note whom they might place at the head of the enterprise; but they trusted that the great events of the queen's death and Mary's deliverance, would rouse all the zealous catholics to



arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confusion, would easily fix the queen of Scots on the throne, and re-establish the ancient religion.

These desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state. That artful minister had engaged Maud, a catholic priest, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and had thereby got a hint of the designs entertained by the fugitives. Pooley, another of his spies, had found means to insinuate himself among the conspirators in England; and though not entirely trusted, had obtained some insight into their dangerous secrets. But the bottom of the conspiracy was never fully known till Gifford, a seminary priest, came over and made a tender of his services to Walsingham. By his means the discovery became of the utmost importance, and involved the fate of Mary as well as of those zealous partisans of that princess.

Babington and his associates, having laid such a plan as they thought promised infallible success, were impatient to communicate the design to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation and concurrence. For this service they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of that minister might forward his secret correspondence with Mary. Walsingham proposed the matter to Paulet, and desired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his servants: but Paulet, averse to the introducing of such a pernicious precedent into his family, desired that they would rather think of some other expedient. Gifford found a brewer who supplied the family with ale; and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's connivance, were thrust through a chink in the wall; and answers were returned by the same conveyance.

Ballard and Babington were at first diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters: but finding by the answers that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside all further scruple, and conveyed by his hands the most criminal and dangerous parts of their conspiracy. Babington informed Mary of the design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her deliverance, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cause, and her majesty's service, would undertake the "tragical execution." Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an insurrection. These letters with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir Francis Inglesfield, were carried by Gifford to Secretary Walsingham; were deciphered by the art of Philips, his clerk, and copies taken of them. Walsingham employed another artifice in order to obtain full insight into the plot: he subjoined to a letter of Mary's a postscript in the same cipher; in which he made her desire Babington to inform her of the names of the conspirators. The miscreant of Babington furnished Walsingham with still another means of detection as well as of defence. That gentleman had caused a

picture to be drawn, where he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins; and a motto was subjoined, expressing that their common perils were the band of their confederacy. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that she might know the assassins, and guard herself against their approach to her person.

It should be observed here that Lingard says, that this story should be corrected by the statement of the queen's counsel at the trial, that it contained only Savage and Tichborne.

Meanwhile, Babington, anxious to insure and hasten the foreign succours, resolved to dispatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him, under a feigned name, a licence to travel. In order to remove from himself all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and professed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham commended his loyal purposes: and promising his own counsel and assistance in the execution of them, still fed him with hopes, and maintained a close correspondence with him. A warrant, meanwhile, was issued for seizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the consciousness of guilt, begat in all the conspirators the utmost anxiety and concern. Some advised that they should immediately make their escape: others proposed that Savage and Charnock should without delay execute their purpose against Elizabeth; and Babington, in prosecution of this scheme, furnished Savage with money, that he might buy good clothes, and thereby have more easy access to the queen's person. Next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too hastily; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, was persuaded by that subtle minister, that the seizure of Ballard had proceeded entirely from the usual diligence of informers in the detection of popish and seminary priests. He even consented to take lodgings secretly in Walsingham's house, that they might have more frequent conferences together, before his intended departure for France: but observing that he was watched and guarded, he made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered themselves with several disguises, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but were soon discovered, and thrown into prison. In their examinations they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed: of whom seven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the rest were convicted by evidence.

Lingard has the following remarks on the conviction of these conspirators. "In the fate of these young men, the reader will find much to interest his sympathy. They were not of that class, in which conspirators are generally to be found. Sprung from the best families in their respective counties, possessed of affluent fortunes, they had hitherto withdrawn themselves from politics, and had devoted their time to the pursuits and pleasures belonging to their age and station. Probably, had it not been for the perfidious emissaries of Morgan and Walsingham, of Morgan who sought to revenge himself on Elizabeth, of Walsingham who cared not whose blood he shed, if he could shed that of Mary, none of them would ever have thought of the crime for which they suffered. There were different

graduations in their guilt. Babington was an assasin; he approved and promoted the project of Savage and Ballard. Of the others, Abington, Salisbury, and Donne, though they refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of the queen, offered to undertake the liberation of the royal captive: the remainder condemned both these projects: their real offence consisted in their silence: they scorned to betray the friends who confided in their honour. 'It was my hard fate,' exclaimed Jones at the bar, 'that I must either betray my friend, whom I love as myself, or break my allegiance, and undo myself and my posterity. I desired to be accounted a faithful friend, and am condemned as a false traitor. The love of Thomas Salisbury has made me hate myself; but God knows how far I was from intending treason!'

"Before this thing chanced," says Tichebourne, on the scaffold, 'we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went report in the Strand, in Fleet-street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Tichebourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for: and God knows what less in my head than matters of state! I always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in it; but in regard of my friend I was silent, and so consented.' He was much pitied by the spectators.

"Babington seems to have behaved ungenerously. He, it was, who sought to inveigle the others into the conspiracy, and yet his confession was the chief proof against them. They urged that he had exaggerated their guilt, to obtain mercy for himself. This was denied by Hatton: but it appears that he cherished some hope, even after condemnation."

Camden says in his graphic style, that "The conspirators met ever and anon to confer about these matters, either in St. Giles's-fields, or St. Paul's-church, or in taverns, where they every day banquetted and feasted, being puffed up with hope of great honours; now and then commending the valour of those Scottish gentlemen who had not long before surprised the king at Stirling; and of Gerard the Burgundian, who murdered the prince of Orange."\* He also gives the following details of their execution, which though revolting to a degree, are necessary to be known, as illustrative of the barbarous manners of the age.

"On the 13th September (1586), seven of the conspirators were arraign'd, confessed themselves guilty, and were condemn'd of high treason. The next day but one after, seven others were in like manner arraign'd, pleaded not guilty, and submitted themselves to be tried by God and the country, as the manner is; who were all found guilty out of their own confessions and condemn'd. Pollie (or Pooley) only of the number, though he were privy to all the business, yet because he affirmed that he had reveal'd several things to Walsingham, was not arraign'd. On the 20th of the same month (a gallows and a scaffold being set up for that purpose in St. Giles's-fields, where they were wont to meet) the first seven were hang'd, cut down" (and then so indecently mutilated that we cannot give the words of the contemporary historian), "their bowels taken out before their faces, while they were alive, and their bodies quarter'd, not without more than usual cruelty." The next day the remainder were executed, "but," says Camden, "something more favourably, by the queen's express command, who detested the former cruelty: for they all hung till

they were dead until they were cut down and bowell'd."

The lesser conspirators being dispatched, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots, on whose account and with whose concurrence these attempts had been made against the life of the queen, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. Some of Elizabeth's counsellors were averse to this procedure, and thought that the close confinement of a woman who was become very sickly, and who would probably put a speedy period to their anxiety by her natural death, might give sufficient security to the government, without attempting a measure of which there scarcely remains any example in history. Leicester advised that Mary should be secretly dispatched by poison, and he sent a divine to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of that action: but Walsingham declared his abhorrence of it; and still insisted, in conjunction with the majority of the counsellors, for the open trial of the queen of Scots. The situation of England, and of the English ministers, had, indeed, been hitherto not a little dangerous. No successor of the crown was declared: but the heir of blood, to whom the people in general were likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; was, from multiplied provocations, an enemy to the ministers and principal nobility; and their personal safety, as well as the safety of the public, seemed to depend alone on the queen's life, who was now somewhat advanced in years. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counsellors, knowing themselves to be so obnoxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to push every measure to extremities against her; and were even more anxious than the queen herself, to prevent her from ever mounting the throne of England.

Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the queen of Scots had been so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great surprise to her, when Sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were discovered and arrested. He chose the time for giving her this intelligence when she was mounted on horseback to go a hunting; and she was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay-castle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the last stage of her trial and sufferings. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arrested: all her papers were seized, and sent up to the council: above sixty different keys to ciphers were discovered: there were also found many letters from persons beyond sea, and several too from English noblemen, containing expressions of respect and attachment. The queen took no notice of this latter discovery; but the persons themselves, knowing their correspondence to be detected, thought that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence, than by declaring themselves thenceforth the most inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots.

It was resolved to try Mary, not by the common statute of treasons, but by the act which had passed the former year, with the view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy-councillors, and empowered them to examine and pass sentence on Mary, whom she denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland.

\* Translation in Kennet.



Lingard says, "a commission was issued to forty-seven, peers, privy-councillors and judges, to inquire into the conduct of Mary, commonly called queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, and to pronounce judgment according to the provisions of an act passed in the twenty-seventh year of the queen's reign. Of this number, six-and-thirty, accompanied by the law-officers of the crown, repaired to Fotheringay-castle. They were Bromley, lord chancellor; Burleigh, lord treasurer; the earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; the Viscount Montague; the Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sand, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletso, Compton, and Cheney; Sir James Croft, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sauler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amias Paulet; Wray, chief justice of the common pleas; Anderson, chief justice of the king's bench; Manwood, chief baron of the exchequer, and Gaudy, one of the justices of the common pleas."

The commissioners came to Fotheringay-castle, and sent to her Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet, and Edward Barker, who delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commission, and of the approaching trial. Mary received the intelligence without emotion or astonishment. She said, however, that it seemed strange to her, that the queen should command her, as a subject, to submit to a trial and examination before subjects: that she was an absolute independent princess, and would yield to nothing which might derogate either from her royal majesty, from the state of sovereign princes, or from the dignity and rank of her son: that however, oppressed by misfortunes, she was not yet so much broken in spirit as her enemies flattered themselves; nor would she, on any account, be accessory to her own degradation and dishonour: that she was ignorant of the laws and statutes of England; was utterly destitute of counsel; and could not conceive who were entitled to be called her peers, or could legally sit as judges on her trial: that though she had lived in England for many years, she had lived in captivity; and not having received the protection of the laws, she could not, merely by her involuntary residence in the country, be supposed to have subjected herself to their jurisdiction: that, notwithstanding the superiority of her rank, she was willing to give an account of her conduct before an English parliament; but could not view these commissioners in any other light than as men appointed to justify, by some colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution: and that she warned them to look to their conscience and their character, in trying an innocent person; and to reflect, that these transactions would somewhere be subject to revision, and that the theatre of the whole world was much wider than the kingdom of England.

In return, the commissioners sent a new deputation, informing her that her plea, either from her royal dignity, or from her imprisonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to answer before them. Burleigh the treasurer, and Bromley the chancellor, employed much reasoning to make her submit; but the person whose arguments had the most influence was Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain. His speech was to this purpose: "You are accused, madam," said he, "but not condemned, of having conspired the de-

struction of our lady and queen anointed. You say you are a queen: but in such a crime as this, and such a situation as yours, the royal dignity itself, neither by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nature or of nations, is exempt from judgment. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. We have been present at your protestations of innocence: but Queen Elizabeth thinks otherwise; and is heartily sorry for the appearances which lie against you. To examine, therefore, your cause, she has appointed commissioners; honourable persons, prudent and upright men, who are ready to hear you with equity, and even with favour, and will rejoice, if you can clear yourself of the imputations which have been thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the queen herself will rejoice, who affirmed to me at my departure, that nothing which ever befel her had given her so much uneasiness, as that you should be suspected of a concurrence in these criminal enterprises. Laying aside, therefore, the fruitless claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing, trust to the better defence of your innocence, make it appear in open trial, and leave not upon your memory that stain of infamy which must attend your obstinate silence on this occasion."

By this artful speech Mary was persuaded to answer before the court; and thereby gave an appearance of legal procedure to the trial; and prevented those difficulties which the commissioners must have fallen into, had she persevered in maintaining so specious a plea as that of her sovereign and independent character. Her conduct in this particular must be regarded as the more imprudent; because formerly, when Elizabeth's commissioners pretended not to exercise any jurisdiction over her, and only entered into her cause by her own consent and approbation, she declined justifying herself, when her honour, which ought to have been dearer to her than life, seemed absolutely to require it.

On her first appearance before the commissioners, Mary, either sensible of her imprudence, or still unwilling to degrade herself by submitting to a trial, renewed her protestation against the authority of her judges: the chancellor answered her by pleading the supreme authority of the English laws over every one who resided in England: and the commissioners accommodated matters, by ordering both her protestation and his answer to be recorded.

The lawyers of the crown then opened the charge against the queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that she had allowed Cardinal Allen and others to treat her as queen of England; and that she had kept a correspondence with Lord Paget and Charles Paget, in view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary seemed not anxious to clear herself from either of these imputations. She only said, that she could not hinder others from using what style they pleased in writing to her; and that she might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

An intercepted letter of her's to Mendoza was next produced; in which she promised to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her son should refuse to be converted to the catholic faith; an event, she there said, of which there was no expectation while he remained in the hands of his Scottish subjects. Even this part of the charge she took no pains to deny, or rather she seemed to acknowledge it. She said, that she had no kingdoms to dispose of; yet was it lawful for her to give at her pleasure what was her own, and she was not

accountable to any for her actions. She added, that she had formerly rejected that proposal from Spain; but now, since all her hopes in England were gone, she was fully determined not to refuse foreign assistance. There was also produced evidence to prove, that Allen and Parsons were at that very time negotiating by her orders at Rome the conditions of transferring her English crown to the king of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son.

It is remarkable, that Mary's prejudices against her son were at this time carried so far, that she had even entered into a conspiracy against him, had appointed Lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person, and deliver him into the hands of the pope, or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered, but on condition of his becoming a catholic.

The only part of the charge which Mary positively denied, was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. This article, indeed, was the most heavy, and the only one that could fully justify the queen in proceeding to extremities against her. In order to prove the accusation, there were produced the following evidence: copies taken in Secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed; the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confessed, without being put to any torture, both that she received these letters from Babington, and that they had written the answers by her order; the confession of Babington, that he had written the letters and received the answers, and the confession of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had showed them these letters of Mary written in the cipher, which had been settled between them.

It is evident, that this complication of evidence, though every circumstance corroborates the general conclusion, resolves itself finally into the testimony of the two secretaries, who alone were certainly acquainted with their mistress's concurrence in Babington's conspiracy, but who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence which might be required of them. In the case of an ordinary criminal, this proof, with all its disadvantages, would be esteemed legal, and even satisfactory, if not opposed by some other circumstances which shake the credit of the witnesses: but on the present trial, where the absolute power of the prosecutor concurred with such important interests, and such a violent inclination to have the princess condemned; the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, ought to be supported by strong probabilities, in order to remove all suspicion of tyranny and injustice. The proof against Mary, it must be confessed, is not destitute of this advantage; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to account for Babington's receiving an answer, written in her name, and in the cipher concerted between them, without allowing that the matter had been communicated to that princess. Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has discovered every thing which could guide our judgment with regard to it: no wonder, therefore, that the queen of Scots, unassisted by counsel, and confounded by so extraordinary a trial, found herself incapable of making a satisfactory defence before the commissioners. Her reply consisted chiefly in her own denial: whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened, by her positively affirming, that she never had any correspondence of any kind with Babington; a fact,

however, of which there remains not the least question.

Lingard says that this is a mistake in the report in the state-trials, and that her real denial was, that she had ever had "such" correspondence with him as had now been read to her: and he refers to the Hardewicke papers to corroborate this assertion.

The volume of State Papers (we continue Hume) collected by Murden, prove beyond controversy, that Mary was long in close correspondence with Babington. She entertained a like correspondence with Ballard, Morgan, and Charles Paget, and laid a scheme with them for an insurrection, and for the invasion of England by Spain. The same papers show, that there had been a discontinuance of Babington's correspondence, agreeably to Camden's narration, where Morgan recommends it to Queen Mary to renew her correspondence with Babington. These circumstances prove, that no weight can be laid on Mary's denial of guilt, and that her correspondence with Babington contained particulars which could not be avowed.

She asserted that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence against her ought not to be credited. She confessed, however, that Nau had been in the service of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the king of France, as a man in whom she might safely confide. She also acknowledged Curle to be a very honest man, but simple, and easily imposed on by Nau. If these two men had received any letters, or had written any answers, without her knowledge, the imputation, she said, could never lie on her. And she was the more inclined, she added, to entertain this suspicion against them, because Nau had, in other instances, been guilty of a like temerity, and had ventured to transact business in her name, without communicating the matter to her.

There are three suppositions by which the letter to Babington may be accounted for, without allowing Mary's concurrence in the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth. The first is, that which she seems herself to have embraced, that her secretaries had received Babington's letter, and had, without any treacherous intention, ventured of themselves to answer it, and had never communicated the matter to her: but it is utterly improbable, if not impossible, that a princess of so much sense and spirit should in an affair of that importance, be so treated by her servants who lived in the house with her, and who had every moment an opportunity of communicating the secret to her. If the conspiracy failed, they must expect to suffer the severest punishment from the court of England; if it succeeded, the lightest punishment which they could hope for from their own mistress, must be disgrace on account of their temerity. Not to mention, that Mary's concurrence was in some degree requisite for effecting the design of her escape: it was proposed to attack her guards while she was employed in hunting she must therefore concert the time and place with the conspirators. The second supposition is, that these two secretaries were previously traitors; and being gained by Walsingham, had made such a reply in their mistress's cipher as might involve her in the guilt of the conspiracy. But these two men had lived long with the queen of Scots, had been entirely trusted by her, and had never fallen under suspicion either with her or her partisans. Camden informs us, that Curle afterwards claimed a reward from Walsingham on pretence of some promise.



but Walsingham told him that he owed him no reward, and that he had made no discoveries on his examination, which were not known with certainty from other quarters. The third supposition is, that neither the queen nor the two secretaries, Nau and Curle, ever saw Babington's letter or made any answer; but that Walsingham, having deciphered the former, forged a reply. But this supposition implies the falsehood of the whole story, told by Camden, of Gifford's access to the queen of Scots' family, and Paulet's refusal to concur in allowing his servants to be bribed. Not to mention, that as Nau's and Curle's evidence must, on this supposition, have been extorted by violence and terror, they would necessarily have been engaged, for their own justification, to have told the truth afterwards; especially upon the accession of James. But Camden informs us, that Nau, even after that event, persisted still in his testimony.

We must also consider, that the two last suppositions imply such a monstrous criminal conduct in Walsingham, and consequently in Elizabeth (for the matter could be no secret to her), as exceeds all credibility. If we consider the situation of things, and the prejudices of the times, Mary's consent to Babington's conspiracy appears much more natural and probable. She believed Elizabeth to be an usurper and a heretic: she regarded her as a personal and a violent enemy: she knew that schemes for assassinating heretics were very familiar in that age, and generally approved of by the court of Rome and the zealous catholics: her own liberty and sovereignty were connected with the success of this enterprise: and it cannot appear strange, that where men, of so much merit as Babington, could be engaged by bigotry alone in so criminal an enterprise, Mary, who was actuated by the same motive, joined to so many others, should have given her consent to a scheme projected by her friends. We may be previously certain, that if such a scheme was ever communicated to her, with any probability of success, she would assent to it: and it served the purpose of Walsingham and the English ministry to facilitate the communication of these schemes, as soon as they had gotten an expedient for intercepting her answer, and detecting the conspiracy. Now Walsingham's knowledge of the matter is a supposition necessary to account for the letter delivered to Babington.

As to the not punishing of Nau and Curle by Elizabeth, it never is the practice to punish lesser criminals, who had given evidence against the principal.

But what ought to induce us to reject these three suppositions is, that they must all of them be considered as bare possibilities: the partisans of Mary can give no reason for preferring one to the other: not the slightest evidence ever appeared to support any one of them: neither at that time, nor at any time afterwards, was any reason discovered, by the numerous zealots at home and abroad, who had embraced Mary's defence, to lead us to the belief of any of these three suppositions; and even her apologists at present seem not to have fixed on any choice among these supposed possibilities. The positive proof of two very credible witnesses, supported by the other very strong circumstances, still remains unimpeached. Babington, who had an extreme interest to have communication with the queen of Scots, believed he had found a means of correspondence with her, and had received an answer from her: he, as well as the other conspirators,

died in that belief: there has not occurred, since that time, the least argument to prove that they were mistaken: can there be any reason at present to doubt the truth of their opinion? Camden, though a professed apologist for Mary, is constrained to tell the story in such a manner as evidently supposes her guilt. Such was the impossibility of finding any other consistent account, even by a man of parts who was a contemporary!

In this light might the question have appeared even during Mary's trial. But what now puts her guilt beyond all controversy is the following passage of her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated 27th of July 1586. "As to Babington, he hath both kindly and honestly offered himself and all his means to be employed any way I would: whereupon I hope to have satisfied him by two of my several letters since I had his; and the rather, for that I opened him the way, whereby I received his with your aforesaid." Babington confessed, that he had offered her to assassinate the queen: it appears by this that she had accepted the offer: so that all the suppositions of Walsingham's forgery, or the temerity or treachery of her secretaries, fall to the ground.

The sole circumstance of her defence, which to us may appear to have some force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle should be confronted with her, and her affirming, that they never would to her face persist in their evidence. But that demand, however equitable, was not then supported by law in trials of high treason, and was often refused, even in other trials where the crown was prosecutor. The clause, contained in an act of the 13th of the queen, was a novelty; that the species of treason there enumerated must be proved by two witnesses confronted with the criminal. But Mary was not tried upon that act; and the ministers and crown lawyers of this reign were always sure to refuse every indulgence beyond what the strict letter of the law, and the settled practice of the courts of justice, required of them. Not to mention, that these secretaries were not probably at Fotheringhay-castle during the time of the trial, and could not, upon Mary's demand, be produced before the commissioners.\*

There passed two incidents in this trial which may be worth observing. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the earl of Arundel and his brothers: on hearing their names, she broke into a sigh; "Alas," said she, "What has the noble house of the Howards suffered for my sake?" She affirmed, with regard to the same letter, that it was easy to forge the hand-writing and cipher of another; she was afraid that this was too familiar a practice with Walsingham, who, she also heard, had frequently practised both against her life and her son's. Walsingham, who was one of the commissioners, rose up. He protested, that in his private capacity he had never acted any thing against the queen of Scots: in his public capacity, he owned, that his concern for his sovereign's safety had made him very diligent in searching out, by every expedient, all designs against her secret person or her authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make use of the assistance of Ballard or any other conspi-

\* Queen Elizabeth was willing to have allowed Curle and Nau to be produced in the trial, and writes to that purpose to Burleigh and Walsingham, in her letter of the 7th of October, in *Forbes's MS. collections*. She only says, that she thinks it needless, though she was willing to agree to it. The not confronting of the witnesses was not the result of design, but the practice of the age.

rator; he would also reward them for betraying their companions. But if he had tampered in any manner unbefitting his character and office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their trial or execution, accuse him of such practices? Mary endeavoured to pacify him, by saying that she spoke from information; and she begged him to give thenceforth no more credit to such as slandered her, than she should to such as accused him. The great character, indeed, which Sir Francis Walsingham bears for probity and honour, should remove from him all suspicion of such base arts as forgery and subornation; arts which even the most corrupt ministers, in the most corrupt times, would scruple to employ.

Having finished the trial, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay-castle, and met in the star-chamber at London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who voluntarily, without hope or reward, vouched the authenticity of those letters before produced, they pronounced sentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day, a declaration was published by the commissioners and the judges, "that the sentence did no wise derogate from the title and honour of James king of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced."

The queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that situation which she had long ardently desired; and had found a plausible reason for executing vengeance on a competitor, whom from the beginning of her reign she had ever equally dreaded and hated. But she was restrained from instantly gratifying her resentment, by several important considerations. She foresaw the invidious colours, in which this example of uncommon jurisdiction would be represented by the numerous partisans of Mary, and the reproach to which she herself might be exposed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all posterity. The rights of hospitality, of kindred, and of royal majesty, seemed, in one single instance, to be all violated; and this sacrifice of generosity to interest, of clemency to revenge, might appear equally unbecoming a sovereign and a woman. Elizabeth, therefore, who was an excellent hypocrite, pretended the utmost reluctance to proceed to the execution of the sentence; affected the most tender sympathy with her prisoner; displayed all her scruples and difficulties; rejected the solicitation of her courtiers and ministers; and affirmed, that were she not moved by the deepest concern for her people's safety, she would not hesitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries which she herself had received from the queen of Scots.

That the voice of her people might be more audibly heard in the demand of justice upon Mary, she summoned a new parliament; and she knew, both from the usual dispositions of that assembly, and from the influence of her ministers over them, that she should not want the most earnest solicitation to consent to that measure, which was so agreeable to her secret inclinations. She did not open this assembly in person, but appointed for that purpose three commissioners, Bromley the chancellor, Burleigh the treasurer, and the earl of Derby. The reason assigned for this measure was, that the queen, foreseeing that the affair of the queen of Scots would be canvassed in parliament, found her tenderness and delicacy so much hurt by that melancholy incident, that she had not the courage to be present

while it was under deliberation, but withdrew her eyes from what she could not behold without the utmost reluctance and uneasiness. She was also willing, that by this unusual precaution the people should see the danger to which her person was hourly exposed; and should thence be more strongly incited to take vengeance on the criminal, whose restless intrigues and bloody conspiracies had so long exposed her to the most imminent perils.

The parliament answered the queen's expectations: the sentence against Mary was unanimously ratified by both houses; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's consent to its publication and execution. She gave an answer ambiguous, embarrassed; full of real artifice, and seeming irresolution. She mentioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually exposed; she declared her willingness to die, did she not foresee the great calamities which would thence fall upon the nation; she made professions of the greatest tenderness to her people; she displayed the clemency of her temper, and expressed her violent reluctance to execute the sentence against her unhappy kinswoman; she affirmed, that the late law, by which that princess was tried, so far from being made to ensnare her, was only intended to give her warning beforehand, not to engage in such attempts as might expose her to the penalties with which she was thus openly menaced; and she begged them to think once again, whether it were possible to find any expedient, besides the death of the queen of Scots, for securing the public tranquillity. The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under consideration; but could find no other possible expedient. They reiterated their solicitations, and entreaties, and arguments; they even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects and children: and they affirmed, that it were injustice to deny execution of the law to any individual; much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimously and earnestly suing for this pledge of her parental care and tenderness. This second address set the pretended doubts and scruples of Elizabeth anew in agitation: she complained of her own unfortunate situation; expressed her uneasiness from their importunity; renewed the professions of affection to her people; and dismissed the committee of parliament in an uncertainty, what, after all this deliberation, might be her final resolution.

But though the queen affected reluctance to execute the sentence against Mary, she complied with the request of parliament in publishing it by proclamation; and this act seemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people. Lord Buckhurst, and Beale clerk of the council, were sent to the queen of Scots, and notified to her the sentence pronounced against her, its ratification by parliament, and the earnest applications made for its execution by that assembly, who thought that their religion could never, while she was alive, attain a full settlement and security. Mary was nowise dismayed at this intelligence; on the contrary, she joyfully laid hold of the last circumstance mentioned to her; and insisted, that since her death was demanded by the protestants for the establishment of their faith, she was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. She added, that the English had often imbrued their hands in the blood of their sovereigns: no wonder they exercised cruelty against her, who derived her descent from these monarchs



Paullet her keeper received orders to take down her canopy, and to serve her no longer with the respect due to sovereign princes. He told her that she was now to be considered as a dead person; and incapable of any dignity. This harsh treatment produced not in her any seeming emotion. She only replied, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power was ever able to bereave her of it.

The queen of Scots wrote her last letter to Elizabeth; full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averting the fatal sentence; on the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requested some favours of Elizabeth, and entreated her that she might be beholden for them to her own goodness alone, without making applications to those ministers who had discovered such an extreme malignity against her person and her religion. She desired, that after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body, which it was determined should never enjoy rest while her soul was united to it, might be consigned to her servants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repose in a catholic land, with the sacred relics of her mother. In Scotland, she said, the sepulchres of her ancestors were violated, and the churches either demolished or profaned; and in England, where she might be interred among the ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, she could entertain no hopes of being accompanied to the grave with those rites and ceremonies which her religion required. She requested that no one might have the power of inflicting a private death upon her, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution should be public, and attended by her ancient servants, who might bear testimony of her perseverance in the faith, and of her submission to the will of Heaven. She begged that these servants might afterwards be allowed to depart whithersoever they pleased, and might enjoy those legacies which she should bequeath them. And she conjured her to grant these favours, by their near kindred; by the soul and memory of Henry VII. the common ancestor of both; and by the royal dignity, of which they equally participated. Elizabeth made no answer to this letter; being unwilling to give Mary a refusal in her present situation, and foreseeing inconveniences from granting some of her requests.

While the queen of Scots thus prepared herself to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth, to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against her. Besides employing L'Aubespine, the French resident at London, a creature of the house of Guise, Henry sent over Bellievre, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. The duke of Guise and the league at that time threatened very nearly the king's authority; and Elizabeth knew, that though that monarch might, from decency and policy, think himself obliged to interpose publicly in behalf of the queen of Scots, he could not secretly be much displeased with the death of a princess, on whose fortune and elevation his mortal enemies had always founded so many daring and ambitious projects. It is even pretended, that Bellievre had orders, after making polite and vehement remonstrances against the execution of Mary, to exhort privately the queen, in his master's name, not to defer an act of justice,

so necessary for their common safety. But whether the French king's intercession were sincere or not, it had no weight with the queen; and she still persisted in her former resolution.

The interposition of the young king of Scots though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, seemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As soon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he sent Sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bedchamber, to London; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated in very severe terms against the indignity of the procedure. He said, that he was astonished to hear of the presumption of English noblemen and counsellors, who had dared to sit in judgment and pass sentence upon a queen of Scotland, descended from the blood-royal of England; but he was still more astonished to hear, that thoughts were seriously entertained of putting that sentence in execution: that he entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the dishonour which she would draw on her name by imbruing her hands in the blood of her near kinswoman, a person of the same royal dignity, and of the same sex with herself: that in this unparalleled attempt she offered an affront to all diadems, and even to her own, and by reducing sovereigns to a level with other men, taught the people to neglect all duty towards those whom Providence had appointed to rule over them: that for his part, he must deem the injury an insult so enormous, as to be incapable of all atonement; nor was it possible for him thenceforward to remain in any terms of correspondence with a person who, without any pretence of legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent: and that even if the sentiments of nature and duty did not inspire him with this purpose of vengeance, his honour required it of him; nor could he ever acquit himself in the eyes of the world, if he did not use every effort and endure every hazard to revenge so great an indignity.

Soon after, James sent the master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonstrances of Keith; and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth was at first offended with the sharpness of these applications; and she replied in a like strain to the Scottish ambassadors. When she afterwards reflected that this earnestness was no more than what duty required of James, she was pacified; but still retained her resolution of executing the sentence against Mary. It is believed, that the master of Gray gained by the enemies of that princess, secretly gave his advice not to spare her, and undertook, in all events, to pacify his master.

The queen also, from many considerations, was induced to pay small attention to the applications of James, and to disregard all the efforts which he could employ in behalf of his mother. She was well acquainted with his character and interests, the factions which prevailed among his people, and the inveterate hatred which the zealous protestants, particularly the preachers, bore to the queen of Scots. The present incidents set these dispositions of the clergy in a full light. James, observing the fixed purpose of Elizabeth, ordered prayers to be offered up for Mary in all the churches; and knowing the captious humour of the ecclesiastics, he took care that the form of the petition should be most cautious, as well as humane and charitable: "That it might please God to illuminate Mary with the light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." But, excepting the

king's own chaplains, and one clergyman more, all the preachers refused to pollute their churches by prayers for a papist, and would not so much as prefer a petition for her conversion. James, unwilling or unable to punish this disobedience, and desirous of giving the preachers an opportunity of amending their fault, appointed a new day when prayers should be said for his mother; and that he might at least secure himself from any insult in his own presence, he desired the archbishop of St. Andrew's to officiate before him. In order to disappoint this purpose, the clergy instigated one Couper, a young man who had not yet received holy orders, to take possession of the pulpit early in the morning, and to exclude the prelate. When the king came to church, and saw the pulpit occupied by Couper, he called to him from his seat, and told him, that the place was destined for another; yet since he was there, if he would obey the charge given, and remember the queen in his prayers, he might proceed to divine service. The preacher replied, that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him. This answer sufficiently instructed James in his purpose; and he commanded him to leave the pulpit. As Couper seemed not disposed to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull him from his place; upon which the young man cried aloud, That this day would be a witness against the king in the great day of the Lord; and he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to be treated in that manner. The audience at first appeared desirous to take part with him; but the sermon of the prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more humane disposition.

Elizabeth, when solicited, either by James or by foreign princes, to pardon the queen of Scots, seemed always determined to execute the sentence against her: but when her ministers urged her to interpose no more delays, her scruples and her hesitation returned; her humanity could not allow her to embrace such violent and sanguinary measures; and she was touched with compassion for the misfortunes, and with respect for the dignity of the unhappy prisoner. The courtiers, sensible that they could do nothing more acceptable to her than to employ persuasion on this head, failed not to enforce every motive for the punishment of Mary, and to combat all the objections urged against this act of justice. They said that the treatment of that princess in England had been, on her first reception, such as sound reason and policy required; and if she had been governed by principles of equity, she would not have refused willingly to acquiesce in it: that the obvious inconveniences either of allowing her to retire into France, or of restoring her by force to her throne, in opposition to the reformers and the English party in Scotland, had obliged the queen to detain her in England till time should offer some opportunity of serving her, without danger to the kingdom, or to the protestant religion: that her usage there had been such as became her rank; her own servants in considerable numbers had been permitted to attend her; exercise had been allowed her for health, and all access of company for amusement; and these indulgences would in time have been carried further, if by her subsequent conduct she had appeared worthy of them: that after she had instigated the rebellion of Northumberland, the conspiracy of Norfolk, the bull of excommunication of Pope Pius, an invasion from Flanders; after she had seduced the queen's friends, and incited every enemy, foreign and domestic, against her: it be-

came necessary to treat her as a most dangerous rival, and to render her confinement more strict and rigorous: that the queen, notwithstanding these repeated provocations, had, in her favour, rejected the importunity of her parliaments, and the advice of her sagest ministers; and was still, in hopes of her amendment, determined to delay coming to the last extremities against her: that Mary, even in this forlorn condition, retained so high and unconquerable a spirit, that she acted as competitor to the crown, and allowed her partisans every where, and in their very letters, addressed to herself, to treat her as queen of England: that she had carried her animosity so far as to encourage, in repeated instances, the atrocious design of assassinating the queen; and this crime was unquestionably proved upon her by her own letters, by the evidence of her secretaries, and by the dying confession of her accomplices: that she was but a titular queen, and at present possessed no where any right of sovereignty; much less in England, where the moment she set foot in the kingdom, she voluntarily became subject to the laws, and to Elizabeth, the only true sovereign: that even allowing her to be still the queen's equal in rank and dignity, self-defence was permitted by a law of nature, which could never be abrogated; and every one, still more a queen, had sufficient jurisdiction over an enemy, who by open violence, and still more, who by secret treachery threatened the utmost danger against her life: that the general combination of the catholics to exterminate the protestants was no longer a secret; and as the sole resource of the latter persecuted sect lay in Elizabeth, so the chief hope which the former entertained of final success, consisted in the person and in the title of the queen of Scots: that this very circumstance brought matters to extremity between these princesses; and rendering the life of one the death of the other, pointed out to Elizabeth the path, which either regard to self-preservation, or to the happiness of her people, should direct her to pursue: and that necessity, more powerful than policy, thus demanded of the queen that resolution which equity would authorize, and which duty prescribed.

When Elizabeth thought, that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution: but even in this final resolution she could not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previously dispersed that the Spanish fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guise was landed in Sussex with a strong army; that the queen of Scots was escaped from prison, and had raised an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the queen, and set the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually assassinated. An attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubespine, the French ambassador; and that minister was obliged to leave the kingdom. The queen, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent; and sometimes to mutter to herself half-sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. She at last called Davison, a man of parts, but easy to be imposed on, and who had lately for that very reason been made secretary, and she ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the



queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made for the deliverance of that princess. She signed the warrant; and then commanded Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great seal appended to it. Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear, some time, executing her former orders: and when Davison came and told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, being in a perplexity, acquainted the council with this whole transaction; and they endeavoured to persuade him to send off Beale with the warrant: if the queen should be displeased, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure.\* The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was dispatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed upon the queen of Scots.

After a very careful comparison of Hume and Lingard's account of the execution of Mary, we shall select that of the latter as giving more details, and as being not inferior in interest even to that of the former eloquent historian.

"For two or three days the servants of Mary observed with surprise the frequent arrival of strangers at Fotheringay. On the seventh of February (1587), the earl of Shrewsbury was announced; and his office of earl-marshal instantly suggested the fatal object of his visit. The queen rose from her bed, dressed and seated herself by a small table, having previously arranged her servants, male and female, on each side. The earl entered uncovered; he was followed by the earl of Kent, the sheriff, and several gentlemen of the county; and Beal, after a short preface, read aloud the warrant for the execution. Mary listened, without any change of countenance. Then crossing herself, she bade them welcome: the day, she said, which she had long desired, had at last arrived: she had languished in prison near twenty years, useless to others, and a burden to herself: nor could she conceive a termination to such a life more happy or more honourable, than to shed her blood for her religion. She next enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered, the offers which she had made, and the artifices and frauds employed by her enemies; and in conclusion, placing her hand on a testament which lay on the table, 'As for the death of the queen your sovereign,' said she, 'I call God to witness, that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor ever consented to it.'

"That book," exclaimed the earl of Kent, 'is a popish testament, and of course the oath is of no value.' 'It is a catholic testament,' rejoined the queen, 'on that account I prize it the more: and, therefore, according to your own reasoning, you ought to judge my oath the more satisfactory.' The earl, in return, exhorted her to abandon all papistical superstition, to save her soul by embracing the true faith, and to accept the spiritual services of the dean of Peterborough, a learned divine, appointed by the queen. But Mary replied, that she was perhaps better versed in controversy than he thought: she had read much, and had attended to the most

learned of the reformed preachers; but had never heard of any argument which should induce her to leave the faith of her fathers. Wherefore, in place of the dean of Peterborough, whom she would not hear, she requested that she might have the aid of Le Preau, her almoner, who was still in the house. This was the last and only indulgence she had to demand.

"It was answered, that her request could not be granted. It was contrary to the law of God, and the law of the land: and would endanger the safety both of the souls and bodies of the commissioners. A long and desultory conversation followed. Mary asked if her son had forgotten his mother in her distress; whether none of the foreign powers had interceded in her favour; and lastly when she was to suffer. To this question the earl of Shrewsbury answered, but with considerable agitation, 'To-morrow morning at eight o'clock.'

"The earls had risen, when the queen inquired what was become of her two secretaries; and not receiving a satisfactory answer, asked with much earnestness, whether Nau were dead or alive. Drury replied that he was still in prison. 'What!' she exclaimed, 'is my life to be taken, and Nau's life spared? I protest before God,' putting her hand again on the book, 'that Nau is the author of my death. He has brought me to the scaffold, to save his own life. I die in the place of Nau. But the truth will soon be known.'

"Mary had heard the denunciation of her death with a serenity of countenance, and dignity of manner, which awed and affected the beholders. The moment the earls were departed, her attendants burst into tears and lamentations: but she imposed silence, saying, 'This is not a time to weep but to rejoice. In a few hours you will see the end of my misfortunes. My enemies may now say what they please: but the earl of Kent has betrayed the secret, that my religion is the real cause of my death. Be then resigned, and leave me to my devotions.'

"After a long and fervent prayer the queen was called to supper. She ate sparingly; and before she rose from table, drank to all her servants, who pledged her in return on their knees, and prayed her to pardon the faults, which they had committed in her service. She forgave them cheerfully, asking at the same time forgiveness of them, if she had ever spoken or acted towards them unkindly, and concluded with a few words of advice for their future conduct in life. Even in this short address, she again mentioned her conviction, that Nau was the author of her death.

"This important night, the last of Mary's life, she divided into three parts. The arrangement of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will, and of three letters, to her confessor, her cousin of Guise, and the king of France, occupied the first and longer portion.† The second she gave to exercises

\* "It has been argued, that this solemn asseveration is unworthy of credit, because the same evening she rewarded, as faithful servants, Nau and Curle, by her bequests to them in her will. On the contrary, the contemporary account of her death says, that she marked her sense of Nau's conduct in her will, though in obscure terms, lest the English ministers should observe it, and destroy the instrument. On a reference to the will itself, this appears to have been the case. Nau is to have his wages, pension, and a large sum of money; but only if he prove, that he has fulfilled certain conditions well known to her servants. She every where makes a distinction between him and Curle, whom she considered as seduced by Nau."

† "Her letter to her confessor is in Jebb, and Keralio. She complains of the cruelty of her enemies in refusing her his aid, and begs of him to pray with her during the night. In that to the king of France, she says, that she dies innocent of any crime against Elizabeth."

\* It appears by some letters published by Styrpe, that Elizabeth had not expressly communicated her intention to any of her ministers, not even to Burleigh: they were such experienced courtiers, that they knew they could not gratify her intention, by serving her without waiting till she desired them.

of devotion. In the retirement of her closet with her two maids, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle, she prayed and read alternately; and sought for support and consolation in the lecture of the passion of Christ, and of a sermon on the death of the penitent thief. About four she retired to rest: but it was observed she did not sleep. Her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer.

"At the first break of day her household assembled around her. She read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women, and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar: they knelt down and prayed behind her.

"In the midst of the great hall of the castle had been raised a scaffold, covered with black serge, and surrounded with a low railing. About seven the doors were thrown open: the gentlemen of the county entered with their attendants; and Paulet's guard augmented the number to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred spectators. Before eight a message was sent to the queen, who replied that she would be ready in half an hour. At that time, Andrews, the sheriff, entered the oratory: Mary arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right, and carrying her prayer-book in her left hand. Her servants were forbidden to follow; they insisted; but the queen bade them to be content, and turning, gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed: and the burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

"Mary was now joined by the earls and her keepers: and descending the staircase, found at the foot Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been excluded from her presence. This old and faithful servant threw himself on his knees, and wringing his hands exclaimed, 'Ah, madam, unhappy me! was ever a man on earth the bearer of such sorrow as I shall be, when I report that my good and gracious queen and mistress was beheaded in England!' Here his grief impeded his utterance: and Mary replied: 'Good Melville, cease to lament; thou hast rather cause to joy than mourn: for thou shalt see the end of Mary Stuart's troubles. Know that this world is but vanity, subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee report, that I die a true woman to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. May God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood, as the hart doth for the brooks of water. O God, thou art the author of truth, and truth itself. Thou knowest the inward chambers of my thoughts; and that I always wished the union of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son; and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown, or favourable to the pretended superiority of our enemies.' Then bursting into tears, she said, 'Good Melville, farewell,' and kissing him, 'once again, good Melville, farewell, and pray for thy mistress and queen.' It was remarked as something extraordinary, that this was the first time in her life, that she had ever been known to address a person by the pronoun thou.

"Drying up her tears, she turned from Melville, and made her last request, that her servants might be present at her death. But the earl of Kent objected that they would be troublesome by their grief

and lamentations, might practise some superstitious trumpery, perhaps might dip their handkerchiefs in her grace's blood. 'My lords,' said Mary, 'I will give my word for them. They shall deserve no blame. Certainly your mistress, being a maiden queen, will vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I have some of my own women about me at my death.' Receiving no answer, she continued, 'you might, I think, grant me a far greater courtesy, were I a woman of lesser calling than the queen of Scots.' Still they were silent: when she asked with vehemence, 'Am I not the cousin to your queen, a descendant of the blood-royal of Henry VII., a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland?' At these words the fanaticism of the earl of Kent began to yield; and it was resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. She selected her steward, physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her maids, Kennedy and Curle.

"The procession now set forward. It was headed by the sheriff and his officers: next followed Paulet and Drury, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent: and lastly came the Scottish queen with Melville bearing her train. She wore the richest of her dresses: that which was appropriate to the rank of a queen-dowager.\* Her step was firm, and her countenance cheerful. She bore without shrinking the gaze of the spectators, and the sight of the scaffold, the block, and the executioner; and advanced into the hall with that grace and majesty, which she had so often displayed in her happier days, and in the palace of her fathers. To aid her, as she mounted the scaffold, Pawlet offered his arm. 'I thank you, sir,' said Mary; 'it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever rendered me.'

"The queen seated herself on a stool which was prepared for her. On her right stood the two earls, on the left the sheriff and Beal the clerk of the council, in front the executioner from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, with his assistant also clad in black. The warrant was read, and Mary in an audible voice addressed the assembly. She would have them recollect, she said, that she was a sovereign princess, not subject to the parliament of England, but brought there to suffer by injustice and violence. She, however, thanked her God that he had given her this opportunity of publicly professing her religion, and of declaring, as she had often before declared, that she had never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to, the death of the English queen, nor ever sought the least harm to her person. After her death many things, which were then buried in darkness, would come to light. But she pardoned from her heart all her enemies, nor should her tongue utter that which might turn to their prejudice. Here she was interrupted by Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, who having caught her eye, began to preach, and under the cover, perhaps through motives of zeal, contrived to

\* "It is thus described: Her head-dress was of fine lawn, edged with bone lace, with a veil of the same thrown back and reaching to the ground. She wore a mantle of black printed satin, lined with black taffeta and faced with sables, with a long train, and sleeves hanging to the ground. The buttons were of jet in the form of acorns, and set round with pearls; the collar "à l'Italienne."—Her purpout was of black figured satin, and under it a bodice, unlaced on the back, of crimson satin, with the skirt of crimson velvet. A pomander chain with a cross of gold was suspended from her neck, a pair of beads from her waist. The executioner claimed all these articles at his right, but was compelled to surrender them for a sum of money."





When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, she affected the utmost surprise and indignation. Her countenance changed: her speech faulted and failed her; for a long time her sorrow was so deep that she could not express it, but stood fixed like a statue in silence and mute astonishment. After her grief was able to find vent, it burst forth into loud wailings and lamentations; she put herself in deep mourning for this deplorable event; and she was seen perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded only by her maids and women. None of her ministers or counsellors dared to approach her; or if any had such temerity, she chased them from her with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment: they had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose, of which they were sufficiently apprised and acquainted.

No sooner was her sorrow so much abated as to leave room for reflection, than she wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, and sent it by Sir Robert Cary, son of Lord Hunsdon. She then told him, that she wished he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which she experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, much less concurrence, had happened in England: that as her pen trembled when she attempted to write it, she found herself obliged to commit the relation of it to the messenger, her kinsman; who would likewise inform his majesty of every circumstance attending this dismal and unlooked-for misfortune: that she appealed to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was also so happy, amidst her other afflictions, as to find that many persons in her court could bear witness to her veracity in this protestation: that she abhorred dissimulation; deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a sincere and open conduct; and could never surely be esteemed so base and poorly spirited as that, if she had really given orders for this fatal execution, she could on any consideration be induced to deny them: that, though sensible of the justice of the sentence pronounced against the unhappy prisoner, she determined, from clemency, never to carry it into execution; and could not but resent the temerity of those who on this occasion had disappointed her intention: and that as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare; she hoped that he would consider every one as his enemy who endeavoured, on account of the present incident, to excite any animosity between them.

In order the better to appease James, she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the star-chamber for his misdemeanour. The secretary was confounded; and being sensible of the danger which must attend his entering into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted very patiently to be railed at by those very counsellors whose persuasion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. All the favour which he could obtain from the queen, was sending him small supplies from time to time to keep him from perishing in necessity. He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walsingham, which contains many curious

particulars. The French and Scotch ambassadors, he said, had been remonstrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure she commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princess. She signed it readily, and ordered it to be sealed with the great seal of England. She appeared in such good humour on the occasion, that she said to him in a jocular manner, "Go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick: though I fear he will die of sorrow when he hears of it." She added, that though she had so long delayed the execution, lest she should seem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, she was all along sensible of the necessity of it. In the same conversation she blamed Drury and Paulet, that they had not before eased her of this trouble; and she expressed her desire that Walsingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. [And it was upon this occasion that a letter signed by Walsingham as well as Davison, was dispatched to Sir Amias Paulet, urging him "to find some way to shorten the life of the queen of Scots." Hallam regards this letter as genuine.] She was so bent on this purpose, that some time after she asked Davison, whether any letter had come from Paulet with regard to the service expected of him? Davison showed her Paulet's letter; in which that gentleman positively refused to act any thing inconsistent with the principles of honour and justice. The queen fell into a passion; and accused Paulet as well as Drury of perjury; because, having taken the oath of association, in which they had bound themselves to avenge her wrongs, they had yet refused to lend their hand on this occasion. "But others," she said, "will be found less scrupulous." Davison adds, that nothing but the consent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to send off the warrant: he was well aware of his danger; and remembered that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in a like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon Lord Burleigh.

Elizabeth's dissimulation was so gross that it could deceive nobody who was not previously resolved to be blinded; but as James's concern for his mother was certainly more sincere and cordial, he discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit Cary into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England; and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland being assembled, took part in his anger; and professed that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of his nobility instigated him to take arms: Lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king arrayed in complete armour, and said, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The catholics took the opportunity of exhorting James to make an alliance with the king of Spain, to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the ruin which, from his mother's example, he might conclude would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his person and his kingdom. The queen was sensible of the danger attending these counsels; and after allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to pacify him, and to set before him every motive of hope or fear which might induce him to live in amity with her.



Walsingham wrote to Lord Thirlstone, James's secretary, a judicious letter to the same purpose. He said, that he was much surprised to hear of the violent resolutions taken in Scotland, and of the passion discovered by a prince of so much judgment and temper as James: that a war, founded merely on the principle of revenge, and that too on account of an act of justice which necessity had extorted, would for ever be exposed to censure, and could not be excused by any principles of equity or reason: that if these views were deemed less momentous among princes, policy and interest ought certainly to be attended to; and these motives did still more evidently oppose all thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth, and all revival of exploded claims to the English throne: that the inequality between the two kingdoms deprived James of any hopes of success, if he trusted merely to the force of his own state, and had no recourse to foreign powers for assistance: that the objections attending the introduction of succours from a more potent monarch appeared so evident from all the transactions of history, that they could not escape a person of the king's extensive knowledge; but there were, in the present case, several peculiar circumstances, which ought for ever to deter him from having recourse to so dangerous an expedient: that the French monarch, the ancient ally of Scotland, might willingly use the assistance of that kingdom against England; but would be displeased to see the union of these two kingdoms in the person of James; a union which would ever after exclude him from practising that policy formerly so useful to the French, and so pernicious to the Scottish nation: that Henry, besides, infested with faction and domestic war; was not in a condition of supporting distant allies; much less would he expose himself to any hazard or expense, in order to aggrandize a near kinsman of the house of Guise, the most determined enemies of his repose and authority: that the extensive power and exorbitant ambition of the Spanish monarch rendered him a still more dangerous ally to Scotland; and as he evidently aspired to a universal monarchy in the west, and had in particular advanced some claims to England, as if he were descended from the house of Lancaster, he was at the same time the common enemy of all princes who wished to maintain their independence; and the immediate rival and competitor of the king of Scots: that the queen, by her own naval power and her alliance with the Hollanders, would probably intercept all succours which might be sent to James from abroad, and be enabled to decide the controversy in this island, with the superior forces of her own kingdom, opposed to those of Scotland: that if the king revived his mother's pretensions to the crown of England, he must also embrace her religion, by which alone they could be justified; and must thereby undergo the infamy of abandoning those principles in which he had been strictly educated, and to which he had hitherto religiously adhered: that as he would, by such an apostasy, totally alienate all the protestants in Scotland and England, he could never gain the confidence of the catholics, who would still entertain reasonable doubts of his sincerity: that by advancing a present claim to the crown, he forfeited the certain prospect of his succession, and revived that national animosity which the late peace and alliance between the kingdoms had happily extinguished: that the whole gentry and nobility of England had openly declared themselves for the execution of the queen of Scots; and if James showed

such violent resentment against that act of justice, they would be obliged, for their own security, to prevent for ever so implacable a prince from ruling over them: and that, however some persons might represent his honour as engaged to seek vengeance for the present affront and injury, the true honour of a prince consisted in wisdom and moderation and justice, not in following the dictates of blind passion, or in pursuing revenge at the expense of every motive and every interest. These considerations, joined to the peaceable unambitious temper of the young prince, prevailed over his resentment; and he fell gradually into a good correspondence with the court of England. It is probable, that the queen's chief object in her dissimulation with regard to the execution of Mary, was, that she might thereby afford James a decent pretence for renewing his amity with her, on which their mutual interest so much depended.

We cannot quit this much contested portion of our history, without giving the opinion of one of our latest and most liberal historians upon it. Hallam sums up in the following words: "No one will be found to excuse the hollow affectation of Elizabeth; but the famous sentence which brought Mary to the scaffold, though it has certainly left, in popular opinion, a darker stain on the queen's memory than any other transaction of her life, if not capable of complete vindication, has at least encountered a disproportioned censure.

"It is, of course, essential to any kind of apology for Elizabeth in this matter, that Mary should have been assenting to a conspiracy against her life. For it could be no real crime to endeavour at her own deliverance; nor, under any circumstances of so long and so unjust a detention, would even a conspiracy against the aggressor's power afford a moral justification for her death. But though the proceedings against her are by no means exempt from the shameful breach of legal rules, almost universal in trials for high-treason during that reign (the witnesses not having been examined in open court); yet the depositions of her two secretaries, joined to the confession of Babington and other conspirators, form a body of evidence, not indeed irresistibly convincing, but far stronger than we find in many instances where condemnation has ensued. And Hume has alleged sufficient reasons for believing its truth, derived from the great probability of her concurring in any scheme against her oppressor, from the certainty of her long correspondence with the conspirators (who, I may add, had not made any difficulty of hinting to her their designs against the queen's life), and from the deep guilt that the falsehood of the charge must inevitably attach to Sir Francis Walsingham. Those, at least, who cannot acquit the queen of Scots of her husband's murder, will hardly imagine that she would scruple to concur in a crime so much more capable of extenuation, and so much more essential to her interests. But as the proofs are not perhaps complete, we must hypothetically assume her guilt, in order to set this famous problem in the casuistry of public law upon its proper footing.

"It has been said so often, that few perhaps wait to reflect whether it has been said with reason, that Mary, as an independent sovereign, was not amenable to any English jurisdiction. This, however, does not appear unquestionable. By one of those principles of law which may be called natural, as forming the basis of a just and national jurisprudence, every independent government is supreme within its

own territory. Strangers, voluntarily resident within a state, owe a temporary allegiance to its sovereign, and are amenable to the jurisdiction of its tribunals; and this principle, which is perfectly conformable to natural law, has been extended by positive usage even to those who are detained in it by force. Instances have occurred very recently in England, when prisoners of war have suffered death for criminal offences; and if some have doubted the propriety of carrying such sentences into effect, where a penalty of unusual severity has been inflicted by our municipal law, few, I believe, would dispute the fitness of punishing a prisoner of war for wilful murder, in such a manner as the general practice of civil societies and the prevailing sentiments of mankind agree to point out. It is certainly true that an exception to this rule, incorporated with the positive law of nations, and established no doubt before the age of Elizabeth, has rendered the ambassadors of sovereign princes exempt in all ordinary cases at least, from criminal process. Whether, however, an ambassador may not be brought to punishment for such a flagrant abuse of the confidence which is implied by receiving him, as a conspiracy against the life itself of the prince at whose court he resides, has been doubted by those writers, who are most inclined to respect the privileges with which courtesy and convenience have invested him. A sovereign during a temporary residence in the territories of another, must of course possess as extensive an immunity as his representative. But that he might, in such circumstances, frame plots for the prince's assassination with impunity, seems to take for granted some principle that I do not apprehend.

"But whatever be the privilege of inviolability attached to sovereigns, it must, on every rational ground, be confined to those who enjoy and exercise dominion in some independent territory. An abdicated or dethroned monarch may preserve his title by the courtesy of other states, but cannot rank with sovereigns in the tribunals where public law is administered. I should be rather surprised to hear any one assert, that the parliament of Paris was incompetent to try Christina\* for the murder of Monaldeschi. And though I admit that Mary's resignation of her crown was compulsory, and retracted on the first occasion; yet after a twenty years' loss of possession, when not one of her former subjects vowed allegiance to her, when the king of Scotland had been so long acknowledged by England, and by all Europe, is it possible to consider her as more than a titular queen, divested of every substantial right to which a sovereign tribunal could have regard? She was styled accordingly in the indictment, 'Mary, daughter and heir of James the Fifth, late king of Scots, otherwise called Mary queen of Scots, dowager of France.' We read even that some lawyers would have had her tried by a jury of the county of Stafford, rather than the special commission; which Elizabeth noticed as a strange indignity. The commission, however, was perfectly legal under the recent statute.

"But while I cannot pronounce Mary's execution to have been so wholly iniquitous and unwarrantable as it has been represented, I admit that a more generous nature than that of Elizabeth would not have exacted the law's full penalty. Her detention in England was in violation of all natural, public, and municipal law; and if reasons of state

policy or precedents from the custom of princes are allowed to extenuate this injustice, it is to be asked whether such reasons and such precedents might not palliate the crime of assassination imputed to the queen of Scots. Some might perhaps allege, as was so frequently urged at the time, that if her life could be taken with justice, it could not be spared in prudence; and that Elizabeth's higher duty to preserve her people from the risks of civil commotion, must silence every feeling that could plead for mercy. Of this necessity different judgments may perhaps be formed; it is evident that Mary's death extinguished the best hope of popery in England; but the relative force of the two religions was greatly changed since Norfolk's conspiracy; and it appears to me that an act of parliament explicitly cutting her off from the crown, and at the same time entailing it on her son, would have afforded a very reasonable prospect of securing the succession against all serious disturbance. But this neither suited the inclination of Elizabeth, nor some among those who surrounded her."

We have deferred narrating the occurrences in the parliament, other than relating to Mary, in order to prevent an interruption in the proceedings relative to her. We shall now, however, give the following notice from Hume:—

The parliament (1586) granted the queen a supply of a subsidy and two-fifteenths; and adjourned, and met again after the execution of the queen of Scots; when there passed some remarkable incidents, which it may be proper not to omit. We shall give them in the words of Sir Simon D'Ewes, which are almost wholly transcribed from Townsend's Journal. On Monday the 27th of February, Mr. Cope, first using some speeches touching the necessity of a learned ministry, and the amendment of things amiss in the ecclesiastical estate, offered to the house a bill and a book written; the bill containing a petition that it might be enacted, that all laws now in force touching ecclesiastical government should be void; and that it might be enacted, that that book of common-prayer now offered, and none other, might be received into the church to be used. The book contained the form of prayer and administration of the sacraments, with divers rites and ceremonies to be used in the church; and he desired that the book might be read. Whereupon Mr. Speaker in effect used this speech: For that her majesty before this time had commanded the house not to meddle with this matter, and that her majesty had promised to take order in those causes, he doubted not but to the good satisfaction of all her people, he desired that it would please them to spare the reading of it. Notwithstanding the house desired the reading of it. Whereupon Mr. Speaker desired the clerk to read. And the court being ready to read it, Mr. Dalton made a motion against the reading of it; saying, that it was not meet to be read, and it did appoint a new form of administration of the sacraments and ceremonies of the church, to the discredit of the book of common-prayer, and of the whole state; and thought that this dealing would bring her majesty's indignation against the house, thus to enterprise this dealing with those things which her majesty especially had taken into her own charge and direction. Whereupon Mr. Lewkenor spake, showing the necessity of preaching and of a learned ministry, and thought it very fit that the petition and book should be read. To this purpose spake Mr. Hurlston and Mr. Bainbrigg; and so, the time being passed, the house broke up, and

\* "Christina, ex-queen of Sweden, while residing at Paris in 1657 murdered the above-mentioned equerry from jealousy."



neither the petition nor book read. This done, her majesty sent to Mr. Speaker, as well for this petition and book, as for that other petition and book for the like effect, that was delivered the last session of parliament, which Mr. Speaker sent to her majesty. On Tuesday the 28th of February, her majesty sent for Mr. Speaker, by occasion whereof the house did not sit. On Wednesday the first day of March, Mr. Wentworth delivered to Mr. Speaker certain articles, which contained questions touching the liberties of the house, and to some of which he was to answer, and desired they might be read. Mr. Speaker desired him to spare his motion, until her majesty's pleasure was further known touching the petition and book lately delivered into the house; but Mr. Wentworth would not be so satisfied, but required his articles might be read. Mr. Wentworth introduced his queries by lamenting, that he as well as many others were deterred from speaking, by their want of knowledge and experience in the liberties of the house; and the queries were as follow: Whether this council were not a place for any member of the same here assembled, freely and without controulment of any person or danger of laws, by bill or speech to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth whatsoever, touching the service of God, the safety of the prince and this noble realm? Whether that great honour may be done unto God, and benefit and service unto the prince and state, without free speech in this council that may be done with it? Whether there be any council which can make, add, or diminish from the laws, of the realm, but only this council of parliament? Whether it be not against the orders of this council to make any secret or matter of weight, which is here in hand, known to the prince, or any other, concerning the high service of God, prince or state, without the consent of the house? Whether the speaker or any other may interrupt any member of this council in his speech used in this house tending to any of the forenamed services? Whether the speaker may rise when he will, any matter being propounded, without consent of the house or not? Whether the speaker may overrule the house in any matter or cause there in question, or whether he is to be ruled or overruled in any matter or not? Whether the prince and state can continue, and stand, and be maintained, without this council of parliament, not altering the government of the state? At the end of these questions, says Sir Simon D'Ewes, I found set down this short note or memorial ensuing; by which it may be perceived, both what Serjeant Puckering, the speaker, did with the said questions after he had received them, and what became also of this business, viz. "These questions Mr. Puckering pocketed up and shewed Sir Thomas Henage, who so handled the matter that Mr. Wentworth went to the Tower, and the questions not at all moved. Mr. Buckler of Essex herein brake his faith in forsaking the matter, &c. and no more was done." After setting down, continues Sir Simon D'Ewes, the said business of Mr. Wentworth in the original journal-book, there follows only this short conclusion of the day itself, viz. "This day, Mr. Speaker being sent for to the queen's majesty, the house departed." On Thursday the second of March, Mr. Cope, Mr. Lewkenor, Mr. Hurlston, and Mr. Bainbrigg, were sent for to my lord chancellor, and by divers of the privy-council, and from thence were sent to the Tower. On Saturday the fourth day of March, Sir John Higham made a motion to this house, for that divers good and necessary members

thereof were taken from them, that it would please them to be humble petitioners to her majesty for the restitution of them again to this house. To which speeches Mr. Vice-chamberlain answered, that if the gentlemen were committed for matter within the compass of the privilege of the house, then there might be a petition; but if not, then we should give consent to her majesty's further displeasure: and therefore advised to stay until they heard more, which could not be long: and further he said, touching the book and the petition, her majesty had, for divers good causes best known to herself, thought fit to suppress the same, without any further examination thereof; and yet thought it very unfit for her majesty to give any account of her doings.—But, whatsoever Mr. Vice-chamberlain pretended, it is most probable these members were committed for intermeddling with matters touching the church, which her majesty had often inhibited, and which had caused so much disputation and so many meetings between the two houses the last parliament.

This is all we find of the matter in Sir Simon D'Ewes and Townsend; and it appears that those members who had been committed, were detained in custody till the queen thought proper to release them. These questions of Mr. Wentworth are curious; because they contain some faint dawn of the present English constitution; though suddenly eclipsed by the arbitrary government of Elizabeth. Wentworth was indeed, by his puritanism, as well as his love of liberty, (for these two characters of such unequal merit arose and advanced together,) the true forerunner of the Hampdens, the Pym, and the Hollises, who in the next age, with less courage, because with less danger, rendered their principles so triumphant.

While Elizabeth ensured tranquillity from the attempts of James, she was not negligent of more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip, though he seemed to dissemble the daily insults and injuries which he received from the English, was secretly preparing a great navy to attack her; she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage his coast, and to destroy his shipping. Drake carried out four capital ships of the queen's, and twenty-six great and small, with which the London merchants, in hopes of sharing in the plunder, had supplied him. Having learned from two Dutch ships, which he met with in his passage, that a Spanish Fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to set sail for Lisbon, the rendezvous of the intended Armada; he bent his course to the former harbour, and boldly, as well as fortunately, made an attack on the enemy. He obliged six galleys, which made head against him, to take shelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred vessels, laden with ammunition and naval stores; and he destroyed a great ship of the marquis of Santa Croce. Thence he set sail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by assault the castle situated on that promontory, with three other fortresses. He next insulted Lisbon; and finding that the merchants, who had engaged entirely in expectation of profit, were discontented at these military enterprises, he set sail for the Terceiras, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich carrack which was expected in those parts. He was so fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this short expedition in which the public bore so small a share, the adventurers were encouraged to attempt further enterprises, the English seamen learned to despise the great unwieldy ships of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were destroyed, the

intended expedition against England was retarded a twelvemonth, and the queen thereby had leisure to take more secure measures against that formidable invasion.

This year Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Devonshire, who had dissipated a good estate by living at court, being resolved to repair his fortune at the expense of the Spaniards, fitted out three ships at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty; and with these small vessels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen vessels, some of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and soldiers were clothed in silk, his sails were of damask, his top-sail cloth of gold; and his prizes were esteemed the richest that ever had been brought into England.

The land enterprises of the English were not during this campaign, so advantageous or honourable to the nation. The important place of Deventer was intrusted by Leicester to William Stanley, with a garrison of twelve hundred English; and this gentleman being a catholic, was alarmed at the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, and became apprehensive lest every one of his religion should thenceforth be treated with distrust in England. He entered into a correspondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a sum of money, and engaged the whole garrison to desert with him to the Spanish service. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollanders, formerly disgusted with Leicester, and suspicious of the English, broke out into loud complaints against the impvidence, if not the treachery, of his administration. Soon after he himself arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was wisely calculated to give them satisfaction, or to remove the suspicions which they had entertained against him. The prince of Parma having besieged Sluys, Leicester attempted to relieve the place, first by sea, then by land; but failed in both enterprises; and as he ascribed his bad success to the ill-behaviour of the Hollanders, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: they slighted his authority, opposed his measures, and neglected his counsels; while he endeavoured, by an imperious behaviour and by violence, to recover that influence which he had lost by his imprudent and ill-concerted measures. He was even suspected by the Dutch of a design to usurp upon their liberties; and the jealousy entertained against him began to extend towards the queen herself. That princess had made some advances towards a peace with Spain: a congress had been opened at Bourbourg, a village near Gravelines; and though the two courts, especially that of Spain, had no other intention than to amuse each of them its enemy by negotiation, and mutually relax the preparations for defence or attack, the Dutch, who were determined on no terms to return under the Spanish yoke, became apprehensive lest their liberty should be sacrificed to the political interests of England. But the queen who knew the importance of her alliance with the States during the present conjuncture, was resolved to give them entire satisfaction, by recalling Leicester, and commanding him to resign his government. Maurice, son of the late prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age,

was elected by the States-governor in his place; and Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, was appointed by the queen commander of the English forces. The measures of these two generals were much embarrassed by the malignity of Leicester, who had left a faction behind him, and who still attempted, by means of his emissaries, to disturb all the operations of the States. As soon as Elizabeth received intelligence of these disorders, she took care to redress them; and she obliged all the partisans of England to fall into unanimity with Prince Maurice. But though her good sense so far prevailed over her partiality to Leicester, she never could be made fully sensible of his vices and incapacity: the submission which he made her restored him to her wonted favour; and Lord Buckhurst, who had accused him of misconduct in Holland, lost her confidence for some time, and was even committed to custody.

Sir Christopher Hatton was another favourite who at this time received some marks of her partiality. Though he had never followed the profession of the law, he was made chancellor in the place of Bromley deceased; but notwithstanding all the expectations and perhaps wishes of the lawyers, he behaved in a manner not unworthy of that high station: his good natural capacity supplied the place of experience and study; and his decisions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgment. His enemies had contributed to this promotion, in hopes that his absence from court, while he attended the business of chancery, would gradually estrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favour.

These little intrigues and cabals of the court were silenced by the account which came from all quarters, of the vast preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England, and for the entire conquest of that kingdom. Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hostilities which Elizabeth every where committed upon him, had long harboured a secret and violent desire of revenge against her. His ambition also, and the hopes of extending his empire, were much encouraged by the present prosperous state of his affairs; by the conquest of Portugal, the acquisition of the East-Indian commerce and settlements, and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America. The point on which he rested his highest glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to support orthodoxy and exterminate heresy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the protestants, he hoped, if he could subdue that princess, to acquire the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole Christian world in the catholic communion. Above all, his indignation against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands instigated him to attack the English, who had encouraged that insurrection, and who, by their vicinity, were so well enabled to support the Hollanders, that he could never hope to reduce these rebels while the power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken. To subdue England seemed a necessary preparative to the re-establishment of his authority in the Netherlands; and notwithstanding appearances, the former was in itself, as a more important, so a more easy undertaking than the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low Countries, and was more exposed to invasions from that quarter; after an enemy had once obtained entrance, the difficulty seemed to be over, as it was neither fortified by art or nature; a long peace had deprived it of all military



discipline and experience; and the catholics, in which it still abounded, would be ready, it was hoped, to join any invader who should free them from those persecutions under which they laboured, and should revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their affections. The fate of England must be decided in one battle at sea, and another at land; and what comparison between the English and Spaniards, either in point of naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran bravery of their armies? Besides the acquisition of so great a kingdom, success against England insured the immediate subjection of the Hollanders, who, attacked on every hand, and deprived of all support, must yield their stubborn necks to that yoke which they had so long resisted. Happily this conquest, as it was of the utmost importance to the grandeur of Spain, would not at present be opposed by the jealousy of other powers, naturally so much interested to prevent the success of the enterprise. A truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the Empire was in the hands of a friend and nearly; and France, the perpetual rival of Spain, was so torn with intestine commotions, that she had no leisure to pay attention to her foreign interests. This favourable opportunity, therefore, which might never again present itself, must be seized; and one bold effort made for acquiring that ascendancy in Europe, to which the present greatness and prosperity of the Spaniards seemed so fully to entitle them.

These hopes and motives engaged Philip, notwithstanding his cautious temper, to undertake this hazardous enterprise; and though the prince, now created by the pope duke of Parma, when consulted, opposed the attempt, at least represented the necessity of previously getting possession of some seaport town in the Netherlands, which might afford a retreat to the Spanish navy, it was determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immediately to the execution of this ambitious project. During some time he had been secretly making preparations; but as soon as the resolution was fully taken, every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and all his ministers, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the design. The marquis of Santa Croce, a sea-officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the fleet; and by his counsels were the naval equipments conducted. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores were bought at a great expense; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans laid for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as never before had its equal in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment assembling, to reinforce the duke of Parma. Capizuchi and Spinelli conducted forces from Italy: the marquis of Bourgaut, a prince of the house of Austria, levied troops in Germany: the Walloon and Burgundian regiments were completed or augmented: the Spanish infantry was supplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-four thousand men was assembled in the Netherlands, and kept in readiness to be transported into England. The duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he could procure, either in Flanders or in Lower Germany, and the coasts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk, and Newport, but especially at Antwerp, a great number of boats

and flat-bottomed vessels, for the transporting of his infantry and cavalry. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honour of this great enterprise. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medici, Vespasian Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and the duke of Pastrana, hastened to join the army under the duke of Parma. About two thousand volunteers in Spain, many of them men of family, had enlisted in the service. No doubts were entertained, but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of such consummate skill, must finally be successful. And the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had already denominated their navy the "Invincible Armada."

News of these extraordinary preparations soon reached the court of London; and notwithstanding the secrecy of the Spanish council, and their pretending to employ this force in the Indies, it was easily concluded, that they meant to make some effort against England. The queen had foreseen the invasion; and finding that she must now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, she made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed with that power by which all Europe apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed seemed very unequal to resist so potent an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thousand men. The size of the English shipping was in general so small, that except a few of the queen's ships of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons. The royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates, and most of them deserved rather the name of pinnaces than of ships. The only advantage of the English fleet consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen, who, being accustomed to sail in tempestuous seas, and expose themselves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spanish mariners, as their vessels were inferior in size and force to those of that nation. All the commercial towns of England were required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy; and they discovered on the present occasion great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion against those imminent perils with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in order to show their zeal in the common cause, instead of fifteen vessels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned, forty-three ships at their own charge; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the persons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, was commanded by Lord Seymour, second son of Protector Somerset; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The land forces of England, compared to those of Spain, possessed contrary qualities to its naval power: they were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in discipline, reputation, and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast;

and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waste the country round, and to wait for reinforcements from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and was commanded by Lord Hunsdon. These forces were reserved for guarding the queen's person, and were appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear. The fate of England, if all the Spanish armies should be able to land, seemed to depend on the issue of a single battle; and men of reflection entertained the most dismal apprehensions, when they considered the force of fifty thousand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the most consummate general of the age; and compared this formidable armament with the military power, which England, not enervated by peace, but long disused to war, could muster up against it.

The chief support of the kingdom seemed to consist in the vigour and prudence of the queen's conduct; who, undismayed by the present dangers, issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She sent Sir Robert Sidney into Scotland; and exhorted the king to remain attached to her, and to consider the danger which at present menaced his sovereignty no less than her own, from the ambition of the Spanish tyrant;\* the ambassador found James well disposed to cultivate a union with England, and that prince even kept himself prepared to march with the force of his whole kingdom to the assistance of Elizabeth. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion, engaged this monarch, upon her application, to seize a squadron of ships which Philip had bought or hired in the Danish harbours: the Hanse Towns, though not at that time on good terms with Elizabeth, were induced by the same motives to retard so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became useless to the purpose of invading England. All the protestants throughout Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event, which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion; and though unable, by reason of their distance, to join their force to that of Elizabeth, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance with which she encountered that dreadful tempest which was every moment advancing towards her.

The queen also was sensible that, next to the general popularity which she enjoyed, and the confidence which her subjects reposed in her prudent government, the firmest support of her throne consisted in the general zeal of the people for the protestant religion, and the strong prejudices which they had imbibed against popery. She took care, on the present occasion, to revive in the nation this attachment to their own sect, and this abhorrence of the opposite. The English were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: all

the barbarities exercised by Mary against the protestants, were ascribed to the counsels of that bigoted and imperious nation; the bloody massacre in the Indies, the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries, the horrid cruelties and iniquities of the inquisition were set before men's eyes: a list and description was published, and pictures dispersed, of the several instruments of torture with which, it was pretended, the Spanish Armada was loaded: and every artifice, as well as reason, was employed to animate the people to a vigorous defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties.

But while the queen, in this critical emergence, roused the animosity of the nation against popery, she treated the partisans of that sect with moderation, and gave not way to an undistinguishing fury against them. Though she knew that Sixtus Quintus, the present pope, famous for his capacity and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication against her, had deposed her, had absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had published a crusade against England, and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the present invasion; she would not believe that all her catholic subjects could be so blinded, as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native country. She rejected all violent counsels, by which she was urged to seek pretences for dispatching the leaders of that party: she would not even confine any considerable number of them; and the catholics, sensible of this good usage, generally expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army: some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to protestants: others were active in animating their tenants, and vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country: and every rank of men, burying for the present all party distinctions, seemed to prepare themselves with order as well as vigour to resist the violence of these invaders.

The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and animated countenance, and is said to have addressed the following spirited speech to her troops:—

"My loving people we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not as for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by

\* She made him some promises which she never fulfilled, to give him a dukedom in England, with suitable lands and revenue, to settle 5000*l.* a year on him, and pay him a guard, for the safety of his person. From a MS. of Lord Royston's.



your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people."

By this spirited behaviour she revived the tenderness and admiration of the soldiery: an attachment to her person became a kind of enthusiasm among them: and they asked one another, Whether it were possible that Englishmen could abandon this glorious cause, could display less fortitude than appeared in the female sex, or could ever by any dangers be induced to relinquish the defence of their heroic princess?

The Spanish Armada was ready in the beginning of May, but the moment it was preparing to sail, the marquess of Santa Croce, the admiral, was seized with a fever, of which he soon after died. The vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano, by a strange concurrence of accidents, at the same time suffered the same fate; and the king appointed for admiral the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but inexperienced in action, and entirely unacquainted with sea affairs. Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral. This misfortune, besides the loss of so great an officer as Santa Croce, retarded the sailing of the Armada, and gave the English more time for their preparations to oppose them. At last, the Spanish fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, set sail from Lisbon; but next day met with a violent tempest, which scattered the ships, sunk some of the smallest, and forced the rest to take shelter in the harbour of Corunna,\* where they waited till they could be refitted. When news of this event was carried to England, the queen concluded that the design of the invasion was disappointed for this summer; and being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for saving money, she made Walsingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up some of the larger ships, and to discharge the seamen: but Lord Effingham, who was not so sanguine in his hopes, used the freedom to disobey these orders; and he begged leave to retain all the ships in his service, though it should be at his own expense. He took advantage of a north wind, and sailed towards the coast of Spain, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to the south, he became apprehensive lest they might have set sail, and by passing him at sea, invade England, now exposed by the absence of the fleet. He returned, therefore, with the utmost expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour.

Meanwhile, all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to sea, in prosecution of their enterprise. The fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty-six mariners, two thousand and eighty-eight galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months; and was attended by

\* This was formerly termed "the Groine," from a small river of that name which there flows into the sea.

twenty lesser ships, called caravals, and ten salves with six oars a-piece.

The plan formed by the king of Spain was, that the Armada should sail to the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Newport; and having chased away all English or Flemish vessels, which might obstruct the passage (for it was never supposed they could make opposition,) should join themselves with the duke of Parma, should thence make sail to the Thames, and having landed the whole Spanish army, thus complete at one blow the entire conquest of England. In prosecution of this scheme, Philip gave orders to the duke of Medina, that in passing along the Channel, he should sail as near the coast of France as he could with safety; that he should by this policy avoid meeting with the English fleet; and, keeping in view the main enterprise, should neglect all smaller successes, which might prove an obstacle, or even interpose a delay, to the acquisition of a kingdom. After the Armada was under sail, they took a fisherman, who informed them that the English admiral had been lately at sea, had heard of the tempest which scattered the Armada, had retired back into Plymouth, and no longer expecting an invasion this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged most of the seamen. From this false intelligence the duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and destroying the English ships in harbour; and he was tempted by the prospect of so decisive an advantage to break his orders, and make sail directly for Plymouth: a resolution which proved the safety of England. The Lizard was the first land made by the Armada, about sunset; and as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, they bore out to sea with an intention of returning next day, and attacking the English navy. They were descried by Fleming, a Scottish pirate, who was roving in those seas, and who immediately set sail to inform the English admiral of their approach: another fortunate event which contributed extremely to the safety of the fleet. Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other.

The writers of that age raise their style by a pompous description of this spectacle; the most magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly painted, but by assuming the colours of poetry; and an eloquent historian of Italy, in imitation of Camden, has asserted, that the Armada, though the ships bore every sail, yet advanced with a slow motion; as if the ocean groaned with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, so enormous a weight. The truth, however, is, that the largest of the Spanish vessels would scarcely pass for third rates in the present navy of England; yet were they so ill framed, or so ill governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not sail upon a wind, nor tack on occasion, nor be managed in stormy weather by the seamen. Neither the mechanics of ship-building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained so great perfection as could serve for the security and government of such bulky vessels; and the English, who had already had experience how unserviceable they commonly were, beheld without dismay their tremendous appearance.

Effingham gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards; where the size of the ships, he suspected, and the numbers of the soldiers, would be a disadvantage to the English; but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents, must afford him, of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered his expectation. A great ship of Biscay, on board of which was a considerable part of the Spanish money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada: the great galleon of Andalusia was detained by the springing of her mast; and both these vessels were taken, after some resistance, by Sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infested it with skirmishes. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the English; and the latter soon found, that even in close fight the size of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English. The alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavasor, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Charles Blount, with many others, distinguished themselves by this generous and disinterested service of their country. The English fleet, after the conjunction of those ships, amounted to a hundred and forty sail.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor before that place; in expectation that the duke of Parma, who had gotten intelligence of their approach, would put to sea and join his forces to them. The English admiral practised here a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with all combustible materials, sent them lighted one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that they were fireships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel which had lately done so much execution in the Schelde near Antwerp; and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning while in confusion; and besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

By this time it was become apparent, that the intention for which these preparations were made by the Spaniards, was entirely frustrated. The vessels provided by the duke of Parma were made for transporting soldiers, not for fighting; and that general, when urged to leave the harbour, positively refused to expose his flourishing army to such apparent hazard; while the English not only were able to keep the sea, but seemed even to triumph over their enemy. The Spanish admiral found, in many encounters, that while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English; and he foresaw, that by continuing so unequal a combat, he must draw inevitable destruction on all the remainder. He prepared therefore to return homewards; but as the wind was contrary to his passage through the Channel, he resolved to sail northwards and making the tour

of the island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the officers in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. The duke of Medina had once taken that resolution; but was diverted from it by the advice of his confessor. This conclusion of the enterprise would have been more glorious to the English; but the event proved almost equally fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempest overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys: the ships had already lost their anchors, and were obliged to keep to sea: the mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and not able to govern such unwieldy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and allowed their ships to drive either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them.

Such was the miserable and dishonourable conclusion of an enterprise which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a slave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance, no sooner heard of the mortifying event which blasted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for that gracious dispensation of Providence, expressed his joy that the calamity was not greater. The Spanish priests, who had so often blest this holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for the victory gained over the catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics and an execrable usurper; but they at last discovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them.

As this is one of the most glorious and important circumstances in our history, the following selections from a contemporary account may not be impertinent. They consist of extracts from "The English Mercurie, published by authority, for the prevention of false reports." This is supposed to have been the first step towards the invention of newspapers. It was instituted by Lord Burleigh to keep up the public excitement in so important a crisis, and to facilitate the means of communication over the kingdom.\*

"Whitehall, July 26th, 1588.

"A Journal of what has passed since the 21st of this month, between Her Majestie's fleet and that of Spayne, transmitted by Lorde Highe Admirall to the Lords of the Council.

"July 22d.—The whole fleet being come up we sailed in pursuite of the enemy who bore along by the *Starke*, a large ship belonging to the *Guyperre* squadrone having bene set on fire by a Dutch gunner, that thought himself ill used, and very much damaged; the enemy were forced to abandon her and turn her adrift. The Lorde Thomas Howars and Capt. *Hawkins*, were by the admirall's order

\* They were published for the first time in "Pincock's Guide to Knowledge;" but were well known to the curious in such matters, in Sloane's MSS. in the British Museum.



sent on board her. They founde the deckes fallen in, the steerage broken, the sterne blowne out, and fifty poore sailors burnte with powder in a most terrible manner. In this miserable condition she was immediately sent into Weymouth. This galleon had the enemy's military chest on board, which they removed into another ship before we took her; the following night proving calm the four galleasses of Naples singled themselves out as if they would fall upon some of our ships which had advanced too farre from the line, but they attempted nothing.

"July 23d.—The Spanish Armada, which was now come over against Portland, tacked about, and stood in towards the shore, which we likewise did. After several attempts to get the winde of each other, a smart engagement began. The *Triumph*, (commanded by Reare-admirall Forbisher, with the rest of his division,) having fallen to the leeward, were briskly attacked by Don Juan de Ricalde; they had warme worke for an hour and a half, when the Lord Admirall observed them to be in some distresse, and bore down with his own ship, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, the *Leicester galleon*, the *Golden Lyon*, the *Victorie*, and the *Dreadnought*, to their assistance. The duke of Medina, in the *St. Martin*, with sixteen others of his best galleons, endeavoured to intercept his lordships, but after a smarte conflict the enemye were obliged to give waye, and for their better securitie, threw themselves into a roundell, placing their largest and least battered ships outermost to protect and cover the weakest. In other parts of the action, we had equal good fortune. The squadrone fitted out by the City of London behaved themselves very gallantly, particularly the *Mugflouer*, which tooke a great *Venetian ship*, as the rest of her companions did some smaller ones, nor had we any loss except that of Capt. Wm. Cox, slain by a cannon-shot, whilst he was performing his duty with singular valour.

"July 24th.—Little was done on either side; some of Sir Francis Drake's squadrone exchanged a few broadsides with four of the enemy's great galleasses. A council of war was helde in the Admirall's cabin, in which several rules were agreed to for the better conduct of the navy, and the more orderly management of Her Majestie's ships of war during the time of action, so that they might observe their respective divisions, and mutually relieve each other in distress, with more regularity and readiness. A supplye of powder was likewise brought in from the neighbouring ports. It has been remarked in general, that the experience of our seamen, and the make of our ships, have hitherto given us great advantage over that of the enemies, which, tho' they are better manned, as well as stronger and higher built, can neither attaque nor retire with such quicknesse as ours, nor be alike prepared to tack about and get the winde, which chiefly influences the success of all naval engagements; and whereas our shot is so directed as seldom to miss its aim, their bullets for the most part whizz over our heads without doing any harm. We intend to follow them closely, and keep them in continued action.

"Madrid, July 26.—We have now a certain account that the Duke de Medina sailed from the Groyne the 11th of this month, after thoroughly repairing the damage he sustained in the last storm. The invincible armada, as it is called, consists of one hundred and fifty sail, of all sorts, having on board twenty-one thousand eight hundred land forces, the verie flower of the armie in Old Spayne,

exclusive of two hundred and twenty-four volunteers, of the first qualitie, with their servants. The sailors and galley-slaves amount to ten thousand eight hundred men. The fleet is composed of six squadrons; that of Portugal, under the particular order of the captain-general the duke of Medina Sidonia; that of Biscay, commanded by Don Juan de Recalde; that of Andalusia, of which Don Pedro Valdez is admirall; that of Guipusco, which Don Michel de Orquendo commands; that of Levantras, or Easterne ships, which obeyes the orders of Don Martin Vertendona; besides the hulks and patches under Lopez de Medina, and Antonio de Mendoza; not to mention the Neapolitan and Portugal gallies, commanded by Hugo de Moncada. The number of guns which they all mount is not less than three thousand one hundred, of different weights of metal. If one was to set downe the quantitie and proportion of every kind of ammunition and provisione which is embarked, it would scarce be believed; but a particular account of the whole amazing armament, which is in the press, will save me that trouble, and convince the most incredulous. The designe is well knowne to be the invasion of England. The whole kingdom is prodigiously interested in the event of it, there not being a noble familie but has some near relation in the enterprise. Most people are very sanguine about the success of it; they think it impossible that an undertaking, sanctioned by the benedictions of His Holinesse, and calculated for so pious an ende as the conversion of heretics, should miscarry. Those who are best acquainted with the politiques of this court, talk of nothing less than the putting the Q—'s M—y to death, the entire reduction of the island of Great Britain to the king of Spayne's obedience, and the extirpation of such hardened wretches as shall refuse to return into the pale of the church. It is certain, though not publicly divulged, that several instruments of torture used in the Inquisition are put on borde, and that above one hundred Jesuits, Dominicans, Mendicant Fryers, with Marten Alazo, vicar of the holy office, are dispersed about the fleet, as best understanding the application of such wholesome severities. They flatter themselves here that the conquest of England will be no difficult matter, from the divisions in the nation, the hatred which they idly imagine is borne towards the queene, on account of the queene of Scots' execution, and want of fortified places and disciplined troopes, to stop the progresse of an army, when it is once got ashore. I had almost forgot to add, that the land forces are made up of five Spanish regiments, and as manie from Italy and Portugal. The chief colonels are Don Diego Pimentille, Don Francis de Toledo, Don Alonzo de Laron, Don Nicholas de Ista, and the Marquisse Augustin Menin. Amongst the volunteers are the Prince of Ascoli, the Marquis of Pennafyd, and the Marquis of Barcalongo.

"Brussels, July 28, N.S.—The Duke of Parma, our governor, is set out on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Halle, in Hainault, in order to implore the divine blessinge on the expedition against England, which he is to have the chief command of, &c.; and some give out that he is to be appointed viceroy of that cuntry. During his absence, the old Count of Mansfield is vested with the provisional government of the Netherlands. The conferences at Bourbourg have broke up with great warmth on the English part. The soldiers are ready to embark at an hour's warninge; but the English and Dutch squadron is still laying before our ports, from which we hop

the Duke of Medina will soon find the means to dislodge them.

*"Bourbourg, July the 29th.*—In the midst of our treaty, which it is now playne the Spaniards only treat for amusement, we were all alarmed at hearing the report of their ordinance at sea, upon which Her Majestie's commissioners sent to breake off all further negotiation with those of the Prince of Parma, and to demand passports for their return to England, which were readily granted, and we shall begin to-morrow our journey homewards by way of Ostend, Letteres from Brussels mention that Cardinal Allen was arrived from Rome in quality of the Pope's legate, and had published a Bill of Excommunication against the Queen's Majesty and all her adherents, absolving her subjects from their allegiance to her, and transferring it to the Catholique King, whom he therein styles the true Defender of the Faith.

*"From the Campe at Tilbury, July the 25th.*—Yesterday in the evening the four regiments of the City militia and their auxiliaries, commanded by Sir Robert Bingham, marched into the ground allotted for their encampment. His Excellency the Earle of Leicester, accompanied by the Lord Grey, Sir Francis Vere, Sir Roger Williams, and other general officers, arrived here, and was pleased this morning to draw out the armie in order of battell, after which each regiment of horse and foot passed before the Earle in review, and performed all the military exercise. They are all complete to a man, and in perfect good condition in every other respect, wishing for nothing so much as an opportunitie of exerting their courage against the enemy.—*Imprinted at London by Christ. Barker, Her Highness' Printer, 1588.*

*"Tilbury Camp.—Her Majestie.—July 30th.*—Her Majestie has vouchsafed to honour us with her royal presence, and to lie, one night, under a tent, which was pitched for her on a rising ground, in the midst of the campe; she arrived earlie yesterday morning, attended by manie noblemen and officers of the first distinction, as the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor, the Earle of Essex, Master of the Horse, the Earle of Ormond, who carried the sword before her, the Lord Hundston and Horatio Vere. His Excellency the Earle of Leicester, and Sir John Norris, Campe Marshall, received Her Majestie, at the head of the armie, which was drawn up in two lines, with a body of reserve, the infantry being posted in the centre, and the cavalry on both wings. Her Majestie was saluted by a discharge of the artillerie, and three running fires of the small arms along the line; then she was pleased to ride through the ranks and take particular notice of the military exercises, which were performed by every regiment: the gallant and enlivening terms in which she addressed the troops, need not be mentioned here, since they were immediately made public. When the review was over, Her Majestie honoured my Lord Leicester with her company to dinner; and spent the afternoon in surveying the situation of the camp, and the works at Tilbury Fort, and the manner of posting and relieving the different guards. She set out this morning on her return to London, and was pleased to declare that her whole entertainment had been to her entire satisfaction; nor is it to be thought what a spirit of bravery, or how great transports of joy were infused into the officers and soldiers by Her Majestie's presence and encouragement.

*"Whitehall, July the last.*—This afternoon, Sir

R. Carey arrived here express from the Lord High Admirall, with the important news of the entire defeat and dispersion of the Spanish Armada, of which this general account may suffice for the present, till a more exact and perfect narrative can be made public. The 27th of July, both fleets entered the straits of Calais, and Her Majesty's was reinforced by the Lord Henry Seymour's squadron, which made us, in all, 140 sayle of stout and nimble frigates. The day after our coming to anchor, July the 28th, the Lord High Admirall sent eight fire ships, under the commands of Captains Young and Proner, into the midst of the Spanish navy. They fell down with the tide about two in the morning; and, as soon as they came within cannon shot, those who had the management of them set fire to the trains, and retired; the enemy were, by this stratagem, thrown into the utmost panic, and put to sea in disorder, every ship cutting her cables, and shifting for herself. When morning appeared, (July the 29th,) the Lord High Admirall took the benefit of the consternation which had seized them, and began a sharp engagement, which lasted eight hours. Vice Admiral Drake, the Rear Admiralls Hawkins and Frobisher, Sir R. Southwell, Sir G. Bristow, the Lord Thomas Howard, distinguished themselves by their skill and gallantry during the whole course of the action; the Spaniards, who endeavoured to come to a rendezvous over against Graveling, found themselves unable to withstand the vigour of the English sailors, and were scattered over the face of the narrow seas; those who had not the good fortune to get away, were either taken, or run ashore. Hugo de Moncada's galliass, which carried 50 guns and 400 men, struck to the *Ark Royal*, after its commander had been slain and the greater part of the crew destroyed; and what is most remarkable, she was taken by Lieutenant Berton, sword in hand, from the long boat of the admirall's ship. A great galleon, of Biscaye, and two smaller vessels, were sunk by the *Hope* and *Licentes* men of war; and, we doubt not, from the very shattered condition in which many of the enemy's ships were perceived to quit their line, that we shall hear of more losses. When Sir Robert Carey was despatched, the Lord Admirall was standing northwards after the bulk of this routed armada. The prisoners affirm that on their side have perished not fewer than 5000 men during the engagement of this day; what loss we have sustained is inconsiderable, and not yet exactly known.

*"London, November 24.*—The solemn general thanksgiving for the successes obtained against the Spanish Armada was this day strictly observed. The Queene's Majestie went in state to St. Paul's, attended by the great officers of the realme, the privie council, the French ambassadour, several of the nobilitie, the judges, and principal commanders of the Fleete. Divine service was performed by Dr. Howel, Deane of St. Paul's, and a most pious and eloquent sermon preached on this occasion by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Sarum, Lorde Almoner. The Queene's Majestie, as she entered the weste doore of the church, fell downe on her knees and gave humble thanks to Almighty God for this great and happie deliverance; and then rising and turning to the people, exhorted them in the most princely manner to the due performance of this day's solemnitie. Her Highnesse dined afterwards at the deanery, and returned by torchlight in the evening to her palace at Westminster. The citie companies in their liveries were placed in proper stands



to pay their duty to the queene as she rode along; and the trained bands of London and Westminster, under arms, lined the streets through which the procession passed. Pageants and triumphal arches were sette up in several places at the expense of the Citie; and eleven flagges taken from the Spanish wawie were displayed on London bridge. There appeared in all ranks of men the strongest demonstrations imaginable of praise, gratitude, dutie, and joy, and the day was celebrated without the least tumulte or disorder."

*Recapitulation of the losses.*—"During the months of *Julye* and *Auguste*, there perished in the action between the two fleets, 15 large shippes, and 4791 men, viz.

4 Gallies,	} off Edistone.
1 Man of Warre,	
The St. Francis Gallion,	} off the Start.
Don Pedro Valdez,	
A great Biscayner Vessel,	off Plymouth.
The greate Gallesse of Naples,	} off Calais.
D. Michael Orquendo,	
A Biscaye Gallion sunke,	
The St. Philipe and Matthew Gal-	} Forced into
leons, in the first was Diego Pimen-	
till Camphustes,	and taken.
A Biscayner sunk.	
2 Venetian Transportes before Ostend.	
Another Biscayner sunke by	} off Havre de Gras.
2 of the Queene's ships,	
The totall of shippes and men sunke, drowned,	
and taken, on the Irish coast, in September laste, is	
17 shippes, 5394 men.	
Coast of Connaught,	3 large shippes,
	3 smaller ones,
	7 shippes,
	One large Gallion, which
	carried 50 brasse guns and
	1100 men.

"According to the best accounts from Spayne, the Duke of Medina returned to St. Anderos, with noe more than 60 sayle out of his whole fleet, and those verie much shattered."

On the fourth of September, died the earl of Leicester, the queen's great, but unworthy favourite. Her affection for him continued to the last. He had discovered no conduct in any of his military enterprises, and was suspected of cowardice; yet she intrusted him with the command of her armies during the danger of the Spanish invasion; a partiality which might have proved fatal to her, had the duke of Parma been able to land his troops in England. She had even ordered a commission to be drawn for him, constituting him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; but Burleigh and Hatton represented to her the danger of intrusting such unlimited authority in the hands of any subject, and prevented the execution of that design. No wonder that a conduct so unlike the usual jealousy of Elizabeth, gave reason to suspect that her partiality was founded on some other passion than friendship. But Elizabeth seemed to carry her affection to Leicester no further than the grave: she ordered his goods to be disposed of at a public sale, in order to reimburse herself of some debt which he owed her; and her usual attention to money was observed to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceased. This earl was a great hypocrite, a pretender to the strictest religion, an encourager of the *jeuans*, and a founder of hospitals.

Soon after the defeat and dispersion of the Spanish Armada, the queen summoned a new parliament;

and received from them a supply of two subsidies and four-fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the first instance that subsidies were doubled in one supply; and so unusual a concession was probably obtained from the joy of the present success, and from the general sense of the queen's necessities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burthen of loans which had lately been imposed upon the nation.

Elizabeth foresaw, that this house of commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the puritans; and therefore, to obviate their enterprises, she renewed at the beginning of the session her usual injunction, that the parliament should not on any account presume to treat of matters ecclesiastical. Notwithstanding this strict inhibition, the zeal of one Dampont moved him to present a bill to the commons for remedying spiritual grievances, and for restraining the tyranny of the ecclesiastical commission, which were certainly great: but when Mr. Secretary Woley reminded the house of her majesty's commands, no one durst second the motion; the bill was not so much as read; and the speaker returned it to Dampont without taking the least notice of it. Some members of the house, notwithstanding the general submission, were even committed to custody on account of this attempt.

The imperious conduct of Elizabeth appeared still more clearly in another parliamentary transaction. The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleasure take provisions for the household from all the neighbouring counties, and could make use of the carts and carriages of the farmers; and the price of these commodities and services was fixed and stated. The payment of the money was often distant and uncertain; and the rates, being fixed before the discovery of the West Indies, were much inferior to the present market price; so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a great burthen, and being arbitrary and casual, was liable to great abuses. We may fairly presume, that the hungry courtiers of Elizabeth, supported by her unlimited power, would be sure to render this prerogative very oppressive to the people; and the commons had last session found it necessary to pass a bill for regulating these exactions: but the bill was lost in the house of peers. The continuance of the abuses begat a new attempt for redress; and the same bill was now revived, and again sent up to the house of peers, together with a bill for some new regulations in the court of exchequer. Soon after the commons received a message from the upper house, desiring them to appoint a committee for a conference. At this conference, the peers informed them, that the queen, by a message delivered by Lord Burleigh, had expressed her displeasure, that the commons should presume to touch on her prerogative. If there were any abuses, she said, either in imposing purveyance, or in the practice of the court of exchequer, her majesty was both able and willing to provide due reformation; but would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in these matters. The commons, alarmed at this intelligence, appointed another committee to attend the queen, and endeavour to satisfy her of their humble and dutiful intentions. Elizabeth gave a gracious reception to the committee: she expressed her great "inestimable loving care" towards her loving subjects; which, she said, was greater than of her own self, or even than any of them could have of themselves. She told them, that she had already given orders for an inquiry

into the abuses attending purveyance, but the dangers of the Spanish invasion had retarded the progress of the design; that she had as much skill, will, and power to rule her household as any subjects whatsoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the assistance of her neighbours; that the exchequer was her chamber, consequently more near to her, than even her household, and therefore the less proper for them to intermeddle with; and that she would of herself, with advice of her council and the judges, redress every grievance in these matters, but would not permit the commons, by laws moved without her privy, to bereave her of the honour attending these regulations. The issue of this matter was the same that attended all contests between Elizabeth and her parliaments. She seems even to have been more imperious in this particular than her predecessors; at least her more remote ones: for they often permitted the abuses of purveyance to be redressed by law. Edward III., a very arbitrary prince, allowed ten several statutes to be enacted for that purpose.

In so great awe did the commons stand of every courtier, as well as of the crown, that they durst use no freedom of speech which they thought would give the least offence to any of them. Sir Edward Hobby showed in the house his extreme grief, that by some great personage, not a member of the house, he had been sharply rebuked for speeches delivered in parliament: he craved the favour of the house, and desired that some of the members might inform that great personage of his true meaning and intention in these speeches. The commons, to obviate these inconveniences, passed a vote that no one should reveal the secrets of the house. An act was passed this session, enforcing the former statute, which imposed twenty pounds a month on every one absent from public worship: but the penalty was restricted to two-thirds of the income of the recusant.

The discomfiture of the Armada had begotten in the nation a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprises against Spain; and nothing seemed now impossible to be achieved by the valour and fortune of the English. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural son of the royal family of Portugal, trusting to the aversion of his countrymen against the Castilians, had advanced a claim to the crown; and flying first to France, thence to England, had been encouraged both by Henry and Elizabeth in his pretensions. A design was formed by the people, not the court of England, to conquer the kingdom for Don Antonio: Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterprise: upwards of twenty thousand volunteers enlisted themselves in the service: and ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality kept her from contributing more than sixty thousand pounds to the expense; and she only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition. There was more spirit and bravery, than foresight and prudence, in the conduct of this enterprise. The small stock of the adventurers did not enable them to buy either provisions or ammunition sufficient for such an undertaking: they even wanted vessels to stow the numerous volunteers who crowded to them; and they were obliged to seize by force some ships of the Hanse Towns, which they met with at sea: an expedient which set them somewhat more at ease in point of room for their men, but remedied not the deficiency of their provisions. Had they sailed directly to Portugal, it is believed, that the good-will of the people,

joined to the defenceless state of the country, might have insured them of success: but hearing that great preparations were making at Corunna for the invasion of England, they were induced to go thither and destroy this new armament of Spain. They broke into the harbour, burned some ships of war, particularly one commanded by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain; they defeated an army of four or five thousand men, which was assembled to oppose them; they assaulted Corunna, and took the lower town, which they pillaged; and they would have taken the higher, though well fortified, had they not found their ammunition and provisions beginning to fail them. The young earl of Essex, a nobleman of promising hopes, who fired with the thirst of military honour, had secretly, unknown to the queen, stolen from England, here joined the adventurers; and it was then agreed by common consent to make sail for Portugal, the main object of their enterprise.

The English landed at Paniche, a sea-port town twelve leagues from Lisbon; and Norris led the army to that capital, while Drake undertook to sail up the river, and attack the city with united forces. By this time the court of Spain had gotten leisure to prepare against the invasion. Forces were thrown into Lisbon: the Portuguese were disarmed: all suspected persons were taken into custody: and thus, though the inhabitants bore great affection to Don Antonio, none of them durst declare in favour of the invaders. The English army, however, made themselves masters of the suburbs, which abounded with riches of all kinds; but as they desired to conciliate the affections of the Portuguese, and were more intent on honour than profit, they observed a strict discipline, and abstained from all plunder. Meanwhile, they found their ammunition and provisions much exhausted; they had not a single cannon to make a breach in the walls; the admiral had not been able to pass some fortresses which guarded the river; there was no appearance of an insurrection in their favour; sickness, from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wine and fruits, had seized the army: so that it was found necessary to make all possible haste to reembark. They were not pursued by the enemy; and finding at the mouth of the river, sixty ships laden with naval stores, they seized them as lawful prize; though they belonged to the Hanse Towns, a neutral power. They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned; and having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England. Above half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword; and England reaped more honour than profit from this extraordinary enterprise. It is computed that eleven hundred gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only three hundred and fifty survived those multiplied disasters.

When these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all equipped at his own charge, except one ship of war which the queen had lent him. That nobleman supplied Sir Francis Drake with some provisions; a generosity which saved the lives of many of Drake's men, but for which the others afterwards suffered severely. Cumberland sailed towards the Terceras, and took several prizes from the enemy; but the richest, valued at a hundred thousand pounds, perished in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. Many of these adventurers were killed in a rash attempt at the Terceras; a great mortality seized the rest: and it was



with difficulty that the few hands which remained were able to steer the ships back into harbour.

Though the signal advantages gained over the Spaniards, and the spirit thence infused into the English, gave Elizabeth great security during the rest of her reign, she could not forbear keeping an anxious eye on Scotland, whose situation rendered its revolutions always of importance to her. It might have been expected, that this high-spirited princess, who knew so well to brave danger, would not have retained that malignant jealousy towards her heir, with which, during the lifetime of Mary, she had been so much agitated. James had indeed succeeded to all the claims of his mother; but he had not succeeded to the favour of the catholics, which could alone render these claims dangerous: and as the queen was now well advanced in years, and enjoyed an uncontrolled authority over her subjects, it was not likely that the king of Scots, who was of an indolent unambitious temper, would ever give her any disturbance in her possession of the throne. Yet all these circumstances could not remove her timorous suspicions: and so far from satisfying the nation by a settlement of the succession, or a declaration of James's title, she was as anxious to prevent every incident which might anywise raise his credit, or procure him the regard of the English, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor. Most of his ministers and favourites were her pensioners; and as she was desirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, she obliged him to throw obstacles in the way of every alliance, even the most reasonable, which could be offered him; and during some years she succeeded in this malignant policy. He had fixed on the daughter of the king of Denmark, who being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no umbrage; yet did she so artfully cross this negotiation, that the Danish monarch, impatient of delay, married his daughter to the duke of Brunswick. James then renewed his suit to the younger princess; and still found obstacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interposing delay, proposed to him the sister of the king of Navarre, a princess much older than himself, and entirely destitute of fortune. The young king, besides the desire of securing himself by the prospect of issue, from those traitorous attempts, too frequent among his subjects, had been so watched by the rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not so usual with monarchs. His impatience therefore broke through all the politics of Elizabeth: the articles of marriage were settled: the ceremony was performed by proxy: and the princess embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a storm into a port of Norway. This tempest, with some others which happened near the same time, were universally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottish and Danish witches; and the dying confession of the criminals was supposed to put the accusation beyond all controversy. James, however, though a great believer in sorcery, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage in order to conduct his bride home: he arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and having passed the winter in that city, he brought her next spring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made opposition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which they alleged was either a

Jewish or a popish rite; and therefore utterly anti-christian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony as they were averse to it; and after much controversy and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at last prevailed over their opposition.

## CHAP. XLVII.

*French Affairs—Murder of the Duke of Guise—Murder of Henry III.—Progress of Henry IV.—Naval Enterprises against Spain—A Parliament—Henry IV. embraces the Catholic Religion—Scotch Affairs—Naval Enterprises—A Parliament—Peace of Vervins—The Earl of Essex.*

AFTER a state of great anxiety and many difficulties, Elizabeth had at length reached a situation where, though her affairs still required attention, and found employment for her active spirit, she was removed from all danger of any immediate revolution, and might regard the efforts of her enemies with some degree of confidence and security. Her successful and prudent administration had gained her together with the admiration of foreigners, the affections of her own subjects; and after the death of the queen of Scots, even the catholics, however discontented, pretended not to dispute her title, or adhere to any other person as her competitor. James, curbed by his factious nobility and ecclesiastics, possessed at home very little authority; and was solicitous to remain on good terms with Elizabeth and the English nation, in hopes that time, aided by his patient tranquillity, would secure him that rich succession to which his birth entitled him. The Hollanders, though overmatched in their contest with Spain, still made an obstinate resistance; and such was their unconquerable antipathy to their old masters, and such the prudent conduct of young Maurice, their governor, that the subduing of that small territory, if at all possible, must be the work of years, and the result of many and great successes. Philip, who, in his powerful effort against England, had been transported by resentment and ambition beyond his usual cautious maxims, was now disabled, and still more discouraged, from adventuring again on such hazardous enterprises. The situation also of affairs in France began chiefly to employ his attention; but notwithstanding all his artifice and force, and expense, the events in that kingdom proved every day more contrary to his expectations, and more favourable to the friends and confederates of England.

The violence of the league having constrained Henry to declare war against the Hugonots, these religionists seemed exposed to the utmost danger; and Elizabeth, sensible of the intimate connexion between her own interests and those of that party, had supported the king of Navarre by her negotiations in Germany, and by large sums of money, which she remitted for levying forces in that country. This great prince, not discouraged by the superiority of his enemies, took the field; and in the year 1587 gained at Coutras, a complete victory over the army of the French king; but as his allies, the Germans, were at the same time discomfited by the army of the league under the duke of Guise, his situation, notwithstanding his victory, seemed still as desperate as ever. The chief advantage which he reaped by this diversity of success, arose from the

dissensions which by that means took place among his enemies. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with admiration of Guise, and strongly prejudiced against their king, whose intentions had become suspicious to them, took to arms, and obliged Henry to fly for his safety. That prince, dissembling his resentment, entered into a negotiation with the league; and having conferred many high offices on Guise and his partisans, summoned an assembly of the states at Blois, on pretence of finding expedients to support the intended war against the Hugonots. The various scenes of perfidy and cruelty, which had been exhibited in France, had justly begotten a mutual diffidence among all parties; yet Guise, trusting more to the timidity than honour of the king, rashly put himself into the hands of that monarch, and expected, by the ascendancy of his own genius, to make him submit to all his exorbitant pretensions. Henry, though of an easy disposition, not steady to his resolutions, or even to his promises, wanted neither courage nor capacity; and finding all his subtleties eluded by the vigour of Guise, and even his throne exposed to the most imminent danger, he embraced more violent counsels than were natural to him, and ordered that prince and his brother, the cardinal of Guise, to be assassinated in his palace.

This cruel execution, which the necessity of it alone could excuse, had nearly proved fatal to the author, and seemed at first to plunge him into greater dangers than those which he sought to avoid by taking vengeance on his enemy. The partisans of the league were inflamed with the utmost rage against him: the populace every where, particularly at Paris, renounced allegiance to him: the ecclesiastics and the preachers filled all places with execrations against his name: and the most powerful cities, and most opulent provinces, appeared to combine in a resolution, either of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding slender resources among his catholic subjects, was constrained to enter into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre: he enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry: and being still supported by his chief nobility, he assembled by all these means an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, ready to crush the league, and subdue all his enemies. The desperate resolution of one man diverted the course of these great events. Jacques Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguishes this century, and a great part of the following, beyond all ages of the world, embraced the resolution of sacrificing his own life, in order to save the church from the persecutions of a heretical tyrant; and being admitted, under some pretext, to the king's presence, he gave that prince a mortal wound, and was immediately put to death by the courtiers, who hastily revenged the murder of their sovereign. This memorable incident happened on the first of August, 1589.

The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, assumed the government by the title of Henry IV., but succeeded to much greater difficulties than those which surrounded his predecessor. The prejudices entertained against his religion made a great part of the nobility immediately desert him; and it was only by his promise of hearkening to conferences and instruction, that he could engage any of the catholics to adhere to his undoubted title. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother

to Guise, gathered new force; and the king of Spain entertained views, either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In these distressful circumstances Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, and found her well disposed to contribute to his assistance, and to oppose the progress of the catholic league, and of Philip, her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the desertion of his Swiss and German auxiliaries, she made him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds; a greater sum than, as he declared he had ever seen before: and she sent him a reinforcement of four thousand men, under Lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined the French at Dieppe. Strengthened by these supplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and having taken the suburbs sword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his soldiers. He employed this body of English in many other enterprises; and still found reason to praise their courage and fidelity. The time of their service being elapsed, he dismissed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Baskerville, and Sir John Boroughs acquired reputation in this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of English valour.

The army, which Henry next campaign led into the field, was much inferior to that of the league; but as it was composed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvré, and he gained a complete victory over them. This success enabled him to blockade Paris, and he reduced that capital to the last extremity of famine: when the duke of Parma, in consequence of orders from Philip, marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raise the blockade. Having performed this important service, he retreated to the Low Countries; and, by his consummate skill in the art of war, performed these long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch that opportunity which he sought, of giving him battle, or so much as once putting his army in disorder. The only loss which he sustained was in the Low Countries; where Prince Maurice took advantage of his absence, and recovered some places which the duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the States.

This year the nation suffered a great loss, by the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state; a man equally celebrated for his abilities and his integrity. He had passed through many employments, had been very frugal in his expense, yet died so poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, first married to Sir Philip Sidney, then to the earl of Essex, favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and lastly to the earl of Clanricarde of Ireland. The same year died Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in several embassies to Scotland: as did also the earl of Warwick, elder brother to Leicester.

The situation of Henry's affairs, though promising, was not so well advanced or established as to make the queen discontinue her succours, and she was still more confirmed in the resolution of supporting him by some advantages gained by the king of Spain. The duke of Mercœur, governor of Brittany, a prince of the house of Lorraine, had declared for the league; and finding himself hard pressed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged, in order to secure himself, to introduce some Spanish troops into the sea-port towns of that province. Elizabeth



was alarmed at the danger; and foresaw, that the Spaniards, besides infesting the English commerce by privateers, might employ these harbours as the seat of their naval preparations, and might more easily from that vicinity than from Spain or Portugal, project an invasion of England. She concluded, therefore, a new treaty with Henry, in which she engaged to send over three thousand men, to be employed in the reduction of Brittany, and she stipulated that her charges should, in a twelvemonth, or as soon as the enemy was expelled, be refunded her. These forces were commanded by Sir John Norris, and under him by his brother Henry, and by Anthony Shirley. Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a small body which garrisoned Dieppe; and a squadron of ships, under the command of Sir Henry Palmer, lay upon the coast of France, and intercepted all the vessels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers.

The operations of war can very little be regulated beforehand by any treaty or agreement; and Henry, who found it necessary to lay aside the projected enterprise against Brittany, persuaded the English commanders to join his army, and to take a share in the hostilities which he carried into Picardy. Notwithstanding the disgust which Elizabeth received from this disappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, and persuaded her to send over a new body of four thousand men to assist him in that enterprise. The earl of Essex was appointed general of these forces; a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and still more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed.

"*Lætitia*," says Lingard, "the dowager-countess of Essex, had married the earl of Leicester, who introduced her son, the earl of Essex, to the queen. His youth, and address, and spirit soon captivated Elizabeth. She made him master of the horse; on the appearance of the Armada, she appointed him (he was then almost twenty-one years old) to the important office of captain-general of the cavalry; and when she visited the camp, ostentatiously displayed her fondness in the eyes of the whole army, and honoured him for his bloodless services with the order of the garter. On the death of Leicester he succeeded to the post of prime favourite; the queen required his constant attendance at court; and her indulgence of his caprice, cherished and strengthened his passions."

Essex, impatient for military fame, was extremely uneasy to lie some time at Dieppe unemployed; and had not the orders which he received from his mistress been so positive, he would gladly have accepted of Henry's invitation, and have marched to join the French army now in Champagne. This plan of operations was also proposed to Elizabeth by the French ambassador; but she rejected it with great displeasure; and she threatened immediately to recall her troops, if Henry should persevere any longer in his present practice, of breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own interests. Urged by these motives, the French king at last led his army into Normandy, and laid siege to Rouen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themselves to take the field against him, had again recourse to the duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterprise with his usual abilities and success; and, for the present, frustrated all the

projects of Henry and Elizabeth. This princess, who kept still in view the interests of her own kingdom in all her foreign transactions, was impatient under these disappointments, blamed Henry for his negligence in the execution of treaties, and complained that the English forces were thrust foremost in every hazardous enterprise. It is probable, however, that their own ardent courage, and their desire of distinguishing themselves in so celebrated a theatre of war, were the causes why they so often enjoyed this perilous honour.

Notwithstanding the indifferent success of former enterprises, the queen was sensible how necessary it was to support Henry against the league and the Spaniards; and she formed a new treaty with him, in which they agreed never to make peace with Philip but by common consent; she promised to send him a new supply of four thousand men; and he stipulated to repay her charges in a twelvemonth, to employ these forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition against Brittany, and to consign into her hands a sea-port town of that province, for a retreat to the English. Henry knew the impossibility of executing some of these articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others; but finding them rigidly insisted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of her succours, and trusted that he might easily, on some pretence, be able to excuse his failure in executing his part of the treaty. This campaign was the least successful of all those which he had yet carried on against the league.

During these military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power against Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his West Indian treasures, the source of that greatness which rendered him so formidable to all his neighbours. She sent a squadron of seven ships, under the command of Lord Thomas Howard for this service; but the king of Spain, informed of her purpose, fitted out a great force of fifty-five sail, and dispatched them to escort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the English squadron; and, by the courageous obstinacy of Sir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral, who refused to make his escape by flight, they took one vessel, the first English ship of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniard. The rest of the squadron returned safely into England; frustrated of their expectations, but pleasing themselves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitless in hurting the enemy.

This action of Sir Richard Grenville is so singular as to merit a more particular relation. He was engaged alone with the whole Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail, which had ten thousand men on board; and from the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulsed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually shifted their vessels, and boarded with fresh men. In the beginning of the action he himself received a wound; but he continued doing his duty above deck till eleven at night, when receiving a fresh wound, he was carried down to be dressed. During this operation he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon was killed by his side. The English began now to want powder; all their small arms were broken or become useless: of this number, which were but a hundred and three at first, forty were killed, and almost all the rest wounded; their masts were beat overboard, their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this situation Sir Richard proposed to the ship's company, to trust

to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to destroy the ship with themselves, rather than yield to the enemy. The master gunner, and many of the seamen, agreed to this desperate resolution; but others opposed it, and obliged Grenville to surrender himself prisoner. He died a few days after; and his last words were: "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour: my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do." The Spaniards lost in this sharp, though unequal action, four ships, and about a thousand men. And Grenville's vessel perished soon after with two hundred Spaniards in her.

The Indian fleet had been so long detained in the Havana from the fear of the English, that they were obliged at last to set sail in an improper season, and most of them perished by shipwreck, ere they reached the Spanish harbours. The earl of Cumberland made a like successful enterprise against the Spanish trade. He carried out one ship of the queen's, and seven others equipped at his own expense; but the prizes which he made did not compensate the charges.

The spirit of these expensive and hazardous adventures was very prevalent in England. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favour with the queen, finding his interest decline, determined to recover her good graces by some important undertaking; and as his reputation was high among his countrymen, he persuaded great numbers to engage with him as volunteers in an attempt on the West Indies. The fleet was detained so long in the Channel by contrary winds, that the season was lost: Raleigh was recalled by the queen: Sir Martin Forbisher succeeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage against the Spaniards. He took one rich carrack near the island of Flores, and destroyed another. About the same time Thomas White, a Londoner, took two Spanish ships, which besides fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, contained above two millions of bulls for indulgences; a commodity useless to the English, but which had cost the king of Spain three hundred thousand florins, and would have been sold by him in the Indies for five millions.

This war did great damage to Spain; but it was attended with considerable expense to England; and Elizabeth's ministers computed, that since the commencement of it, she had spent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditions, above one million two hundred thousand pounds; a charge which, notwithstanding her extreme frugality, was too burthensome for her narrow revenues to support. She summoned therefore a parliament in order to obtain supply: but she either thought her authority so established that she needed to make no concessions in return, or she rated her power and prerogative above money: for there never was any parliament whom she treated in a more haughty manner, whom she made more sensible of their own weakness, or whose privileges she more openly violated. When the speaker, Sir Edward Coke, made the three usual requests, of freedom from arrests, of access to her person, and of liberty of speech, she replied to him by the mouth of Puckering, lord-keeper, that liberty of speech was granted to the commons, but they must know what liberty they were entitled to; not a liberty for every one to speak what he

listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; their privilege extended no further than a liberty of Aye or No: that she enjoined the speaker, if he perceived any idle heads so negligent of their own safety as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he should refuse the bills exhibited for that purpose till they were examined by such as were fitter to consider of these things, and could better judge of them: that she would not impeach the freedom of their persons; but they must beware lest, under colour of this privilege, they imagined that any neglect of their duty could be covered or protected: and that she would not refuse them access to her person, provided it were upon urgent and weighty causes, and at times convenient, and when she might have leisure from other important affairs of the realm.

Notwithstanding the menacing and contemptuous air of this speech, the intrepid and indefatigable Peter Wentworth, not discouraged by his former ill success, ventured to transgress the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He presented to the lord-keeper a petition, in which he desired the upper house to join with the lower in a supplication to her majesty for entailing the succession of the crown; and he declared that he had a bill ready prepared for that purpose. This method of proceeding was sufficiently respectful and cautious; but the subject was always extremely disagreeable to the queen, and what she had expressly prohibited any one from meddling with: she sent Wentworth immediately to the Tower, committed Sir Thomas Bromley, who had seconded him, to the Fleet-prison, together with Stevens and Welsh, two members to whom Sir Thomas had communicated his intention. About a fortnight after, a motion was made in the house, to petition the queen for the release of these members; but it was answered by all the privy-councillors there present, that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself, and that to press her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen whom they meant to serve: she would release them whenever she thought proper, and would be better pleased to do it of her own proper motion, than from their suggestion. The house willingly acquiesced in this reasoning.

So arbitrary an act, at the commencement of the session, might well repress all further attempts for freedom: but the religious zeal of the puritans was not so easily restrained; and it inspired a courage which no human motive was able to surmount. Morrice, chancellor of the duchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishops' courts, but above all, in the high commission; where subscriptions, he said, were exacted to articles at the pleasure of the prelates; where oaths were imposed, obliging persons to answer to all questions without distinction, even though they should tend to their own condemnation; and where every one who refused entire satisfaction to the commissioners was imprisoned, without relief or remedy. This motion was seconded by some members: but the ministers and privy-councillors opposed it, and foretold the consequences which ensued. The queen sent for the speaker; and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, she told him that it was in her power to call parliaments, in her power to dissolve them, in her power to give assent or dissent to any determination which they should form: that her purpose in summoning this parliament was twofold, to have laws enacted for the further enforcement of uniformity in religion,



and to provide for the defence of the nation against the exorbitant power of Spain: that these two points ought, therefore, to be the object of their deliberations: she had enjoined them already by the mouth of the lord-keeper, to meddle neither with matters of state nor religion: and she wondered how any one could be so assuming as to attempt a subject so expressly contrary to her prohibition: that she was highly offended with this presumption; and took the present opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill, regarding either state affairs, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited in the house: and that, in particular, she charged the speaker upon his allegiance, if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members. This command from the queen was submitted to without further question. Morrice was seized in the house itself by a serjeant-at-arms, discharged from his office of chancellor of the duchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury-castle.

The queen having thus expressly pointed out both what the house should and should not do, the commons were as obsequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They passed a law against recusants; such a law as was suited to the severe character of Elizabeth, and to the persecuting spirit of the age. It was entitled, "An act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience;" and was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate such inconveniences and perils as might grow from the wicked practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons: for these two species of criminals were always, at that time, confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of society. It was enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused during the space of a month to attend public worship, should be committed to prison; that if after being condemned for this offence, he persist three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that if he either refuse this condition, or return after banishment, he should suffer capitally as a felon without benefit of clergy. This law bore equally hard upon the puritans and upon the catholics; and, had it not been imposed by the queen's authority, was certainly, in that respect, much contrary to the private sentiments and inclinations of the majority in the house of commons. Very little opposition, however, appears there to have been openly made to it. After enacting this statute, the clergy, in order to remove the odium from themselves, often took care that recusants should be tried by the civil judges at the assizes, rather than by the ecclesiastical commissioners.

The expenses of the war with Spain having reduced the queen to great difficulties, the grant of subsidies seems to have been the most important business of this parliament; and it was a signal proof of the high spirit of Elizabeth that, while conscious of a present dependance on the commons, she opened the session with the most haughty treatment of them, and covered her weakness under such a lofty appearance of superiority. The commons readily voted two subsidies and four-fifteenths; but this sum not appearing sufficient to the court, an unusual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their concessions. The peers informed the commons in a conference, that they could not give their assent to the supply

voted, thinking it too small for the queen's occasions: they therefore proposed a grant of three subsidies and six-fifteenths; and desired a further conference in order to persuade the commons to agree to this measure. The commons, who had acquired the privilege of beginning bills of subsidy, took offence at this procedure of the lords, and at first absolutely rejected the proposal: but being afraid, on reflection, that they had by this refusal given offence to their superiors, they both agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional subsidy.

The queen, notwithstanding this unusual concession of the commons, ended the session with a speech, containing some reprimands to them, and full of the same high pretensions which she had assumed at the opening of the parliament. She took notice, by the mouth of the speaker, that certain members spent more time than was necessary, by indulging themselves in harangues and reasonings: and she expressed her displeasure on account of their not paying due reverence to privy-councillors, "who," she told them, "were not to be accounted as common knights and burgesses of the house, who are counsellors but during the parliament: whereas the others are standing counsellors, and for their wisdom and great service are called to the council of the state." The queen also, in her own person, made the parliament a spirited harangue; in which she spoke of the justice and moderation of her government, expressed the small ambition she had ever entertained of making conquests, displayed the just grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain, and discovered how little she apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he should make a greater effort against her than that of his invincible Armada. "But I am informed," added she, "that when he attempted this last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance: but I swear unto you, by God, if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause." By this menace, she probably gave the people to understand, that she would execute martial law upon such cowards: for there was no statute by which a man could be punished for changing his place of abode.

The king of France, though he had hitherto made war on the league with great bravery and reputation, though he had this campaign gained considerable advantages over them, and though he was assisted by a considerable body of English under Norris, who carried hostilities into the heart of Brittany, was become sensible, that he never could by force of arms alone render himself master of his kingdom. The nearer he seemed by his military successes to approach to a full possession of the throne, the more discontent and jealousy arose among those Romanists who adhered to him; and a party was formed in his own court to elect some catholic monarch of the royal blood, if Henry should any longer refuse to satisfy them by declaring his conversion. This excellent prince was far from being a bigot to his sect; and as he deemed these theological disputes entirely subordinate to the public good, he had secretly determined from the beginning, to come some time or other to the resolution required of him. He had found on the death of his predecessor, that the Hugonots who formed the bravest and most faithful part of his army, were

such determined zealots, that if he had at that time abjured their faith, they would instantly have abandoned him to the pretensions and usurpations of the catholics. The more bigoted catholics, he knew, particularly those of the league, had entertained such an insurmountable prejudice against his person, and diffidence of his sincerity, that even his abjuration would not reconcile them to his title; and he must either expect to be entirely excluded from the throne, or be admitted to it on such terms as would leave him little more than the mere shadow of royalty. In this delicate situation he had resolved to temporize; to retain the hugonots by continuing in the profession of their religion; to gain the moderate catholics by giving them hopes of his conversion; to attach both to his person by conduct and success; and he hoped either that the animosity arising from war against the league, would make them drop gradually the question of religion, or that he might in time, after some victories over his enemies and some conferences with divines, make finally, with more decency and dignity, that abjuration, which must have appeared at first mean as well as suspicious to both parties.

When the people are attached to any theological tenets, merely from a general persuasion or prepossession, they are easily induced by any motive or authority to change their faith in these mysterious subjects; as appears from the example of the English, who, during some reigns, usually embraced, without scruple, the still varying religion of their sovereigns. But the French nation, where principles had so long been displayed as the badges of faction, and where each party had fortified its belief by an animosity against the other, were not found so pliable or inconstant; and Henry was at last convinced, that the catholics of his party would entirely abandon him, if he gave them not immediate satisfaction in this particular. The Hugonots also, taught by experience, clearly saw that his desertion of them was become absolutely necessary for the public settlement: and so general was this persuasion among them, that, as the duke of Sully pretends, even the divines of that party purposely allowed themselves to be worsted in the disputes and conferences; that the king might more readily be convinced of the weakness of their cause, and might more cordially and sincerely, at least more decently, embrace the religion which it was so much his interest to believe. If this self-denial in so tender a point should appear incredible and supernatural in theologians, it will at least be thought very natural, that a prince so little instructed in these matters as Henry, and desirous to preserve his sincerity, should insensibly bend his opinion to the necessity of his affairs, and should believe that party to have the best arguments who could alone put him in possession of a kingdom. All circumstances, therefore, being prepared for this great event, that monarch renounced the protestant religion, and was solemnly received by the French prelates of his party, into the bosom of the church.

Elizabeth, who was herself attached to the protestants, chiefly by her interests and the circumstances of her birth, and who seems to have entertained some propensity during her whole life to the catholic superstition, at least to the ancient ceremonies, yet pretended to be extremely displeased with this abjuration of Henry; and she wrote him an angry letter reproaching him with this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were still their com-

mon enemies, she hearkened to his apologies; continued her succours both of men and money; and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually stipulated never to make peace but by common agreement.

The intrigues of Spain were not limited to France and England: by means of the never-failing pretence of religion, joined to the influence of money, Philip excited new disorders in Scotland, and gave fresh alarms to Elizabeth. George Ker, brother to Lord Newbottle, had been taken, while he was passing secretly into Spain; and papers were found about him, by which a dangerous conspiracy of some catholic noblemen with Philip was discovered. The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three potent families, had entered into a confederacy with the Spanish monarch: and had stipulated to raise all their forces; to join them to a body of Spanish troops, which Philip promised to send into Scotland; and after re-establishing the catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united power in order to effect the same purpose in England. Graham of Fintry, who had also entered into this conspiracy, was taken, arraigned, and executed. Elizabeth sent Lord Borough ambassador into Scotland, and exhorted the king to exercise the same severity on the three earls, to confiscate their estates, and by annexing them to the crown, both increase his own demesnes, and set an example to all his subjects of the dangers attending treason and rebellion. The advice was certainly rational, but not easy to be executed by the small revenue and limited authority of James. He desired, therefore, some supply from her of men and money; but though she had reason to deem the prosecution of the three popish earls a common cause, she never could be prevailed on to grant him the least assistance. The tenth part of the expense, which she bestowed in supporting the French king, and the States, would have sufficed to execute this purpose, more immediately essential to her security: but she seems ever to have bore some degree of malignity to James, whom she hated both as her heir and as the son of Mary, her hated rival and competitor.

So far from giving James assistance to prosecute the catholic conspirators, the queen rather contributed to increase his inquietude, by countenancing the turbulent disposition of the earl of Bothwell, a nobleman descended from the natural son of James V. Bothwell more than once attempted to render him self master of the king's person; and being expelled the kingdom for these traitorous enterprises, he took shelter in England, was secretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders, where his power lay, with a view of still committing some new violence. He succeeded at last in an attempt on the king; and by the mediation of the English ambassador, imposed dishonourable terms upon that prince: but James, by the authority of the convention of states, annulled this agreement as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwell; and obliged him to take shelter in England. Elizabeth, pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed the treaties, by which she was bound to deliver up all rebels and fugitives to the king of Scotland. During these disorders, increased by the refractory disposition of the ecclesiastics, the prosecution of the catholic earls remained in suspense; but at last the parliament passed an act of attainder against them, and the king prepared himself to execute it by force of arms. The noblemen, though they obtained a victory over the earl of Argyll, who acted



by the king's commission, found themselves hard pressed by James himself, and agreed on certain terms to leave the kingdom. Bothwell, being detected in a confederacy with them, forfeited the favour of Elizabeth; and was obliged to take shelter first in France, then in Italy, where he died some years after in great poverty.

The established authority of the queen secured her from all such attempts as James was exposed to from the mutinous disposition of his subjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domestic disturbance than by such traitorous and perfidious machinations as ended in their own disgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal instruments. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being imprisoned on suspicion, confessed that he had received a bribe to poison her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded Parma, lately deceased, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was, however, executed for the conspiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of these dishonourable attempts of his ministers, but could obtain no satisfaction. York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious.

Instead of avenging herself, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth sought a more honourable vengeance, by supporting the king of France, and assisting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the conversion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution. Norris commanded the English forces in Brittany, and assisted at the taking of Morlaix Quimpercorentin, and Brest, towns garrisoned by Spanish forces. In every action, the English, though they had so long enjoyed domestic peace, discovered a strong military disposition; and the queen, though herself a heroine, found more frequent occasion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution: Sir Martin Frobisher, her brave admiral, perished with many others before Brest. Morlaix had been promised to the English for a place of retreat; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promise, by making it to be inserted in the capitulation, that none but catholics should be admitted into that city.

Next campaign, the French king, who had long carried on hostilities with Philip, was at last provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Dourlens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war against that monarch. Elizabeth, being threatened with a new invasion in England, and with an insurrection in Ireland, recalled most of her forces, and sent Norris to command in this latter kingdom. Finding also, that the French league was almost entirely dissolved, and that the most considerable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, she thought that he could well support himself by his own force and valour; and she began to be more sparing in his cause of the blood and treasure of her subjects.

Some disgusts which she had received from the States, joined to the remonstrances of her frugal minister Burleigh, made her also inclined to diminish her charges on that side; and she even demanded by her ambassador, Sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimbursed all the money which she had expended in supporting them. The States, besides alleging the conditions of the treaty, by which they were not

bound to repay her till the conclusion of a peace, pleaded their present poverty and distress, the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty in supporting the war; much more in saving money to discharge their encumbrances. After much negotiation, a new treaty was formed; by which the States engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the English auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a-year; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years; to assist her with a certain number of ships; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her consent. They also bound themselves, on finishing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the sum of a hundred thousand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment should be in lieu of all demands, and that they should be supplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England.

The queen still retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the rising power of the States; and she committed the important trust of Flushing to Sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Essex, who expected so honourable a command; and though this nobleman was daily rising both in reputation with the people, and favour with herself, the queen, who was commonly reserved in the advancement of her courtiers, thought proper on this occasion to give him a refusal. Sir Thomas Baskerville was sent over to France at the head of two thousand English, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to supply that prince. Some stipulations for mutual assistance were formed by the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed.

This body of English were maintained at the expense of the French king; yet did Henry esteem the supply of considerable advantage, on account of the great reputation acquired by the English, in so many fortunate enterprises undertaken against the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournholt, gained this campaign by Prince Maurice, the English auxiliaries under Sir Francis Vere and Sir Robert Sydney had acquired honour; and the success of that day, was universally ascribed to their discipline and valour.

Though Elizabeth, at a considerable expense of blood and treasure, made war against Philip in France and the Low Countries, the most severe blows which she gave him were by those naval enterprises which either she or her subjects scarcely ever intermitted during one season. In 1594, Richard Hawkins, son of Sir John, the famous navigator, procured the queen's commission, and sailed with three ships to the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan; but his voyage proved unfortunate, and he himself was taken prisoner on the coast of Chili. James Lancaster was supplied the same year with three ships and a pinnace by the merchants of London; and was more fortunate in his adventure. He took thirty-nine ships of the enemy; and not content with this success, he made an attack on Pernambuco in Brazil, where he knew great treasures were at that time lodged. As he approached the shore he saw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; but nowise daunted at this appearance, he placed the stoutest of his men in boats, and ordered them to row with such violence on the landing-place as to split them in pieces. By this bold action he both deprived his men of all re-

source but in victory, and terrified the enemy, who fled after a short resistance. He returned home with the treasure which he had so bravely acquired. In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had anew forfeited the queen's friendship by an intrigue with a maid of honour, and who had been thrown into prison for this misdemeanor, no sooner recovered his liberty, than he was pushed by his active and enterprising genius to attempt some great action. The success of the first Spanish adventurers against Mexico and Peru had begotten an extreme avidity in Europe; and a prepossession universally took place, that in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiscovered, there were mines and treasures far exceeding any which Cortes or Pizarro had met with. Raleigh, whose turn of mind was somewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook at his own charge the discovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the small town of St. Joseph in the isle of Trinidad, where he found no riches, he left his ship, and sailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to answer his expectations. On his return, he published an exaggerated account of the country.

The same year, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition against the Spanish settlements in America; and they carried with them six ships of the queen's, and twenty more, which either were fitted out at their own charge, or were furnished them by private adventurers. Sir Thomas Baskerville was appointed commander of the land forces, which they carried on board. Their first design was to attempt Porto Rico, where, they knew, a rich carrack was at that time stationed; but as they had not preserved the requisite secrecy, a pinnace, having strayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the English. Preparations were made in that island for their reception; and the English fleet, notwithstanding the brave assault which they made on the enemy, was repulsed with loss. Hawkins soon after died; and Drake pursued his voyage to Nombre di Dios, on the isthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he attempted to pass forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found such a scheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the same facility which had attended his first enterprises in those parts. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the passes, and had stationed troops in the woods; who so infested the English by continual alarms and skirmishes, that they were obliged to return, without being able to effect any thing. Drake himself, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he soon after died. Sir Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and after having fought a battle near Cuba with the Spanish fleet, of which the event was not decisive, he returned to England. The Spaniards suffered some loss from this enterprise; but the English reaped no profit.

As the details and causes of the subsequent naval expeditions are given more graphically and correctly by Dr. Lingard, we substitute his account of them.

"For some weeks the defence of the realm had been the subject of daily deliberation in the council. Howard of Effingham, the lord admiral, urged the same measure which he had proposed on the

former occasion, to anticipate the design of the enemy by sending out an expedition to destroy his ports, shipping and magazines. He was powerfully seconded by Essex, who despised the cautious policy of Burleigh, and by his influence, after a long struggle, obtained the consent of the queen. She gave him the command of the land, while the lord admiral held that of the naval force: but to restrain his impetuosity, he was ordered to ask the advice of a council of war, and to be guided by the opinion of the majority. The members were, besides the two commanders-in-chief, the Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Walter Raleigh, for the naval; Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford, for the land service.

"After much irresolution, and considerable delay, occasioned partly by the disguised opposition of the Cecils, and partly by the inconstant humour of the queen, the expedition left the harbour of Plymouth. By the junction of twenty-two ships from Holland, it amounted to one hundred and fifty sail, and carried fourteen thousand men, of whom fifteen hundred were gentlemen volunteers. At the end of three weeks, the fleet cast anchor at the mouth of the haven of Cadiz, in which were discovered fifteen men-of-war, and about forty merchantmen. At seven the next morning, the English, in defiance of the fire from the forts and batteries, entered the harbour: the Spaniards met their foes with determined courage; and for six hours the action was maintained on both sides with equal obstinacy. But about one in the afternoon the enemy attempted to run their ships ashore, and set them on fire. Two of the largest, the *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew*, with an argosy, were taken: the galleys effected their escape by sea; and the merchantmen, that had proceeded to Port Royal during the action, having discharged their cargoes, were burnt by order of the duke of Medina Sidonia.

"Within an hour from the termination of the engagement by sea, the earl of Essex, with his wonted promptitude, had landed fifteen hundred men at Puntal, and marched in the direction of the city. A small body of horse and foot threatened opposition: but they fell back as he advanced; and finding the gates shut against them, made their way over a ruinous part of the wall. Essex followed at their heels: the enemy kept up a destructive fire from the houses: but he advanced as far as the market-place, where he was joined by the lord admiral and another party that had entered by a portal. Resistance was now at an end: and early the next morning a capitulation was signed, by which the inhabitants paid a ransom of 120,000 crowns for their lives; and the town, the merchandise, and every kind of property, were abandoned to the rapacity of the conquerors.

"The commanders met in council to deliberate on their future proceedings. Essex proposed to march with the army into the heart of Andalusia; and when that was rejected, offered to remain in the isle with 3000 men, and to defend it against all the power of the enemy. There was, in both of these plans, less of real than of apparent danger. The realm had been drained of all its disciplined forces: the nobles were discontented at their exclusion from the offices of the government: the people in several provinces had manifested a disposition to revolt: and the Moriscoes would have cheerfully joined the banners of the strangers. But the majority of the council opposed every suggestion offered by the earl: the town, with the



exception of the churches, was reduced to ashes : and the troops taking with them the most valuable portion of the plunder, re-embarked. At sea the same discussion prevailed among the leaders ; and after many altercations, and two unimportant descents on the Spanish coast, the fleet returned to Plymouth in less than ten weeks from its departure.

"Never before had the Spanish monarch received so severe a blow. He lost thirteen men-of-war, and immense magazines of provisions and naval stores: the defences of Cadiz, the strongest fortress in his dominions, had been razed to the ground; and the secret of his weakness at home had been revealed to the world, at the same time that the power of England had been raised in the eyes of the European nations. Even those who wished well to Spain, allotted the praise of moderation and humanity to the English commanders, who had suffered no blood to be wantonly spilt, no woman to be defiled; but had sent under an escort the nuns and females, about three thousand in number, to the port of St. Mary, and had allowed them to carry away their jewels and wearing apparel. But while foreigners applauded the conquerors, while their countrymen hailed their return with shouts of triumph, they experienced from their sovereign a cold and ungracious reception.

"From the first introduction of Essex at court, Burleigh had looked on him with a jealous eye. Age and infirmity admonished that statesman that it was time for him to retire; and he naturally sought to bequeath his place and his influence in the council, to his son Sir Robert Cecil. Aware that Essex might prove a dangerous competitor, he maintained towards him the external forms of friendship, while he secretly endeavoured to undermine his influence: and the queen, perhaps to show that she was not governed by her young favourite, often listened to the suggestions of his opponent; and though she generally granted his petitions for himself, uniformly refused the favours, which he solicited for his dependants. In 1590, Walsingham died: to supply his place Burleigh proposed his son Robert; Essex, first the unfortunate Davison, and afterwards Sir Thomas Bodley. Elizabeth, under the pretence of preserving peace between the parties, refused to make any appointment: but desired Burleigh to take the office provisionally on himself, and at his request allowed him to employ his son as an assistant. The object of 'the old fox' (so Essex was accustomed to call him) was manifest: yet for six years the earl had sufficient credit to retard the appointment of Sir Robert. As soon, however, as the late expedition sailed, Elizabeth signed a warrant in his favour; and the courtiers, predicting the ascendancy of the Cecils, sought to instil into the royal ear suspicions and misgivings, respecting the conduct of the absent favourite. His gallantries and debaucheries, his presumption and obstinacy, his extravagance and irritability, were exaggerated, and hypocritically lamented. They made light of the capture of Cadiz. It was a cheap and easy conquest; the only resistance had been made by sea; and there the whole merit of the success belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh. How far they might have persuaded the queen, is uncertain; but when she learned that the plunder, instead of being preserved for the treasury, had been divided among the adventurers, her avarice convinced her of the misconduct of Essex, and she was heard to declare that, if she had hitherto done his pleasure, she would now teach him to do hers.

"On their return to Plymouth, the two commanders-in-chief received an extraordinary message. The expedition, they were told, had already cost the queen fifty thousand pounds; 'she' would be at no further expense: it was for 'them,' who knew what was become of the plunder, to provide funds for the payment of the mariners and soldiers. The earl immediately hastened to court; but, aware of the unfavourable reports made to the queen, he assumed a new character, that of a saint. He was no longer the gay and voluptuous Essex. He became grave and sedate: those who had been scandalized by the publicity of his amours, were surprised at the attentions which he exclusively lavished on his countess; and his constant appearance at church, his devout demeanour at sermons and prayers, edified, perhaps amused, his former companions. The queen reluctantly betrayed her satisfaction at the return of her favourite: but she obstinately refused to listen to his justification in private. He was compelled, day after day, to appear before her in council, and to answer to every article. He contended that he and his colleague had done whatever it was in their power to do; that they had brought home for the queen two galleons, and more than one hundred pieces of brass ordnance: that, if she had not received her share of the plunder, she must look for indemnification to the commissioners appointed by the lord-treasurer, who, though often admonished, had neglected to perform their duty: and that for himself, he had, on every occasion, been thwarted by his colleagues in the council, the creatures of the Cecils, who had even opposed his proposal to sail to Tercera, and intercept the treasure of the Spanish king on its way from the Indies. While the cause was yet pending, advice was received that this fleet, with twenty millions of dollars on board, had arrived in the ports of Spain. The queen's indignation was instantly pointed against his adversaries and their patrons: every man hastened to seek a reconciliation with the accused; and even Burleigh himself, who had formerly suggested to Elizabeth, that the ransom paid by the inhabitants belonged to the crown, now supported Essex in opposition to her claim. The apostasy of the treasurer threw the queen into a paroxysm of rage: she called him 'a miscreant and a coward, more afraid of Essex than of herself,' and poured on him such a torrent of abuse, that he retired home in despair, and talked 'of obtaining licence to live as an anchorite, as fittest for his age, his infirmities, and his declining influence at court.'

"It would weary the patience of the reader to attend to the continual dissensions between these rival statesmen. The queen preferred Sir Robert Cecil as a man of business, Essex as an agreeable companion. The former was industrious and intelligent, a master in the art of flattery, and always ready to sacrifice his own opinion to the superior or, as he termed it, 'the divine judgment of his sovereign.' But Essex was petulant and obstinate: when he could not prevail by argument or entreaty, he reproached the queen with unkindness, retired from the court, and confined himself to his bed, under pretence of indisposition: and though Elizabeth repeatedly resolved to break his spirit, she as repeatedly submitted to his pleasure, under the idle fear of breaking his heart. There was, moreover, another point, in which he was in danger of forfeiting the royal favour. The world refused him credit for that superior sanctity, which he affected: and

the scandal of the court had marked him out, perhaps unjustly, for the favoured lover of a married lady of high rank. With the reputation of other women the queen had little concern: but to watch over the conduct of the young females employed about her person, was a duty which she owed both to herself and to their parents. Among her maids of honour was a lady, called Bridges, to whom the palm of superior beauty had been assigned by common consent. She quickly attracted the notice of Essex: his attentions flattered her vanity, perhaps won her affections: and the tale of her indiscretion was soon whispered in the royal ear. Elizabeth sent for Bridges, with her companion Russel; convinced the culprit of her displeasure by the infliction of manual chastisement, and ordered both to be discharged with ignominy from her service. For three nights the house of Lady Stafford afforded them an asylum: at length, having asked pardon, and promised amendment, they were restored to favour.

"The French king, conceiving that Elizabeth's indifference to his wants, arose from a suspicion that he was disposed to make common cause with the catholic powers, ordered De Bouillon to join Sanci, and to propose to her a general league of the protestant princes against the king of Spain. Two treaties were signed. The first, which was made public, proved a mere fiction, intended to give reputation to the confederacy: the second, which was secret, cut down the provisions of the first, and merely bound the queen to send two thousand men for six months into Picardy, as reinforcements for the garrisons of Boulogne and Montreuil. The Hollanders acted with more spirit: they paid four thousand men in the French army, and offered an aid of eight thousand more. In addition, all the three powers agreed to solicit the co-operation of the German princes, and to hold a general congress for that purpose. But Henry alone fulfilled his engagements: the attention of Elizabeth was absorbed by events more nearly connected with her own safety. For some years Philip had appeared to sleep over the war with England: the blow received at Cadiz had awakened him from his apathy. He publicly avowed to be revenged; the fleet from the Indies had replenished his treasury; his people offered him an abundant supply of money; and he ordered the adelantado of Castile to prepare a second Armada for the invasion of England. He even indulged a hope, that if success attended the expedition, his daughter, the infanta of Spain, might be placed on the English throne.

"To understand this visionary project, the reader must go back to the divisions, which prevailed among the catholic exiles previously to the death of Mary Stuart. The fate of that princess, which was certainly, though unintentionally, occasioned by the vindictive intrigues of Morgan, Paget, and their associates, confirmed the ascendancy which their adversaries had already acquired in the different catholic courts. They however did not yield without a struggle. They loudly complained that the ambition of the Jesuits had monopolized the business of the nation; they maintained that secular affairs did not belong to religious bodies; they sent agents of their own to most of the catholic princes; they sought to undermine the influence of Parsons at the court of Madrid, to prevent the promotion of Allen, and afterwards to balance his influence by procuring a cardinal's hat for their own associate Lewis, bishop of Cassano. But every plan was defeated by the superior address or superior influence of their

opponents, who were distinguished by the appellation of the Spanish party. Allen was its nominal, Parsons its effective head: their principal associates were the Jesuits Cresswell and Holt, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Francis Stanley, Owen, and Fitzherbert. The great object of the party was the restoration of the catholic worship in England under the sway of a catholic sovereign, whom both gratitude and interest induced them to seek in the royal house of Spain. The jealousy of Elizabeth and the prohibitory statute had closed the mouths of men, with respect to the succession: it was highly probable that at her death a number of competitors would start for the throne: and the exiles in general entertained an opinion that Burleigh would support, with all his influence, the claim of Arabella Stuart, to whose hand his son, Sir Robert Cecil, already aspired. To defeat this supposed purpose, to awaken the public attention, and to prepare the way for the daughter of Philip, they published the celebrated tract entitled, 'A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, had in 1593, by R. Doleman.\*' This work, the production of different pens, was revised and edited by Parsons. In the first part, it undertakes to prove that as the right of succession is regulated not by divine, but by positive laws, which are not immutable, but must vary with circumstances, the profession of a false religion is in all cases a sufficient bar against propinquity of blood: in the second it enumerates the different persons, who, on account of their descent from the royal family of England, may advance any pretensions to the crown after the death of the queen: but, though it professes to state all the arguments for and against their respective claims with the most perfect impartiality, it continually betrays a strong leaning towards the pretended right of the infanta, as the lineal representative of John of Ghent, son of Edward III. This tract excited an extraordinary sensation both in England and on the continent: it alarmed and irritated the queen and her ministers; and it flattered the pride of Philip, who, at the persuasion of Parsons, had consented to renounce his own pretensions, with the vain hope of seeing his daughter seated on the English throne. He offered the command of the expedition to the adelantado of Castile, who proposed and obtained his own terms; an emissary hastened to England to sound the disposition of the earl of Essex: and the exiles, in their secret councils, formed different plans to promote the success of the projected invasion, and to facilitate the accession of their imaginary queen.

"But the preparations of Philip, and the views of the party, were carefully communicated to the English council by secret agents in the Spanish court. After some struggle, the economy of Elizabeth yielded to her fears, and the remonstrances of her advisers. She consented that a powerful armament should be fitted out for the destruction of the Spanish fleet: and gave the command to Essex, with the Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Walter Raleigh for his seconds. On his arrival at Plymouth he found a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, and an army of eight thousand soldiers waiting his

\* "The book was dedicated to the earl of Essex, with such praise of his many virtues, that the jealousy of the queen was excited. What passed between them on the subject is not known: but on the 3d of November it was observed that when he left her, he looked pale and pensive. On his arrival at his own house, he seemed much indisposed: and, though the queen visited him the next day, kept his bed till the 12th.



command. He was no longer fettered with a council of war, the Cecils, he persuaded himself, had become his friends; and he saw nothing before him but a harvest of victory and glory. Unfortunately the weather was adverse: his impatience lamented the delay: the queen's parsimony, the additional expense. To remove the cause, both had recourse to prayer: the wind came round to the north-east; and the humility of Elizabeth attributed the change to the more fervent devotion of her favourite.\*

"But Essex was destined to experience nothing but misfortune in this expedition. The fleet had not proceeded more than forty leagues, when it was driven back to port by a storm, which continued four days. With his usual obstinacy the earl contended against the winds and waves, till his ship was a mere wreck. The gentlemen volunteers, who accompanied him, had seen enough of the naval service: on his return to Plymouth most of them stole away to their homes.

"To have refitted the fleet would have been to incur an expense, to which the queen would not submit. Essex sailed again, but with a smaller force, and on a different destination. He reached the Azores: Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, submitted; but the Spanish fleet from the Indies, the real object of the expedition, escaped into the harbour of Tercera: and the English, with four inconceivable prizes, and some plunder, directed their course to their own shores.† At the same time the adelantado sailed from Ferrol with the intention of obtaining possession of the Isle of Wight, or of some strong post on the shore of Cornwall, which might be garrisoned and kept till the following spring, the season selected for the grand attempt. The two fleets, though at no great distance, proceeded in the same direction, unknown to each other. When Essex entered the harbour of Plymouth, the Spaniards were off the Lizard point: and while he refitted his ships, the enemy scoured the Channel, insulted different parts of the coast, and kept the maritime counties in a state of alarm. Elizabeth ordered forces to be raised, sent for the two thousand men serving in France; and summoned the lords to the defence of her person. But the Spaniard dared not attempt to land. After a week or two he shaped his course back to the Spanish coast, and in his return lost by a storm sixteen sail in the Bay of Biscay.

"From Plymouth the earl proceeded to court; and was received by Elizabeth with frowns and reproaches. He had done nothing to repay the expenses of the expedition: but had wasted her treasure, had disobeyed his instructions, and had insulted and oppressed Sir Walter Raleigh. He retired in discontent to his house at Wanstead, and for several weeks the business of the nation was in-

terrupted by his complaints on the one hand, and the ineffectual attempts of his sovereign to pacify him on the other. She condescended to acknowledge that every charge against him was unfounded: but he was not content. He demanded satisfaction for the imaginary wrongs which had been done to him during his absence. The chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, which he expected for one of his dependants, had been given to Sir Robert Cecil; the lord-admiral had been created earl of Nottingham, and thus advanced by reason of his office to precedence above him: and the praise of the capture of Cadiz, which belonged to himself, was in the patent of creation attributed to the new earl. In his waywardness he offered to fight with that nobleman, or with any one of his sons, or with any gentleman of the name of Howard. At the queen's request the Cecils and Sir Walter Raleigh laboured to pacify this froward child; after a long negotiation he accepted as an indemnity the appointment of earl-marshal, because that office would give him precedence of the lord-admiral. Nottingham immediately retired from court."

The war with Spain, though successful, having exhausted the queen's exchequer, she was obliged to assemble a parliament; where Yelverton, a lawyer, was chosen speaker of the house of commons.

It is usual for the speaker to disqualify himself for the office; but the reasons employed by this speaker are so singular, that they may be worth transcribing, "My estate," said he, "is nothing corresponding for the maintenance of this dignity; for my father dying, left me a younger brother, and nothing to me but my bare annuity. Then growing to man's estate, and some small practice of the law, I took a wife, by whom I have had many children; the keeping of us all being a great impoverishing to my estate, and the daily living of us all nothing but my daily industry. Neither from my person nor my nature doth this choice arise: for he that supplieth this place ought to be a man big and comely, stately and well-spoken, his voice great, his carriage majestic, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy: but contrarily the stature of my body is small, myself not so well-spoken, my voice low, my carriage lawyer-like, and of the common fashion, my nature soft and bashful, my purse thin, light, and never yet plentiful.—If Demosthenes, being so learned and eloquent as he was, one whom none surpassed, trembled to speak before Phocion at Athens; how much more shall I, being unlearned and unskilful to supply the place of dignity, charge and trouble, to speak before so many Phocians as here be? Yea, which is the greatest, before the unspeakable majesty and sacred personage of our dread and dear sovereign: the terror of whose countenance will appal and abase even the stoutest hearts; yea, whose very name will pull down the greatest courage. For how mightily do the estate and name of a prince deject the haughtiest stomach even of their greatest subjects?"

Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, lord-keeper, to inform this assembly of the necessity of a supply. She said, That the wars formerly waged in Europe had commonly been conducted by the parties without further view than to gain a few towns, or at most a province, from each other; but the object of the present hostilities, on the part of Spain, was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independence: that these blessings, however she herself had hitherto been able to preserve in spite

\* "She published a prayer for the use of her people. It is in that quaint obscure style which she affected, and, to be understood by the majority of her subjects, ought to have been translated into ordinary language. It begins thus: 'Oh God, almaker, keeper, and guider, inurement of thy rare-seen, unused, and seed-hearted of goodness, poured in so plentiful sort upon us full oft, breeds now this boldness to crave thy large hand of helping power, to assist with wonder our just cause, not founded on pride's motion, or begun on malice-stock.' &c.

† Raleigh had attacked and taken Fayal without orders. This had been forbidden under pain of death. Essex, who deemed the honour stolen from himself, received him with expressions of anger, and ordered several officers to be put under arrest. When he was advised to bring Raleigh to a court-martial, 'I would,' he replied, 'had he been one of my friends.' The speaker was haunted by the good offices of Lord Thomas Howard.

of the devil, the pope, and the Spanish tyrant, and all the mischievous designs of all her enemies; that in this contest she had disbursed a sum triple to all the parliamentary supplies granted her; and, besides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to sell many of the crown lands; and that she could not doubt but her subjects, in a cause where their own honour and interest were so deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to such moderate taxations as should be found necessary for the common defence. The parliament granted her three subsidies and six-fifteenths; the same supply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared so unusual, that they had voted it should never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

The commons, this session, ventured to engage in two controversies about forms with the house of peers, a prelude to those encroachments which, as they assumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained, that the lords failed in civility to them by receiving their messages sitting with their hats on; and that the keeper returned an answer in the same negligent posture: but the upper house proved to their full satisfaction, that they were not entitled by custom and the usage of parliament to any more respect. Some amendments had been made by the lords to a bill sent up by the commons; and these amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons. The lower house took umbrage at the novelty: they pretended that these amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation of the peers. The peers replied, that they expected not such a frivolous objection from the gravity of the house; and that it was not material whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which seemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any satisfaction.

An application was made, by way of petition, to the queen from the lower house, against monopolies; an abuse which had arisen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious, though a general answer; for which they returned their thankful acknowledgments. But not to give them too much encouragement in such applications she told them, in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "that with regard to these patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem; but that they would rather leave these matters to her disposal." The commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court of high-commission; but not till they had previously obtained permission from her majesty to that purpose.

Elizabeth had reason to foresee that parliamentary supplies would now become more necessary to her than ever; and that the chief burden of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie upon England. Henry had received an overture for peace with Philip; but before he would proceed to a negotiation he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the States; that if possible a general pacification might be made by common agreement. These two powers sent ambassadors to France in order to remonstrate against peace; the queen, Sir

Robert Cecil, and Henry Herbert; the States, Justin Nassau, and John Barneveldt. Henry said to these ministers, That his early education had been amidst war and danger, and he had passed the whole course of his life either in arms or in military preparations: that after the proofs which he had given of his alacrity in the field, no one could doubt but he would willingly, for his part, have continued in a course of life to which he was now habituated, till the common enemy were reduced to such a condition as no longer to give umbrage either to him or to his allies: that no private interests of his own, not even those of his people, nothing but the most invincible necessity, could ever induce him to think of a separate peace with Philip, or make him embrace measures not entirely conformable to the wishes of all his confederates: that his kingdom, torn with the convulsions and civil wars of near half a century, required some interval of repose, ere it could reach a condition in which it might sustain itself, much more support its allies: that after the minds of his subjects were composed to tranquillity, and accustomed to obedience, after his finances were brought into order, and after agriculture and the arts were restored, France, instead of being a burden, as at present, to her confederates, would be able to lend them effectual succour, and amply to repay them all the assistance which she had received during her calamities: and that, if the ambition of Spain would not at present grant them such terms as they should think reasonable, he hoped that in a little time he should attain such a situation as would enable him to mediate more effectually, and with more decisive authority, in their behalf.

The ambassadors were sensible that these reasons were not feigned; and they therefore remonstrated with the less vehemence against the measures which they saw Henry was determined to pursue. The States knew that that monarch was interested never to permit their final ruin; and having received private assurances that he would still, notwithstanding the peace, give them assistance both of men and money, they were well pleased to remain on terms of amity with him. His greatest concern was to give satisfaction to Elizabeth for this breach of treaty. He had a cordial esteem for that princess, a sympathy of manners, and a gratitude for the extraordinary favours which he had received from her during his greatest difficulties: and he used every expedient to apologize and atone for that measure which necessity extorted from him. But as Spain refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not negotiate without her ally, Henry found himself obliged to conclude at Vervins a separate peace, by which he recovered possession of all the places seized by Spain during the course of the civil wars, and procured to himself leisure to pursue the domestic settlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and, in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wise government, he raised France from the desolation and misery in which she was involved, to a more flourishing condition than she had ever before enjoyed.

The queen knew that she could also, whenever she pleased, finish the war on equitable terms; and that Philip, having no claims upon her, would be glad to free himself from an enemy who had foiled him in every contest, and who still had it so much in her power to make him feel the weight of her arms. Some of her wisest counsellors, particularly the treasurer, advised her to embrace pacific measures;



and set before her the advantages of tranquillity, security, and frugality, as more considerable than any success which could attend the greatest victories. But this high-spirited princess, though at first adverse to war, seemed now to have attained such an ascendant over the enemy, that she was unwilling to stop the course of her prosperous fortune. She considered that her situation and her past victories had given her entire security against any dangerous invasion; and the war must thenceforth be conducted by sudden enterprises and naval expeditions, in which she possessed an undoubted superiority: that the weak condition of Philip in the Indies, opened to her the view of the most durable advantages; and the yearly return of his treasure by sea afforded a continual prospect of important, though more temporary successes: that, after his peace with France, if she also should consent to an accommodation, he would be able to turn his whole force against the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had surprisingly increased their power by commerce and good government, were still unable, if not supported by their confederates, to maintain war against so potent a monarch: and that, as her defence of that commonwealth was the original ground of the quarrel, it was unsafe as well as dishonourable to abandon its cause, till she had placed it in a state of greater security.

These reasons were frequently inculcated on her by the earl of Essex, whose passion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earnestly desire the continuance of war, from which he expected to reap so much advantage and distinction. The rivalry between this nobleman and Lord Burleigh made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own counsel; but as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendant over the minister. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command equal to his shining qualities, he would have so rivetted himself in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit: but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation; and she instantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry VIII. himself; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton the chancellor, who loved Essex, exhorted him to repair his indiscretion, by proper acknowledgments; and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must ensue from his supporting a contest with his sovereign, and deserting the service of his country: but Essex was deeply stung with the dishonour which he had received; and seemed to think, that an insult which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his sovereign. "If the vilest of all indignities," said he, "is done me, does religion enforce

me to sue for pardon? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of princes, shew no sense of princes' injuries: let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven" (alluding probably to the character and conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety): "As for me," continued he, "I have received wrong, I feel it: my cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can shew in suffering every thing that can or shall be imposed upon me. Your lordship, in the beginning of your letter, makes me a player, and yourself a looker on: and me a player of my own game, so you may see more than I: but give me leave to tell you, that since you do but see, and I do suffer, I must of necessity feel more than you."

The whole letter of Essex is so curious and so spirited, that the reader may not be displeased to read it. "My very good lord: though there is not that man this day living, whom I would sooner make judge of any question that might concern me than yourself, yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly judges: and if any, then surely in this, when the highest judge on earth has imposed on me the heaviest punishment, without a trial or hearing. Since then I must either answer your lordship's argument, or else forsake mine own just defence, I will force mine aching head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontent, which was forced, to be an humorous discontent; and that it was unreasonable, or is of so long continuing, your lordship should rather condole with me than expostulate: natural seasons are expected here below; but violent and unreasonable storms come from above: there is no tempest equal to the passionate indignation of a prince; nor yet at any time so unreasonable as when it lighteth on those that might expect a harvest of their careful and painful labours. He that is once wounded must needs feel smart till his hurt is cured, or the part hurt become senseless: but cure I expect none, her majesty's heart being obdurate against me; and be without sense I cannot, being of flesh and blood. But, say you, I may aim at the end: I do more than aim; for I see an end of all my fortunes, I have set an end to all my desires. In this course do I any thing for my enemies? When I was at court I found them absolute; and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their chariots; or do I leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I could yield them no fruit of my love unto them; and now that I am an hermit they shall bear no envy for their love towards me. Or do I forsake myself, because I do enjoy myself? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or do I ruin mine honour, because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false badge or mark of the shadow of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to the foreign foe, because I reserve myself to encounter with him? Or because I keep my heart from business, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, no, my good lord, I give every one of these considerations its due

weight; and the more I weigh them, the more I find myself justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake my country when it hath most need of me, and fail in that indissoluble duty which I owe to my sovereign; I answer, that if my country had at this time any need of my public service, her majesty, that governeth it, would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my country by two bonds; one public, to discharge carefully and industriously that trust which is committed to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcass which hath been nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed, discharged, and disabled by her majesty: of the other, nothing can free me but death; and therefore no occasion of my performance shall sooner offer itself but I shall meet it half way. The indissoluble duty which I owe to her majesty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I never have, nor never can fail in: the duty of attendance is no indissoluble duty. I owe her majesty the duty of an earl, and of lord-marshal of England. I have been content to do her majesty the service of a clerk; but I can never serve her as a villain or slave. But yet you say I must give way unto the time. So I do; for now that I see the storm come, I have put myself into the harbour. Seneca saith, we must give way to fortune; I know that fortune is both blind and strong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of her way. You say the remedy is not to strive: I neither strive nor seek for remedy. But you say, I must yield and submit; I can neither yield myself to be guilty, nor allow the imputation laid upon me to be just: I owe so much to the author of all truth, as I can never yield truth to be falsehood, nor falsehood to be truth. Have I given cause, you ask; and yet take a scandal when I have done? No; I gave no cause, not so much as Fimbria's complaint against me; for I did *totum telum corpore recipere*: receive the whole sword into my body. I patiently bear all, and sensibly feel all that I then received when this scandal was given me. Nay more, when the vilest of all indignities were done unto me," &c. This noble letter Bacon afterwards, in pleading against Essex, called bold and presumptuous, and derogatory to her majesty.

This spirited letter was shown by Essex to his friends; and they were so imprudent as to disperse copies of it: yet, notwithstanding this additional provocation, the queen's partiality was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favour; and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of Burleigh, his antagonist, which happened about the same time, seemed to insure him constant possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit. Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and by a rare fortune was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute or uncontrolled with the queen, he was still, during the course of near forty years, regarded as her principal minister. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity or good sense to pay assiduous court to her during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne,

to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business: virtues which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high stations, do certainly qualify him best for filling them. Of all the queen's ministers he alone left a considerable fortune to his posterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved by frugality.

The last act of this able minister was the concluding a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being in some measure deserted by the king of France, were glad to preserve the queen's alliance by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now settled at eight hundred thousand pounds; on this sum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thousand pounds a year; and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be extinguished. They engaged also, during the time that England should continue the war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns. They stipulated, that if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight, or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist her with a body of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse; and that in case she undertook any naval armament against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to her's. By this treaty the queen was eased of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Soon after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loss of so wise and faithful a minister, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II., who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, had transferred to his daughter, married to Archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that this princess could have posterity, and as the reversion on failure of her issue was still reserved to the crown of Spain, the States considered this deed only as the change of a name, and they persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms. The other powers also of Europe made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert, as it had done against that of Philip.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

*State of Ireland—Tyrene's Rebellion—Essex sent over to Ireland—His ill Success—Returns to England—Is disgraced—His Intrigues—His Insurrection—His Trial and Execution—French Affairs—Mountjoy's Success in Ireland—Defeat of the Spaniards and Irish—A Parliament—Tyrene's Submission—Queen's Sickness—and Death—and Character*

THOUGH the dominion of the English over Ireland had been seemingly established above four centuries, it may be safely affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal.



The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obedience to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapsed still into their former state of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius among the natives: and though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form, from the internal combination or policy of the Irish.

Most of the English institutions likewise by which that island was governed, were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of, for preserving dominion over its conquered provinces.

The English nation, all on fire for the project of subduing France, a project whose success was the most improbable, and would to them have proved the most pernicious; neglected all other enterprises, to which their situation so strongly invited them, and which in time would have brought them an accession of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army which they maintained in Ireland, they never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: want of security among the Irish introducing despair, nourished still more the sloth natural to that uncultivated people.

But the English carried further their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous.

As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, instilling soldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly conquerors: the power of peace and war was assumed: military law was exercised over the Irish, whom they subdued; and by degrees over the English, by whose assistance they conquered: and, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Irish, and abandoned the pure language, manners, and laws of their mother country.

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependent state remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk, before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome. Even at the end

of the sixteenth century, when every christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of barbarians.

As the rudeness and ignorance of the Irish were extreme, they were sunk below the reach of that curiosity and love of novelty, by which every other people in Europe had been seized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious disputes, with which they were still so violently agitated. The ancient superstition, the practices and observances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, still maintained an unshaken empire over them; and the example alone of the English was sufficient to render the reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish. The old opposition of manners, laws, and interest, was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the subduing and civilizing of that country seemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

The animosity against the English was carried so far by the Irish, that, in an insurrection raised by two sons of the earl of Clanricarde, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Irish; because they began to conform themselves to English customs, and had embraced a more civilized form of life than had been practised by their ancestors.

The usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand pounds a year: the queen, though with much repining, commonly added twenty thousand more, which she remitted from England: and with this small revenue a body of a thousand men was supported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thousand. No wonder that a force so disproportioned to the object, instead of subduing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to provoke the natives, and to excite those frequent insurrections, which still further inflamed the animosity between the two nations, and increased the disorders to which the Irish were naturally subject.

In 1560, Shan O'Neale, or the great O'Neale, as the Irish called him, because head of that potent clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster; but after some skirmishes he was received into favour upon his submission, and his promise of a more dutiful behaviour for the future. This impunity tempted him to undertake a new insurrection in 1567; but being pushed by Sir Henry Sidney, lord-deputy, he retreated into Clandeboy, and rather than submit to the English, he put himself into the hands of some Scottish islanders who commonly infested those parts by their incursions. The Scots, who retained a quarrel against him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hospitality, and murdered him at a festival to which they had invited him. He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred to the English nation. He is said to have put some of his followers to death because they endeavoured to introduce the use of bread after the English fashion. Though so violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot; and was accustomed after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire that he might allay the flame which he had raised by former excesses. Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who scorned the title

of the earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have restored to him, and who assumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulster. He used also to say, that though the queen was his sovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her seeking.

Sir Henry Sidney was one of the wisest and most active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for several reigns; and he possessed his authority eleven years; during which he struggled with many difficulties, and made some progress in repressing those disorders which had become inveterate among the people. The earl of Desmond, in 1569, gave him disturbance, from the hereditary animosity which prevailed between that nobleman and the earl of Ormond, descended from the only family established in Ireland, that had steadily maintained its loyalty to the English crown. The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France before his designs were ripe for execution. Stukely, another fugitive, found such credit with the Pope, Gregory XIII., that he flattered that pontiff with the prospect of making his nephew Buon Compagno, king of Ireland; and as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquess of Leicester from the new sovereign. He passed next into Spain; and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an instrument in disturbing Elizabeth, he was found to possess too little interest for executing those high promises which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal; and following the fortunes of Don Sebastian, he perished with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

Lord Gray, after some interval, succeeded to the government of Ireland; and in 1579 suppressed a new rebellion of the earl of Desmond, though supported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Bourks followed a few years after; occasioned by the strict and equitable administration of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the chieftains over their vassals. The queen, finding Ireland so burthensome to her, tried several expedients for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. She encouraged the earl of Essex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the subduing and planting of Clandeboy, Fenny, and other territories, part of some late forfeitures; but that enterprise proved unfortunate; and Essex died of a distemper occasioned, as is supposed, by the vexation which he had conceived from his disappointments. A university was founded in Dublin with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants. But the most unhappy expedient employed in the government of Ireland was that made use of in 1585 by Sir John Perrot, at that time lord-deputy: he put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders, by which these parts were much infested. At the same time, the invitations of Philip, joined to their zeal for the catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low Country wars: and thus Ireland being provided with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became formidable to the English, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters.

Hugh O'Neil, nephew to Shan O'Neale, had been

raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all those disorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He was noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty, so common among uncultivated nations; and was also eminent for courage, a virtue which their disorderly course of life requires, and which notwithstanding, being less supported by the principle of honour, is commonly more precarious among them than among a civilized people. Tyrone, actuated by this spirit, secretly fomented the discontents of the Maguires, O'Donnells, O'Rourks, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and professions, he put himself into the hands of Sir William Russel, who, in the year 1594, was sent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and protestation of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was dismissed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain: he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition: and having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

The native Irish were so poor, that their country afforded few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were easily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expense requisite for supporting her armies, the English found much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fastnesses, to which they retreated. These motives rendered Sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, the more willing to hearken to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices, for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation and discontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Black-water, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder's accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopped by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty.

The English council were now sensible, that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporizing arts of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchase pardons by resigning part of the plunder acquired during their insurrection, served only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them. It was therefore resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, as a



man who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed, she thought, with talents equal to the undertaking. But the young earl of Essex, ambitious of fame, and desirous of obtaining this government for himself, opposed the choice of Mountjoy; and represented the necessity of appointing for that important employment some person more experienced in war than this nobleman, more practised in business, and of higher quality and reputation. By this description, he was understood to mean himself: and no sooner was his desire known, than his enemies, even more zealously than his friends, conspired to gratify his wishes. Many of his friends thought that he never ought to consent, except for a short time, to accept of any employment which must remove him from court, and prevent him from cultivating that personal inclination which the queen so visibly bore him. His enemies hoped, that if by his absence she had once leisure to forget the charms of his person and conversation, his impatient and lofty demeanour would soon disgust a princess who usually exacted such profound submission and implicit obedience from all her servants. But Essex was incapable of entering into such cautious views; and even Elizabeth, who was extremely desirous of subduing the Irish rebels, and who was much prepossessed in favour of Essex's genius, readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of lieutenant. The more to encourage him in his undertaking, she granted him by his patent more extensive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finishing the war as he pleased, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the most considerable employments of the kingdom. And to ensure him success, she levied a numerous army of sixteen thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, which she afterwards augmented to twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse: a force which, it was apprehended, would be able in one campaign to overwhelm the rebels, and make an entire conquest of Ireland. Nor did Essex's enemies, the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Lord Cobham, throw any obstacles in the way of these preparations; but hoped that the higher the queen's expectations of success were raised, the more difficult it would be for the event to correspond to them. In a like view, they rather seconded than opposed those exalted encomiums, which Essex's numerous and sanguine friends dispersed, of his high genius, of his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generosity, and his noble birth; nor were they displeased to observe that passionate fondness which the people every where expressed for this nobleman. These artful politicians had studied his character; and finding that his open and undaunted spirit, if taught temper and reserve from opposition, must become invincible, they resolved rather to give full breath to those sails which were already too much expanded, and to push him upon dangers of which he seemed to make such small account. And the better to make advantage of his insensations, spies were set upon all his actions and even expressions; and his vehement spirit, which, while he was in the midst of the court and courtiers, was unacquainted with disguise, could not fail, after he thought himself surrounded by none but friends, to give a pretence for malignant suspicions and constructions.

Essex left London in the month of March (1599), attended with the acclamations of the populace; and

what did him more honour, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from affection to his person, had attached themselves to his fortunes, and sought fame and military experience under so renowned a commander. The first act of authority which he exercised after his arrival in Ireland, was an indiscretion, but of the generous kind; and in both these respects suitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the Earl Southampton, general of the horse; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's displeasure, by secretly marrying without her consent, and whom she had therefore enjoined Essex not to employ in any command under him. She no sooner heard of this instance of disobedience than she reprimanded him, and ordered him to recall his commission to Southampton. But Essex, who had imagined that some reasons which he opposed to her first injunctions had satisfied her, had the imprudence to remonstrate against these second orders; and it was not till she reiterated her commands, that he could be prevailed on to displace his friend.

Essex, on his landing in Dublin, deliberated with the Irish council concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war against the rebels; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprise. He had always while in England blamed the conduct of former commanders, who artfully protracted the war, who harassed their troops in small enterprises, and who, by agreeing to truces and temporary pacifications with the rebels, had given them leisure to recruit their broken forces. In conformity to these views, he had ever insisted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his instructions had been drawn agreeably to these his declared resolutions. But the Irish counsellors persuaded him that the season was too early for the enterprise, and that as the morasses in which the northern Irish usually sheltered themselves, would not as yet be passable to the English forces, it would be better to employ the present time in an expedition into Munster. Their secret reason for this advice was, that many of them possessed estates in that province, and were desirous to have the enemy dislodged from their neighbourhood: but the same selfish spirit which had induced them to give this counsel, made them soon after disown it when they found the bad consequences with which it was attended.

Essex obliged all the rebels of Munster either to submit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces: but as the Irish, from the greatness of the queen's preparations, had concluded that she intended to reduce them to total subjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they considered their defence as a common cause; and the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become sickly; and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, was surprisingly diminished in number. The courage of the soldiers was even much abated: for though they had prevailed in some lesser enterprises against Lord Cahir and others; yet had they sometimes met with more stout resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they were wont to despise: and as they were raw troops and inexperienced, a considerable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins, by an inferior number of the enemy. Essex was so enraged at this misbe-

haviour, that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the private men. But this act of severity, though necessary, had intimidated the soldiers, and increased their aversion to the service.

The queen was extremely disgusted when she heard that so considerable a part of the season was consumed in these frivolous enterprises; and was still more surprised that Essex persevered in the same practice which he had so much condemned in others, and which he knew to be so much contrary to her purpose and intention. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leisure to recruit from their sickness and fatigue, left the main army in quarters, and marched with a small body of fifteen hundred men into the county of Ophelie against the O'Connors and O'Mores, whom he forced to a submission: but on his return to Dublin, he found the army so much diminished, that he wrote to the English council an account of its condition, and informed them, that if he did not immediately receive a reinforcement of two thousand men, it would be impossible for him this season to attempt any thing against Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for further inactivity, the queen immediately sent over the number demanded; and Essex began at last to assemble his forces for the expedition into Ulster. The army was so averse to this enterprise, and so terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, many of them deserted; and Essex found, that after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could scarcely lead four thousand (Lingard says three thousand) men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army; but was soon sensible, that in so advanced a season it would be impossible for him to effect any thing against an enemy who, though superior in number, was determined to avoid every decisive action. He hearkened, therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a place near the two camps was appointed for that purpose. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle; but Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great submission to the lord-lieutenant, a cessation of arms was concluded to the first of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions: and there appeared afterwards some reason to suspect that he had here commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy.

The most important of these propositions were, according to Lingard, "That the catholic worship should be tolerated; that the chief governor should be an earl with the title of viceroy; that the principal officers of state and the judges should be natives; that the O'Nial, O'Donnell, Desmond, and their associates should enjoy the lands possessed by their ancestors for the last two hundred years; and that one half of the army in Ireland should consist of natives."

So unexpected an issue of an enterprise, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex; and this disgust was much augmented by other circumstances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council, full of peevish and imputative expressions; complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies should be

believed against him, and discovering symptoms of a mind equally haughty and discontented. She took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction; but commanded him to remain in Ireland till further orders.

Essex heard at once of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, Sir Robert Cecil, to the office of master of the wards, an office to which he himself aspired: and dreading that, if he remained any longer absent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he hastily embraced a resolution which, he knew, had once succeeded with the earl of Leicester, the former favourite of Elizabeth. Leicester, being informed while in the Low Countries that his mistress was extremely displeased with his conduct, disobeyed her orders by coming over to England; and having pacified her by his presence, by his apologies, and by his flattery and insinuation, disappointed all the expectations of his enemies. Essex, therefore, weighing more the similarity of circumstances than the difference of character between himself and Leicester, immediately set out for England; and making speedy journeys, he arrived at court before any one was in the least apprised of his intentions. Though besmeared with dirt and sweat, he hastened up stairs to the presence-chamber, thence to the privy-chamber; nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and had some private conference with her; where he was so graciously received that, on his departure, he was heard to express great satisfaction, and to thank God that though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home.

But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the result of her surprise, and of the momentary satisfaction which she felt on the sudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite: after she had leisure for recollection, all his faults recurred to her; and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty imperious spirit, who, presuming on her partiality, had pretended to domineer in her counsels, to engross all her favour, and to act, in the most important affairs, without regard to her orders and instructions. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him: she ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his answers were calm and submissive, she committed him to the custody of Lord-keeper Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company, even from that of his countess, nor was so much as the intercourse of letters permitted between them. Essex dropped many expressions of humiliation and sorrow, none of resentment: he professed an entire submission to the queen's will: declared his intention of retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and business; but though he affected to be so entirely cured of his aspiring ambition, the vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty spirit, and he fell into a distemper which seemed to put his life in danger.

Lingard, in narrating these transactions, gives the following description of Elizabeth's state of mind:—"When I came into her presence," says John Harrington, "she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage and, I remember, caught at my girdle when I



kneeled to her and swore "by G—d's son I am no queen. That man is above me who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business."—She bid me go home, I did not stay to be bidden twice. If all the Irish rebels had been at my heels, I should not have made better speed."

The queen had always declared to all the world, and even to the earl himself, that the purpose of her severity was to correct, not to ruin him; and when she heard of his sickness, she was not a little alarmed with his situation. She ordered eight physicians of the best reputation and experience to consult of his case; and being informed that the issue was much to be apprehended, she sent Dr. James to him with some broth, and desired that physician to deliver him a message, which she probably deemed of still greater virtue; that if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit. The bystanders, who carefully observed her countenance, remarked that in pronouncing these words, her eyes were suffused with tears.

When the symptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Essex were known, they gave a sensible alarm to the faction which had declared their opposition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the most violent as well as the most ambitious of his enemies, was so affected with the appearance of this sudden revolution, that he was seized with sickness in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the same salve to his wound, and to send him a favourable message, expressing her desire of his recovery.

The medicine which the queen administered to these aspiring rivals was successful with both; and Essex, being now allowed the company of his countess, and having entertained more promising hopes of his future fortunes, was so much restored in his health, as to be thought past danger. A belief was instilled into Elizabeth, that his distemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to move her compassion; and she relapsed into her former rigour against him. He wrote her a letter, and sent her a rich present on New-Year's day; as was usual with the courtiers at that time: she read the letter, but rejected the present. After some interval, however, of severity, she allowed him to retire to his own house: and though he remained still under custody, and was sequestered from all company, he was so grateful for this mark of lenity, that he sent her a letter of thanks on the occasion. "This farther degree of goodness," said he, "doth sound in my ears as if your majesty spake these words, *Die not, Essex; for though I punish thine offence, and humble thee for thy guilt, yet will I one day be served again by thee.* My prostrate soul makes this answer: *I hope for that blessed day.* And in expectation of it, all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully borne by me." The countess of Essex, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, possessed, as well as her husband, a refined taste in literature; and the chief consolation which Essex enjoyed during this period of anxiety and expectation, consisted in her company, and in reading with her those instructive and entertaining authors, which even during the time of his greatest prosperity he had never entirely neglected.

There were several incidents which kept alive the queen's anger against Essex. Every account which she received from Ireland, convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, and of the insignificant purposes to which he

had employed so much force and treasure. Tyrone, so far from being quelled, had thought proper, in less than three months, to break the truce; and joining with O'Donnel, and other rebels, had overrun almost the whole kingdom. He boasted that he was certain of receiving a supply of men, money, and arms from Spain: he pretended to be champion of the catholic religion; and he openly exulted in the present of a phoenix plume, which the Pope, Clement VIII., in order to encourage him in the prosecution of so good a cause, had consecrated, and had conferred upon him. The queen, that she might check his progress, returned to her former intention of appointing Mountjoy lord-deputy; and though that nobleman, who was an intimate friend of Essex, and desired his return to the government of Ireland, did at first very earnestly excuse himself, on account of his bad state of health, she obliged him to accept of the employment. Mountjoy found the island almost in a desperate condition; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was so little discouraged, that he immediately advanced against Tyrone in Ulster. He penetrated into the heart of that country, the chief seat of the rebels: he fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to bridle the Irish: he chased them from the field, and obliged them to take shelter in the woods and morasses: he employed, with equal success, Sir George Carew in Munster: and by these promising enterprises, he gave new life to the queen's authority in that island.

As the comparison of Mountjoy's administration with that of Essex contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite, she received additional disgust from the partiality of the people, who, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's merit, complained of the injustice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Libels were secretly dispersed against Cecil and Raleigh, and all his enemies: and his popularity, which was always great, seemed rather to be increased than diminished by his misfortunes. Elizabeth, in order to justify to the public her conduct with regard to him, had often expressed her intentions of having him tried in the Star-chamber for his offences: but her tenderness for him prevailed at last over her severity; and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy-council. The attorney-general, Coke, opened the cause against him, and treated him with the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer usually exercised against the unfortunate. He displayed in the strongest colours, all the faults committed by Essex in his administration of Ireland: his making Southampton general of the horse, contrary to the queen's injunctions; his deserting the enterprise against Tyrone, and marching to Leinster and Munster; his conferring knighthood on too many persons; his secret conference with Tyrone; and his sudden return from Ireland, in contempt of her majesty's commands. He also exaggerated the indignity of the conditions which Tyrone had been allowed to propose; odious and abominable conditions, said he; a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himself and every traitor in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all of them. The solicitor-general, Fleming, insisted upon the wretched situation in which the earl had left that kingdom; and Francis, son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the present reign, closed the charge with displaying the undutiful expressions contained in some letters written by the earl.

Essex, when he came to plead in his own defence,

renounced, with great submission and humility, all pretensions to an apology; and declared his resolution never, on this or any other occasion, to have any contest with his sovereign. He said, that, having severed himself from the world, and abjured all sentiments of ambition, he had no scruple to confess every failing or error, into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him; that this inward sorrow for his offences against her majesty was so profound, that it exceeded all his outward crosses and afflictions, nor had he any scruple of submitting to a public confession of whatever she had been pleased to impute to him; that in his acknowledgments he retained only one reserve, which he never would relinquish but with his life, the assertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earnest desire ever to perform to her majesty the best service which his poor abilities would permit; and that if this sentiment were allowed by the council, he willingly acquiesced in any condemnation or sentence which they could pronounce against him. This submission was uttered with so much eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience. All the privy-councillors, in giving their judgment, made no scruple of doing the earl justice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. And the sentence pronounced by the lord-keeper (to which the council assented) was in these words: "If this cause," said he, "had been heard in the Star-chamber, my sentence must have been for as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual confinement in that prison which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower. But since we are now in another place, and in a course of favour, my censure is, that the earl of Essex is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor that of earl-marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it shall please her majesty to release this and all the rest of his sentence." The earl of Cumberland made a slight opposition to this sentence; and said, that if he thought it would stand he would have required a little more time to deliberate; that he deemed it somewhat severe; and that any commander-in-chief might easily incur a like penalty. "But, however," added he, "in confidence of her majesty's mercy, I agree with the rest." The earl of Worcester delivered his opinion in a couple of Latin verses; importing, that where the gods are offended, even misfortunes ought to be imputed as crimes, and that accident is no excuse for transgressions against the Divinity.

Bacon, so much distinguished afterwards by his high offices, and still more by his profound genius for the sciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to Lord Burleigh, and cousin-german to the secretary; but notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, he had met with so little protection from his powerful relations, that he had not yet obtained any preferment in the law, which was his profession. But Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon; had zealously attempted, though without success, to procure him the office of solicitor-general; and in order to comfort his friend under the disappointment, had conferred on him a present of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds. The public could ill excuse Bacon's appearance before the council against

so munificent a benefactor; though he acted in obedience to the queen's commands: but she was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she imposed on him a new task, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to satisfy the public of the justice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, who wanted firmness of character more than humanity, gave to the whole transaction the most favourable turn for Essex; and, in particular, pointed out, in elaborate expression, the dutiful submission which that nobleman discovered in the defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, she smiled at that passage, and observed to Bacon, that old love, she saw, could not easily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped she meant that of herself.

All the world indeed expected that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit; perhaps, as is usual in reconciliations founded on inclination, would acquire an additional ascendancy over the queen, and after all his disgraces would again appear more a favourite than ever. They were confirmed in this hope when they saw that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court, he was continued in his office of master of horse, and was restored to his liberty, and that all his friends had access to him. Essex himself seemed determined to persevere in that conduct which had hitherto been so successful, and which the queen, by all this discipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him: he wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness, till she deigned to admit him to that presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment: and that he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field; let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven; till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." The queen was much pleased with these sentiments, and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting she should now make some experiment of his submission; that her father would never have pardoned so much obstinacy; but that, if the furnace of affliction produced such good effects, she should ever after have the better opinion of her chemistry.

The earl of Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he considered this event as the critical circumstance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinstated in credit and authority. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper somewhat haughty and severe; and being continually surrounded with Essex's enemies, means were found to persuade her, that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued, and that he must undergo this further trial, before he could again be safely received into favour. She therefore denied his request; and even added, in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable horse must be stinted in his provender.

This rigour, pushed one step too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the source of infinite sorrow and vexation to the queen herself. Essex, who had with great difficulty so long subdued his proud spirit, and whose patience



was now exhausted, imagining that the queen was entirely inexorable, burst at once all restraints of submission and of prudence, and determined to seek relief, by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies. Even during his greatest favour he had ever been accustomed to carry matters with a high hand towards his sovereign; and as this practice gratified his own temper, and was sometimes successful, he had imprudently imagined that it was the only proper method of managing her. But being now reduced to despair, he gave entire reins to his violent disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already possessed, he practised anew every art of popularity; and endeavoured to increase the general good-will by a hospitable manner of life, little suited to his situation and circumstances. His former employments had given him great connexions with men of the military profession; and he now entertained, by additional caresses and civilities, a friendship with all desperate adventurers, whose attachment he hoped might, in his present views, prove serviceable to him. He secretly courted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief trust lay in the puritans, whom he openly caressed, and whose manners he seemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the most celebrated preachers of that sect to resort to Essex-house; he had daily prayers and sermons in his family; and he invited all the zealots in London to attend those pious exercises. Such was the disposition now beginning to prevail among the English, that, instead of feasting and public spectacles, the methods anciently practised to gain the populace, nothing so effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public, as these fanatical entertainments. And as the puritanical preachers frequently inculcated in their sermons the doctrine of resistance to the civil magistrate, they prepared the minds of their hearers for those seditious projects which Essex was secretly meditating.

But the greatest imprudence of this nobleman proceeded from the openness of his temper, by which he was ill qualified to succeed in such difficult and dangerous enterprises. He indulged himself in great liberties of speech, and was even heard to say of the queen, that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body. Some court-ladies, whose favours Essex had formerly neglected, carried her these stories, and incensed her to a high degree against him. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and though she was now approaching to her seventieth year, she allowed her courtiers and even foreign ambassadors, to compliment her upon her beauty; nor had all her good sense been able to cure her of this preposterous vanity.

There was also an expedient employed by Essex, which, if possible, was more provoking to the queen than those sarcasms on her age and deformity; and that was, his secret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and successor. That prince had this year very narrowly escaped a dangerous, though ill-formed, conspiracy of the earl of Gowry; and even his deliverance was attended with this disagreeable circumstance, that the obstinate ecclesiastics persisted, in spite of the most incontestible evidence, to maintain to his face, that there had been no such conspiracy. James, harassed by his turbulent and factious subjects, cast a wishful eye to the succession of England; and, in proportion as the queen advanced in years, his desire increased of mounting

that throne, on which, besides acquiring a great addition of power and splendour, he hoped to govern a people so much more tractable and submissive. He negotiated with all the courts of Europe, in order to ensure himself friends and partisans: he even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and though he engaged himself in no positive promise, he flattered the catholics with hopes that, in the event of his succession, they might expect some more liberty than was at present indulged them. Elizabeth was the only sovereign in Europe to whom he never dared to mention his right of succession: he knew that, though her advanced age might now invite her to think of fixing an heir to the crown, she never could bear the prospect of her own death without horror, and was determined still to retain him, and all other competitors, in an entire dependence upon her.

Essex was descended by females from the royal family; and some of his sanguine partisans had been so imprudent as to mention his name among those of other pretenders to the crown; but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lee, whom he secretly sent into Scotland, to assure James, that so far from entertaining such ambitious views, he was determined to use every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of that monarch's right of succession. James willingly hearkened to this proposal; but did not approve of the violent methods which Essex intended to employ. Essex had communicated his scheme to Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland; and as no man ever commanded more the cordial affection and attachment of his friends, he had even engaged a person of that virtue and prudence to entertain thoughts of bringing over part of his army into England, and of forcing the queen to declare the king of Scots her successor. And such was Essex's impatient ardour, that, though James declined this dangerous expedient, he still endeavoured to persuade Mountjoy not to desist from the project: but the deputy, who thought that such violence, though it might be prudent, and even justifiable, when supported by a sovereign prince, next heir to the crown, would be rash and criminal, if attempted by subjects, absolutely refused his concurrence. The correspondence, however, between Essex and the court of Scotland was still conducted with great secrecy and cordiality; and that nobleman, besides conciliating the favour of James, represented all his own adversaries as enemies to that prince's succession, and as men entirely devoted to the interests of Spain, and partisans of the chimerical title of the Infanta.

The Infanta and the Archduke Albert had made some advances to the queen for peace; and Boulogne, as a neutral town, was chosen for the place of conference. Sir Henry Nevil, the English resident in France, Herbert, Edmondes, and Beale, were sent thither as ambassadors from England; and negotiated with Zunigo, Carrillo, Richardot, and Verbeiken, ministers of Spain, and the archduke: but the conferences were soon broken off by disputes with regard to the ceremonial. Among the European states England had ever been allowed the precedence above Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and the other kingdoms of which the Spanish monarchy was composed; and Elizabeth insisted that this ancient right was not lost on account of the junction of these states, and that that monarchy in its present situation, though it surpassed the English in extent as well as in power, could not be compared with it in point of antiquity, the only durable and

regular foundation of precedence among kingdoms as well as noble families. That she might show, however, a pacific disposition, she was content to yield to an equality; but the Spanish ministers, as their nation had always disputed precedence even with France, to which England yielded, would proceed no further in the conference, till their superiority of rank were acknowledged. During the preparations for this abortive negotiation the earl of Nottingham, the admiral, Lord Buckhurst, treasurer, and Secretary Cecil, had discovered their inclination to peace; but as the English nation, flushed with success, and sanguine in their hopes of plunder and conquest, were in general averse to that measure, it was easy for a person so popular as Essex to infuse into the multitude an opinion, that these ministers had sacrificed the interests of their country to Spain, and would even make no scruple of receiving a sovereign from that hostile nation.

But Essex, not content with these arts for decrying his adversaries, proceeded to concert more violent methods of ruining them; chiefly instigated by Cuffe, his secretary, a man of a bold and arrogant spirit, who had acquired a great ascendancy over his patron. A select council of malcontents was formed, who commonly met at Drury-house, the residence of the earl of Southampton, who was one of the party: the other chief conspirators were Sir Charles Davers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Essex, who boasted that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note at his devotion, and who trusted still more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his associates those secret designs with which his confidence in so powerful a party had inspired him. Among other criminal projects, the result of blind rage and despair, he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms; and asked their opinion whether he had best begin with seizing the palace or the Tower, or set out with making himself master at once of both places. The first enterprise being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was agreed that Sir Christopher Blount, with a choice detachment, should possess himself of the palace-gates; that Davies should seize the hall, Davers the guard-chamber and presence-chamber; and that Essex should rush in from the Meuse, attended by a body of his partisans; should entreat the queen, with all demonstrations of humility, to remove his enemies; should oblige her to assemble a parliament; and should with common consent settle a new plan of government.

While these desperate projects were in agitation, many reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen; and she sent Robert Sackville, son of the treasurer, to Essex-house, on pretence of a visit, but in reality with a view of discovering whether there were in that place any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations which might threaten an insurrection. Soon after Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house; and while he was musing on this circumstance, and comparing it with the late unexpected visit from Sackville, a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He concluded that all his conspiracy was discovered, at least suspected; and that the easiest punishment which he had reason to apprehend, was a new and more severe confinement: he therefore excused himself to the council on pretence of an indisposition and he immediately dispatched mes-

sages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. They deliberated, whether they should abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or instantly seize the palace with the force which they could assemble; or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known to have a great attachment to the earl. Essex declared against the first expedient, and professed himself determined to undergo any fate rather than submit to live the life of a fugitive. To seize the palace seemed impracticable, without more preparations; especially as the queen seemed now aware of their projects, and, as they heard, had used the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of betaking themselves to the city; and, while the prudence and feasibility of this resolution was under debate, a person arrived, who, as if he had received a commission for the purpose, gave them assurance of the affections of the Londoners, and affirmed, that they might securely rest any project on that foundation. The popularity of Essex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined, that with no other assistance than the goodwill of the multitude, he might overturn Elizabeth's government, confirmed by time, revered for wisdom, supported by vigour, and concurring with the general sentiments of the nation. The wild project of raising the city was immediately resolved on; the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emissaries were dispatched to all Essex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and entreating their presence and assistance.

Lingard's account of this transaction puts all the occurrences so much more vividly before one's eye, than Hume's, that we here substitute his narration.

"From the execution of this project, he was diverted by an unexpected arrival. A little before ten (Monday, Feb. 8, 1601) he was told that Egerton, the lord-keeper, the earl of Worcester, Knollys, the comptroller of the household, and the lord chief justice, stood at the gate demanding admission. He gave orders that they should be introduced through the wicket, but that all their attendants, with the exception of the purse-bearer, should be excluded. Egerton demanded the cause of this tumultuary meeting; to whom Essex, raising his voice, replied, 'There is a plot laid for my life: letters have been counterfeited in my name; and assassins have been appointed to murder me in my bed. We are met to defend our lives; since my enemies cannot be satisfied unless they suck my blood.' 'If such be the case,' said Popham, 'let it be proved; we will relate it fairly; and the queen will do impartial justice.' At the mention of impartial justice, the earl of Southampton complained of the assault made upon him by the Lord Grey; but was told that the guilty party had suffered imprisonment for the offence.\* Egerton desired Essex to explain his grievances in private: when several voices exclaimed, 'They abuse you, my lord, they are undoing you. You lose your time.' Egerton, turning round and putting on his cap, commanded in the queen's name, every man to lay aside his arms and to depart. But Essex immediately entered the

\* In Ireland, Southampton had put Grey under arrest for one night, because he had charged the enemy without orders. This had occasioned several challenges, which had been defeated by the queen's vigilance. On the 28th of January, Grey assaulted Southampton in the street, and was committed to prison for the offence.



house: the lords followed; and the crowd shouted. 'Kill them, keep them for pledges, throw the great seal out of the window.' Having passed through two rooms, guarded by musketeers, they were introduced into a back parlour; when the earl desiring them to have patience for half an hour, ordered the door to be bolted; and intrusted his prisoners to the care of Sir John Davis, Francis Tresham, and Arden Salisbury.

"Returning to the court, Essex drew his sword, rushed into the street, and was followed by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the Lords Sands and Mounteagle, and about eighty knights and gentlemen; to whom were afterwards added, through friendship or fear, the earl of Bedford, the Lord Cromwell, and about two hundred others. At Ludgate he prevailed on the guard to let him pass, protesting that his object was to save his life from the violence of Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and their accomplices. But he found the streets empty: there was no meeting at St. Paul's-cross; and the citizens, in consequence of orders from the lord mayor, remained quiet within their houses. The earl proceeded shouting, 'For the queen, my mistress!' till he arrived at the residence of Smith, one of the sheriffs, and, as he believed, his devoted partisan. But Smith was not to be found; his absence convinced the unfortunate nobleman of the failure of his plan; and, unable to conceal his agitation, he retired to a private room, to compose his spirits.

"At court the earl possessed so many friends, that the ministers knew not whom to trust. By their orders the guards were mustered; the gates of the palace were closed and fortified; and every passage in the neighbourhood was obstructed with chains and carriages. The queen alone had the boldness to talk of going in search of the insurgents. Not one of them would dare to meet a single glance of her eye: they would flee at the very notice of her approach. About two in the afternoon, Lord Burleigh with a herald, and the earl of Cumberland with Sir Thomas Gerard, ventured to enter the city in different quarters, and proclaimed Essex a traitor, offering a reward of 1000*l.* for his apprehension, and a full pardon to such of his associates as should immediately return to their duty. The earl had by this time left the house of Sheriff Smith, with blasted hopes and diminished numbers. Lord Burleigh retreated before him; but he was repulsed by the guard at Ludgate, and, returning to Queenhithe, proceeded by water, with fifty companions, to Essex-house. Here his disappointment was converted into despair. The imprisoned lords, whom he had considered as hostages for his own safety, were gone. They had been liberated by the command of his confidant Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who sought by this service to purchase his own pardon. As a last resource he began to fortify the house: in a few minutes it was surrounded by the royalists under the lord-admiral. A parley ensued between Sir Robert Salisbury in the garden, and Essex and Southampton on the roof. The demands of the earls were refused; but a respite of two hours was granted, that the ladies and their female attendants might retire: and about six, when the battering train had arrived from the Tower, the summons was repeated. Lord Sands proposed a desperate sally: they would either cut their way through the enemy, or die, as brave men ought to die, with their swords in their hands. But Essex, who still cherished a hope of life, consented to surrender on the promise of a fair

trial. That night the chief of the prisoners were lodged in Lambeth-palace: the next morning they were conveyed to the Tower.

"The preceding evening Thomas Lee, a soldier of fortune, had offered his services to Sir Robert Cecil: four days later he was heard to say, that if the friends of Essex meant to save him from the block, they should petition for his pardon in a body, and refuse to depart till it had been granted. Sir Robert Cross communicated this remark to the secretary: orders were issued for the apprehension of Lee; and the pursuivants discovered him the same evening, in the crowd at the door of the presence-chamber, during the queen's supper. In the morning he was arraigned on a charge of intending to murder the sovereign; and the next day suffered the death of a traitor. No man, who will read the report of his trial, can entertain a doubt of his innocence. But his conviction produced this effect, it persuaded the queen that her safety was incompatible with the life of Essex.

"In a few days the two earls were arraigned before the Lord Buckhurst, as lord steward, and twenty-five other peers. Essex, looking round from the bar, observed that he saw among the lords several who were known to be his personal enemies. These he should challenge; it was the privilege of the lowest subject in the land; it could not be refused to one belonging to the first order of the state. The judges were consulted, who replied, that the law had drawn a broad distinction between peers and jurors. The former gave their verdict on their honour; and, as they could not be sworn, so neither could they be challenged.

"The peers were the earls of Oxford, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Derby, Worcester, Cumberland, Sussex, Hertford, and Lincoln; the Viscount Bindon; the Lords Hunston, Delaware, Morley, Cobham, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Windsor, Rich, Darcy, Chandos, St. John of Bletso, Burleigh, Compton, and Howard of Walden.

"The indictment charged the prisoners with having imagined the deposition and the death of the queen. It was supported with great vehemence by the crown-lawyers, Yelverton, Coke, and Bacon, who drew their arguments from the open and acknowledged facts, that Essex and Southampton had imprisoned the four counsellors, had entered the city in arms, had called on the inhabitants to rise, had refused to disperse at the royal command, intimidated by a herald-at-arms, had assaulted the military force posted at Ludgate, and had fortified and kept Essex-house against the army under the command of the earl of Nottingham. Essex replied that he did not speak to preserve his life—it was not worth the preserving—but he stood there to preserve his honour. He had never entertained a thought of injuring the queen; nor were the acts assigned any proof of such an intention. If he had taken up arms, and had invoked the aid of the citizens, he could justly plead that it was done through necessity. The Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh sought to take his life: that the queen's authority afforded little protection, had been shown by the late atrocious assault, committed in the open street by the Lord Grey on the earl of Southampton; and in such circumstances he could conceive no other means of safety than to repel force by the employment of force.

"In refutation of this plea, it was urged that at Drury-house the conspirators had proposed to seize the person of the queen, and to compel her to govern

according to the pleasure of Essex; that the irruption into the city was the result of that project; and that this fact would be proved to the satisfaction of every impartial man, by the evidence of some, and the confessions of others among the conspirators.

"At the mention of Drury-house, the earl betrayed symptoms of agitation. He had carefully destroyed every suspicious paper, and rested with entire confidence on the secrecy of his associates. However, he soon recovered himself; and when Sir Ferdinando Gorges appeared as a witness, examined him sharply, extorted from him an acknowledgment that no injury was intended to the queen, and inferred from his manner and hesitation that he had been tampered with in the Tower, and was, therefore, unworthy of credit. In conclusion he observed that, whether the consultations at Drury-house were criminal or not, was a question which did not concern him: they were held by other persons; he had never been present.

"Southampton adopted a different line of defence. He maintained that, though many projects had been mentioned in these meetings, nothing had been concluded; that to consult was not to determine; that there was no connexion between the meetings in question, and the attempt to raise the city; that the latter arose entirely from occurrences, which could not have been foreseen, from the information of immediate danger to the life of Essex, and the unexpected arrival of the four counsellors.

"As the trial proceeded, the earl was reproached with having said, that the kingdom was bought and sold. He vindicated the expression on the ground, that Sir Robert Cecil, who ruled as if he were the sovereign, had maintained the right of succession to be in the infants of Spain. Cecil, who was present, but unseen, instantly started from a private box; and, having obtained permission to speak, insisted that the earl should either name the person from whom he received the information, or be content to have his assertion accounted a calumny. Essex refused; but in his anxiety to repel the charge of falsehood, remarked that his fellow-prisoner had heard it, as well as himself. The secretary, turning to Southampton, conjured him by their former friendship, and as he was a Christian man, to name the informer. In this trying moment, Southampton appealed to the court, whether it were consistent with reason or with honour, that he should betray the secret. All replied in the affirmative, and he named Sir Robert Knollys, comptroller of the household, and uncle to Essex.

"While a serjeant-at-arms was dispatched for Knollys, Sir Edward Coke arose, and accused Essex of hypocrisy and irreligion, because, while he pretended to be a protestant, he had promised toleration to Blount, his father-in-law, a known catholic. The earl replied, that the charge was false: that he had always lived, and should die, a protestant; that he had never made any promise of toleration to Blount; but that he did not consider it an essential part of the reformed worship, to put catholics to death on account of their religion.

"When Knollys arrived, he gave a new but unsatisfactory version of his conversation with the two earls. If we may believe him, what he had heard from Cecil, and had repeated to his nephew, was, that the right belonged to the infants, not in the opinion of Cecil, but of Doleman, who had dedicated his book to Essex. The earl shortly replied, that he had understood him in a very different sense. 'Your misunderstanding arose,' exclaimed the se-

cretary, 'from your opposition to peace. It was your ambition that every military man should look up to you as his patron, and hence you sought to represent me and the counsellors, who wished to put an end to the war, as the pensioners of Spain.'

"To certain questions put by the lords, the judges replied, that it was rebellion in a subject to attempt to raise a force, which the sovereign could not resist: and that in every rebellion the law supposed a design against the crown and life of the sovereign, because it became the interest of a successful rebel, that the sovereign should not reign nor live to punish the rebellion. After an hour's deliberation the peers pronounced both the prisoners guilty. Essex observed, that as he should not solicit, so neither should he refuse mercy; that, though the lords had found him guilty according to the letter of the law, he believed that they had acquitted him in their own consciences; and that he hoped they would intercede for the life of his fellow-prisoner, who had offended more through affection for him, than through any other motive. Southampton followed. His only object had been to obtain redress for his friend, whom he believed to have been treated harshly. The law might suppose in him the intention of deposing and killing the queen, but he knew that no such thought had ever suggested itself to his mind. His crime was a crime of ignorance. Yet he submitted to his fate, and threw himself on the mercy of the queen. He had spent the best part of his patrimony, and endangered his life in her service; and if, in pity of his ignorance, she were pleased to make him the object of mercy, he should receive it with humility and gratitude.

"The lord-steward pronounced judgment: the edge of the axe was turned towards the prisoners; and Essex observed, as he left the bar, that his body might have rendered better service to his sovereign: but it would be as she pleased: if his death proved an advantage to her, it was well. He begged that Ashton his favourite minister might attend him; made an apology to the counsellors whom he had confined; and asked pardon of the Lords Morley and Delaware, whose sons, though entirely ignorant of the plot, had been drawn by him into the same danger with himself.

"Essex was followed to the Tower by Dove, dean of Norwich, who exhorted him to make his peace with the Almighty by the confession of his treason. The earl replied, that in what he had done, he had committed no offence against God. He attempted to justify his refusal to appear before the council, by the example of David, who had disobeyed the summons from Saul; and contended that his office of earl-marshal authorized him to reform the abuses in the government. To Dove succeeded Ashton, who, it was believed, had previously received his lesson from the secretary. This divine assumed a bolder and harsher tone. He rejected the earl's protestations of innocence as the sinful evasions of a guilty conscience; and threatened him with the vengeance of an omniscient Judge, unless he should make a full and sincere confession. Whether it was through the fear of death, or the menaces of the preacher, the spirit of Essex was at last subdued. He sent for the lord-keeper, the treasurer, the admiral, and the secretary, solicited their forgiveness, and made an ample avowal of every ambitious and unlawful project which had entered his mind; betrayed the secrets of the men whom he had seduced to aid him with their counsel and exertions; and disclosed the object of the negotiation between him-



self and the king of Scots. His confession filled four sheets of paper: but its accuracy has been doubted; and his associates complained that he had loaded both himself and them with crimes, of which they were not guilty.

"The eyes of the public were now fixed on Elizabeth. Some persons maintained that she had not the heart to put her favourite to death—her affection would infallibly master her resentment; others, that she dared not—revenge might urge him on the scaffold to reveal secrets disreputable to a maiden queen. But his enemies were industrious: and while they affected to remain neutral, clandestinely employed the services of certain females, whose credulity had been formerly deceived by the earl, and whose revenge was gratified by keeping alive the irritation of their mistress. From them she heard tales of his profligacy, his arrogance, and his ingratitude to his benefactress, whom he had pronounced 'an old woman, as crooked in mind as she was in body.' This insult to her 'divine beauty' sunk deeply into her breast, and jointly with his obstinacy in refusing to sue for mercy, steeled her against the apologies, the solicitations, and the tears of his friends. She signed the fatal warrant; but, with her usual indecision, first sent her kinsman, Edward Carey, to forbid, and then the Lord Darcy, to hasten its execution.

"About eight in the morning Essex was led to the scaffold, which had been erected within the court of the Tower. He was attended by three divines, whose words, to use his own expression, had ploughed up his heart. Never did a prisoner behave with greater humility, or manifest a deeper sorrow. He acknowledged his numerous transgressions of the divine law: but when he came to his offence against the queen, he sought in vain for words to express his feelings. He called it 'a great sin, a bloody sin, a crying and infectious sin, for which he begged pardon of God and his sovereign.' Whether he still indulged a hope of pardon, is uncertain: but it was remarked that he never mentioned his wife, or children, or friends; that he took leave of no one, not even of his acquaintances then present, and that, when he knelt down to pray, he betrayed considerable agitation of mind. The first stroke took from him all sense of pain: the third severed his head from the body.

"Thus, at the premature age of thirty-three, perished the gallant and aspiring Essex. At his first introduction to Elizabeth he had to contend against the dislike with which she viewed the son of a woman, who had been her rival, and a successful rival, in the affections of Leicester. If he overcame this prejudice, it was not owing to personal beauty or exterior accomplishments.\* In these respects, if we except the exquisite symmetry of his hands, he was inferior to many gentlemen at court. But there was in him a frankness of disposition, a contempt of all disguise, an impetuosity of feeling, which prompted him to pour out his whole soul in conversation; qualities which captivated the old queen, accustomed as she now was to the cautious and measured language of the politicians around her. She insisted on his constant presence at court, and undertook to form the young mind of her favourite: but the scholar presumed to dispute the lessons of his teacher: and the spirit with which he opposed her chidings, extorted her applause. In every journal his perseverance was victorious: and his

\*"He stooped forward, walked and danced ungracefully; and was slovenly in his dress." Wotton Reliquæ.

vanquished mistress, in atonement for the pain which she had given, loaded him with caresses and favours. Hence he deduced a maxim, which, however it might succeed for a few years, finally brought him to the scaffold; that the queen might be driven, but could not be led; that her obstinacy might be subdued by resistance, though it could not be softened by submission.

"Contrary to the lot of most favourites, he had enjoyed at the same time the affection of the sovereign and of the people. To the latter he was known only by the more dazzling traits in his character, his affability and profusion, his spirit of adventure and thirst of glory, and his constant opposition to the dark and insidious policy of the Cecils. His last offence could not, indeed, be disguised; but it was attributed not so much to his own passions, as the secret agents of his enemies, working upon his open and unsuspecting disposition. To silence these rumours, an account of his treason was published by authority, charging him, on his own confession, and the confessions of his associates, with a design to place himself on the throne. But the charge obtained no credit: and the popularity of the queen, which had long been on the wane, seemed to be buried in the same grave with her favourite. On her appearance in public, she was no longer greeted with the wonted acclamations: her counsellors were received with loud expressions of insult and abhorrence.

"The death of Essex saved the life of Southampton. The ministers, alarmed by these indications of popular feeling, solicited the queen in his favour, and extorted from her a reprieve from the block, though they could not obtain his discharge from the Tower. Cuffe, the secretary, and Merrick, the steward of Essex, suffered the usual punishment of traitors; which was commuted into decapitation in favour of Blount, his step-father, and of Davers, the friend of Southampton. For it was in this ill-advised enterprise, as it had been in the more atrocious conspiracy of Babington, men risked their lives through affection for others. If Southampton adhered to Essex, or Davers to Southampton, it was because they deemed it a duty prescribed by friendship, to live or perish together.

"Sir John Davies, Sir Edward Baynham, and Mr. Lyttleton were also condemned. But the first obtained a pardon after a year's imprisonment; Baynham purchased his with a sum of money to Sir Walter Raleigh; and Lyttleton, having surrendered his estate of 7000*l.* per annum, and paid a fine of 10,000*l.*, was removed from Newgate to the King's-bench, where he died three months afterwards. Sir Henry Neville, the ambassador to the court of France, had been invited to Drury-house before his departure.—If we may believe himself, he only heard some disloyal conversation, which he condemned, and then departed. The confession attributed to Essex makes him more criminal. He was confined in the Tower till the queen's death. Yet Cecil affirmed that the first hint of the plot was received from him."

Hume, although he has omitted much detail, that Lingard gives, has mentioned three circumstances that the latter does not notice. 1. The death of Tracy, a young gentleman, a great friend of Essex; who was killed with two or three of the citizens when he endeavoured to force a passage through the streets to the water-side. 2. The voluntary appearance of Bacon against his former patron, who spoke in aggravation with the usual pedantry of the age; and 3. that Sir Walter Raleigh went to the

Tower on purpose to behold the execution of his illustrious rival. Assertions (the two last) which, however much tending to prove that the loftiest talents are no signs of just feeling, cannot be contradicted.

The king of Scots, apprehensive lest his correspondence with Essex might have been discovered, and have given offence to Elizabeth, sent the earl of Marre and Lord Kinloss as ambassadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen on her escape from the late insurrection and conspiracy. They were also ordered to make secret inquiry whether any measures had been taken by her for excluding him from the succession, as well as to discover the inclinations of the chief nobility and counsellors, in case of the queen's demise. They found the dispositions of men as favourable as they could wish; and they even entered into a correspondence with Secretary Cecil, whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was now uncontrolled, and who was resolved, by this policy, to acquire in time the confidence of the successor. He knew how jealous Elizabeth ever was of her authority, and he therefore carefully concealed from her his attachment to James: but he afterwards asserted, that nothing could be more advantageous to her than this correspondence; because the king of Scots, secure of mounting the throne by his undoubted title, aided by those connexions with the English ministry, was the less likely to give any disturbance to the present sovereign. He also persuaded that prince to remain in quiet, and patiently to expect that time should open to him the inheritance of the crown, without pushing his friends on desperate enterprises, which would totally incapacitate them from serving him. James's equity, as well as his natural facility of disposition, easily inclined him to embrace that resolution; and in this manner the minds of the English were silently but universally disposed to admit, without opposition, the succession of the Scottish line: the death of Essex, by putting an end to faction, had been rather favourable than prejudicial to that great event.

The French king, who was little prepossessed in favour of James, and who, for obvious reasons, was averse to the union of England and Scotland, made his ambassador drop some hints to Cecil of Henry's willingness to concur in any measure for disappointing the hopes of the Scottish monarch; but as Cecil showed an entire disapprobation of such schemes, the court of France took no further steps in that matter; and thus, the only foreign power which could give much disturbance to James's succession, was induced to acquiesce in it. Henry made a journey this summer to Calais; and the queen hearing of his intentions went to Dover, in hopes of having a personal interview with a monarch, whom, of all others, she most loved and most respected. The king of France, who felt the same sentiments towards her, would gladly have accepted of the proposal; but as many difficulties occurred, it appeared necessary to lay aside, by common consent, the project of an interview. Elizabeth, however, wrote successively two letters to Henry, one by Edmond, another by Sir Robert Sydney; in which she expressed a desire of conferring, about a business of importance, with some minister in whom that prince reposed entire confidence. The marquess of Rosni, the king's favourite and prime-minister, came to Dover in disguise; and the memoirs of that able statesman contain a full account of his conference with Elizabeth. This princess had formed

a scheme for establishing, in conjunction with Henry, a new system in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by the erection of new states on the ruins of the house of Austria. She had even the prudence to foresee the perils which might ensue from the aggrandisement of her ally; and she purposed to unite all the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier against the dangerous increase of the French as well as of the Spanish monarchy. Henry had himself long meditated such a project against the Austrian family; and Rosni could not forbear expressing his astonishment, when he found that Elizabeth and his master, though they had never communicated their sentiments on this subject, not only had entered into the same general views, but had also formed the same plan for their execution. The affairs, however, of France were not yet brought to a situation which might enable Henry to begin that great enterprise; and Rosni satisfied the queen, that it would be necessary to postpone for some years their united attack on the house of Austria. He departed, filled with just admiration at the solidity of Elizabeth's judgment, and the greatness of her mind; and he owns, that she was entirely worthy of that high reputation which she enjoyed in Europe.

The queen's magnanimity in forming such extensive projects was the more remarkable, as, besides having fallen so far into the decline of life, the affairs of Ireland, though conducted with abilities and success, were still in disorder, and made a great diversion of her forces. The expense, incurred by this war, lay heavy upon her narrow revenues; and her ministers taking advantage of her disposition to frugality, proposed to her an expedient of saving, which, though she at first disapproved of it, she was at last induced to embrace. It was represented to her, that the great sums of money remitted to Ireland for the pay of the English forces, came, by the necessary course of circulation, into the hands of the rebels, and enabled them to buy abroad all necessary supplies of arms and ammunition, which, from the extreme poverty of that kingdom, and its want of every useful commodity, they could not otherwise find means to purchase. It was therefore recommended to her, that she should pay her forces in base money; and it was asserted, that, besides the great saving to the revenue, this species of coin could never be exported with advantage, and would not pass in any foreign market. Some of her wiser counsellors maintained, that if the pay of the soldiers were raised in proportion, the Irish rebels would necessarily reap the same benefit from the base money, which would always be taken at a rate suitable to its value; if the pay were not raised, there would be danger of a mutiny among the troops, who, whatever names might be affixed to the pieces of metal, would soon find from experience, that they were defrauded in their income. But Elizabeth, though she justly valued herself on fixing the standard of English coin, much debased by her predecessors, and had innovated very little in that delicate article, was seduced by the specious arguments employed by the treasurer on this occasion; and she coined a great quantity of base money, which she made use of in the pay of her forces in Ireland.

Mountjoy, the deputy, had been implicated by the confession of Essex; but Elizabeth found it prudent not to notice it; and he was continued in his authority. He was a man of ability; and foreseeing the danger of mutiny among the troops, led them



instantly into the field, and resolved, by means of strict discipline, and by keeping them employed against the enemy, to obviate those inconveniences which were justly to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortress at Moghery; he drove the Mac-Genises out of Lecade; he harassed Tyrone in Ulster with inroads and lesser expeditions; and by destroying every where, and during all seasons, the provisions of the Irish, he reduced them to perish by famine in the woods and morasses, to which they were obliged to retreat. At the same time, Sir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of troops, took the castle of Derry, and put garrisons into Newton and Ainoagh; and having seized the monastery of Donnegal near Balishannon, he threw troops into it, and defended it against the assaults of O'Donnel and the Irish. Nor was Sir George Carew idle in the province of Munster. He seized the titular earl of Desmond, and sent him over, with Florence Macarty, another chieftain, prisoner to England. He arrested many suspected persons, and took hostages from others. And having got a reinforcement of two thousand men from England, he threw himself into Cork, which he supplied with arms and provisions; and he put every thing in a condition for resisting the Spanish invasion, which was daily expected. The deputy, informed of the danger to which the southern provinces were exposed, left the prosecution of the war against Tyrone, who was reduced to great extremities; and he marched with his army into Munster.

At last the Spaniards, under Don John D'Aquila, arrived at Kinsale; and Sir Richard Piercy, who commanded in the town with a small garrison of a hundred and fifty men, found himself obliged to abandon it on their appearance. These invaders amounted to four thousand men, and the Irish discovered a strong propensity to join them, in order to free themselves from the English government, with which they were extremely discontented. One chief ground of their complaint was the introduction of trials by jury; an institution abhorred by that people, though nothing contributes more to the support of that equity and liberty, for which the English laws are so justly celebrated. The Irish also bore a great favour to the Spaniards, having entertained the opinion that they themselves were descended from that nation; and their attachment to the catholic religion proved a new cause of affection to the invaders. D'Aquila assumed the title of "*general in the holy war for the preservation of the faith in Ireland*;" and he endeavoured to persuade the people that Elizabeth was, by several bulls of the pope, deprived of her crown; that her subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Irish from the dominion of the devil. Mountjoy found it necessary to act with vigour, in order to prevent a total insurrection of the Irish; and having collected *his forces*, he formed the siege of Kinsale by land; while Sir Richard Levison, with a small squadron, blockaded it by sea. He had no sooner begun his operations, than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thousand Spaniards under the command of Alphonso Ocampo, who had taken possession of Baltimore and Berehaven; and he was obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppose their progress. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirel, baron of Kelly, and other chieftains of the Irish, had joined Ocampo with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinsale. The deputy, informed of their design by intercepted letters, made

preparations to receive them; and being reinforced by Levison with six hundred marines, he posted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the passage of the enemy, leaving some cavalry to prevent a sally from D'Aquila and the Spanish garrison. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Irish and Spaniards, approached, he was surprised to find the English so well posted, and ranged in good order; and he immediately sounded a retreat: but the deputy gave orders to pursue him; and having thrown these advanced troops into disorder, he followed them to the main body, whom he also attacked, and put to flight, with the slaughter of twelve hundred men. Ocampo was taken prisoner; Tyrone fled into Ulster; O'Donnel made his escape into Spain; and D'Aquila, finding himself reduced to the greatest difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon such terms as the deputy prescribed to him: he surrendered Kinsale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other successes, gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into dismay, and gave a prospect of the final reduction of Ireland.

The Irish war, though successful, was extremely burthensome to the queen's revenue; and besides the supplies granted by parliament, which were indeed very small, but which they ever regarded as mighty concessions, she had been obliged, notwithstanding her great frugality, to employ other expedients, such as selling the royal demesnes and crown jewels, and exacting loans from the people; in order to support this cause, so essential to the honour and interests of England. The necessity of her affairs obliged her again to summon a parliament; and it here appeared, that, though old age was advancing fast upon her, though she had lost much of her popularity by the unfortunate execution of Essex, insomuch that, when she appeared in public, she was not attended with the usual acclamations, yet the powers of her prerogative, supported by vigour, still remained as high and uncontrollable as ever.

The active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many persons to distinguish themselves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards proportioned to their services, had made use of an expedient which had been employed by her predecessors, but which had never been carried to such an extreme as under her administration. She granted her servants and courtiers, patents for monopolies; and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts. It is astonishing to consider the number and importance of those commodities which were thus assigned over to patentees. Currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf-skins, fells, pouldavies, ox-shin-bones, train-oil, lists of cloth, pot-ashes, aniseeds, vinegar, sea-coals, steel, aqua-vitæ, brushes, pots, bottles, saltpetre, lead, accidence, oil, calamine-stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, transportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spanish wool, of Irish yarn: these are but a part of the commodities which had been appropriated to monopolists. When this list was read in the house, a member cried, "Is not bread in the number?" "Bread!" said every one with astonishment: "Yes, I assure you," replies he, "if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly be

fore next parliament." These monopolists were so exorbitant in their demands, that in some places they raised the price of salt from sixteen-pence a bushel, to fourteen or fifteen shillings. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and in order to secure themselves against encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppress the people at pleasure, and to exact money from such as they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their patent. The patentees of saltpetre having the power of entering into every house, and of committing what havoc they pleased in stables, cellars, or wherever they suspected saltpetre might be gathered; commonly extorted money from those who desired to free themselves from this damage or trouble. And while all domestic intercourse was thus restrained, lest any scope should remain for industry, almost every species of foreign commerce was confined to exclusive companies, who bought and sold at any price that they themselves thought proper to offer or exact.

These grievances, the most intolerable for the present, and the most pernicious in their consequences that ever were known in any age, or under any government, had been mentioned in the last parliament, and a petition had even been presented to the queen complaining of the patents; but she still persisted in defending her monopolists against her people. A bill was now introduced into the lower house, abolishing all these monopolies; and as the former application had been unsuccessful, a law was insisted on as the only certain expedient for correcting these abuses. The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the commons could never hope for success if they did not make application, in the most humble and respectful manner, to the queen's goodness and beneficence. The topics which were advanced in the house, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were admitted by both, will appear the most extraordinary to such as are prepossessed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty possessed under the administration of Elizabeth. It was asserted that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a restraining power; by her prerogative she might set at liberty what was restrained by statute or otherwise, and by her prerogative she might restrain what was otherwise at liberty. That the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed nor disputed nor examined; and did not even admit of any limitation: that absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinity: that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or statutes; since, by means of her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure: and that even if a clause should be annexed to a statute, excluding her dispensing power, she could first dispense with that clause, and then with the statute. After all this discourse, more worthy of a Turkish divan than of an English house of commons, according to our present idea of this assembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to arise, sent for the speaker, and desired him to acquaint the house, that she would immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of these patents.

Such is Hume's account, but we refer to the appendix for a more deliberate view of the state of the constitution at this time.

The house was struck with astonishment, and admiration, and gratitude, at this extraordinary instance of the queen's goodness and condescension. A member said, with tears in his eyes, that if a sentence of everlasting happiness had been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy than that with which he was at present overwhelmed. Another observed, that this message from the sacred person of the queen was a kind of gospel or glad tidings, and ought to be received as such, and be written in the tablets of their hearts. And it was further remarked, that in the same manner as the Deity would not give his glory to another, so the queen herself was the only agent in their present prosperity and happiness. The house voted, That the speaker, with a committee, should ask permission to wait on her majesty, and return thanks to her for her gracious concessions to her people.

When the speaker, with the other members, was introduced to the queen, they all hung themselves on their knees; and remained in that posture a considerable time, till she thought proper to express her desire that they should rise. The speaker displayed the gratitude of the commons; because her sacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her blessed hands ever stretched out to relieve them. They acknowledged, he said, in all duty and thankfulness acknowledged, that before they called, her "preventing grace" and "all-deserving goodness" watched over them for their good; more ready to give than they could desire, much less deserve. He remarked, that the attribute which was most proper to God, to perform all he promiseth, appertaineth also to her; and that she was all truth, all constancy, and all goodness. And he concluded with these expressions, "Neither do we present our thanks in words or any outward sign, which can be no sufficient retribution for so great goodness; but in all duty and thankfulness, prostrate at your feet, we present our most loyal and thankful hearts, even the last drop of blood in our hearts, and the last spirit of breath in our nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your safety." The queen heard very patiently this speech, in which she was flattered in phrases appropriated to the Supreme Being; and she returned an answer full of such expressions of tenderness towards her people, as ought to have appeared fulsome after the late instances of rigour which she had employed, and from which nothing but necessity had made her depart. Thus was this critical affair happily terminated; and Elizabeth, by prudently receding in time, from part of her prerogative, maintained her dignity, and preserved the affections of her people.

The commons granted her a supply quite unprecedented, of four subsidies and eight-fifteenths; and they were so dutiful as to vote this supply before they received any satisfaction in the business of monopolies, which they justly considered as of the utmost importance to the interest and happiness of the nation. Had they attempted to extort that concession by keeping the supply in suspense; so haughty was the queen's disposition, that this appearance of constraint and jealousy had been sufficient to have produced a denial of all their requests, and to have forced her into some acts of authority still more violent and arbitrary.

The remaining events of this reign are neither numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in so much trouble, by fomenting and assisting the Irish rebellion, resolved to give them employment at home;



and she fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under Sir Richard Levison, admiral, and Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, whom she sent on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with part of the squadron, met the galleons loaded with treasure; but was not strong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral also fell in with some rich ships; but they escaped for a like reason: and these two brave officers, that their expedition might not prove entirely fruitless, resolved to attack the small harbour of Sesimbria in Portugal; where they received intelligence, a very rich carrack had taken shelter. The harbour was guarded by a castle: there were eleven galleys stationed in it: and the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on the shore: yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the English squadron broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk, or burnt, or put to flight, the galleys, and obliged the carrack to surrender. They brought her home to England, and she was valued at a million of ducats: a sensible loss to the Spaniards; and a supply still more important to Elizabeth.

The affairs of Ireland, after the defeat of Tyrone and the expulsion of the Spaniards, hastened to a settlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into small parties, and harassed the rebels on every side; he built Charlemont, and many other small forts, which were impregnable to the Irish, and guarded all the important passes of the country: the activity of Sir Henry Docwray and Sir Arthur Chichester permitted no repose or security to the rebels: and many of the chieftains, after skulking, during some time, in woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to impose upon them. Tyrone himself made application by Arthur Mac-Baron, his brother, to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy would not admit him except he made an absolute surrender of his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. He appeared before the deputy at Millefont, in a habit and posture suitable to his present fortune; and after acknowledging his offence in the most humble terms, he was committed to custody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure.

But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event: she had fallen into a profound melancholy; which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable in any degree to alleviate or assuage. Some ascribed this depression of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom she had always resolved to bring to condign punishment for his treasons, but who had made such interest with the ministers, as to extort a remission from her. Others, with more likelihood, accounted for her dejection by a discovery which she had made of the correspondence maintained in her court with her successor the king of Scots, and by the neglect to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, she imagined herself to be exposed. But there is another cause assigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by historians as romantic, but which late discoveries seem to have confirmed: some incidents happened which revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with the deepest sorrow for the consent which she had unwarily given to his execution.

The earl of Essex, after his return from the for-

fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices, which his enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and making him the present of a ring, desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and assured him, that into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet, if he sent her that ring, she would immediately upon the sight of it recall her former tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution. The countess of Nottingham falling into sickness, and affected with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion; she shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her, "That God might pardon her, but she never could," she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy.

Dr. Lingard disregards this story of the ring, and apparently very justly. He says—"Elizabeth had surprised the nations of Europe by the splendour of her course: she was destined to close the evening of her life in gloom and sorrow. The bodily infirmities which she suffered, may have been the consequences of age: her mental afflictions are usually traced by historians to regret for the execution of Essex. That she deeply bewailed his fate, that she accused herself of precipitancy and cruelty, is certain: but there were disclosures in his confession, to which her subsequent melancholy may with greater probability be ascribed. From that document she learned the unwelcome and distressing truth, that she had lived too long; that her favourites looked with impatience to the moment which would free them from her control, and that the very men on whose loyalty she had hitherto reposed with confidence, had already proved unfaithful to her. She became pensive and taciturn: she sat whole days by herself, indulging in the most gloomy reflections: every rumour agitated her with new and imaginary terrors: and the solitude of her court, the opposition of the commons to her prerogative, and the silence of the citizens when she appeared in public, were taken by her for proofs that she had survived her popularity, and was become an object of aversion to her subjects. Under these impressions, she assured the French ambassador that she had grown weary of her very existence.

"Sir John Harrington, her godson, who visited the court about seven months after the death of

Essex, has described in a private letter, the state in which he found the queen. She was altered in her features, and reduced to a skeleton. Her food was nothing but manchet bread and succory pottage. Her taste for dress was gone. She had not changed her clothes for many days. Nothing could please her: she was the torment of the ladies who waited on her person. She stamped with her feet, and swore violently at the objects of her anger. For her protection she had ordered a sword to be placed by her table, which she often took in her hand, and thrust with violence into the tapestry of her chamber. About a year later he returned to the palace, and was admitted to her presence. 'I found her,' he says, 'in a most pitiable state. She bade the archbishop ask me, if I had seen Tyrone. I replied, with reverence, that I had seen him with the lord-deputy. She looked up with much choler and grief in her countenance, and said, "O now it mindeth me, that you was one who saw this man elsewhere;" and hereat she dropped a tear and smote her bosom.' She held in her hand a golden cup, which she often put to her lips: but, in truth, her heart seemed too full to need more filling.'

"In January she was troubled with a cold, and about the end of the month removed, on a wet and stormy day, from Westminster to Richmond. Her indisposition increased: but, with her characteristic obstinacy, she refused the advice of her physicians. Loss of appetite was accompanied with lowness of spirits, and to add to her distress, it chanced that her intimate friend, the countess of Nottingham, died. Elizabeth now spent her days and nights in tears: or, if she condescended to speak, she always chose some unpleasant and irritating subject; the treason and execution of Essex, or the pretensions of Arabella Stuart, or the war in Ireland, and the pardon of Tyrone. At last she fell into a state of stupor, and for some hours lay as dead. As soon as she recovered, she ordered cushions to be brought and spread on the floor. On these she seated herself, under a strange notion, that if she were once to lie down in bed, she should never rise again. No prayers of the secretary, or the archbishop, or the physicians, could induce her to remove, or to take any medicine. For ten days she sat on the cushions, generally with her fingers in her mouth, and her eyes open, and fixed on the ground. Her strength rapidly decayed: it was evident she had but a short time to live.

"Sir Robert Cecil now took the necessary measures to fulfil his engagements to the king of Scots. He sent for his confidential friends to Richmond, and requested others to repair to London. Partly by entreaty, and partly by force, the queen was put to bed, and listened attentively to the prayers and exhortations of the archbishop. The next day she lay on her side, motionless and apparently insensible. On the following morning the lord-admiral, with the lord-keeper, and the secretary, approached the dying queen, and begged to remind her of what she had said to him at Whitehall, that her throne was the throne of kings. We are told that, at his voice, she started as from a dream, repeated the words, and added, 'I will have no rascal to succeed me. Who should succeed me but a king?' Cecil wishing to elicit a more intelligible answer, requested her to explain what she meant by 'no rascal.' She replied that a king should succeed, and who could that be but her cousin of Scotland? The archbishop again prayed: she became speechless, but twice beckoned to him to continue. In the

evening the three lords came a second time, and desired her to make sign, if she continued in the same mind. She raised her arms in the air, and closed them over her head. In a few minutes she began to doze: and at three the next morning (March 24, 1603) tranquilly breathed her last. By six the lords from Richmond joined those in London; and a resolution was taken to proclaim James as heir to the queen by proximity of blood, and by her own appointment on her death-bed."

Hume's account is much the same, he says, she rejected all consolation: she even refused food and sustenance: and throwing herself on the floor, she declared life and existence an insufferable burthen to her. Few words she uttered; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to reveal: but sighs and groans were the chief vent which she gave to her despondency. She had arrived at the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

So dark a cloud overcast the evening of that day, which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than Queen Elizabeth; and yet there scarcely is any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of her administration, and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last, in spite of political factions, and what is more, of religious animosities, produced a uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne: a conduct less rigorous, less impressive, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excesses: her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition: she guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities; the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendancy over her people; and while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret for managing religious factions, she preserved her people, by her superior prudence, from those confusions in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations: and though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able, by her vigour, to make deep impressions on their states: her own greatness meanwhile remained untouched and unimpaired.



The wise ministers and brave warriors who flourished under her reign, share the praise of her success, but instead of lessening the applause due to her, they make a great addition to it; they owed all of them their advancement to her choice; they were supported by her constancy; and with all their abilities they were never able to acquire any undue ascendancy over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress: the force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior; and the combat which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice, which is more durable because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit, is to lay aside all these considerations, and consider her merely as a rational being placed in authority, and intrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.

It is but just to add, that a very different picture is drawn of this queen by the catholic writers. By them she is accused of many vices and weaknesses; her success is all her ministers', and her failings are all her own. But these statements are so palpably stained with violent party and religious feeling, that they defeat their own object; and only enhance the idea of the vigour of her government, which after the lapse of so many generations, still excites the ire of the party she subdued.

## APPENDIX.

1547—1603.

### Government.

As Hume's dissertation on the government, during the reign of Elizabeth, has been proved to be extremely incorrect, we substitute the following extract from Hallam's Constitutional History; a work whose masterly style, and erudite research, make it exceedingly desirable that it should be open to all classes. This historian is acknowledged by every party to run up on the contradictory portions of our history with a justice and power unequalled; and thus to have set at rest many of those questions which had been kept open by the prejudices and passions of political animosity.

"The house of commons, upon a review of Elizabeth's reign, was very far, on the one hand, from exercising those constitutional rights which have long since belonged to it, or even those which by ancient precedent they might have claimed as theirs; yet, on the other hand, was not quite so servile and submissive an assembly as an artful histo-

rian\* has represented it. If many of its members were but creatures of power, if the majority was often too readily intimidated, if the bold and honest, but not very judicious, Wentworths were but feebly supported, when their impatience hurried them beyond their colleagues, there was still a considerable party sometimes carrying the house along with them, who with patient resolution and inflexible aim recurred in every session to the assertion of that one great privilege which their sovereign contested, the right of parliament to inquire into and suggest a remedy for every public mischief or danger. It may be remarked, that the ministers, such as Knollys, Hatton, and Robert Cecil, not only sat among the commons, but took a very leading part in their discussions; a proof that the influence of argument could no more be dispensed with than that of power. This, as I conceive, will never be the case in any kingdom where the assembly of the estates are quite subservient to the crown. Nor should we put out of consideration the manner in which the commons were composed. Sixty-two members were added at different times by Elizabeth to the representation; as well from places which had in earlier times discontinued their franchise, as from those to which it was first granted;† a very large proportion of them petty boroughs, evidently under the influence of the crown or peerage. This had been the policy of her brother and sister, in order to counterbalance the country gentlemen, and find room for those dependants who had no natural interest to return them to parliament. The ministry took much pains with elections, of which many proofs remain. The house accordingly was filled with placemen, civilians, and common lawyers grasping at preferment. The slavish tone of these persons, as we collect from the minutes of D'Ewes, is strikingly contrasted by the manliness of independent gentlemen. And as the house was by no means very fully attended, the divisions, a few of which are recorded, running from 200 to 250 in the aggregate, it may be perceived that the court, whose followers were at hand, would maintain a formidable influence. But this influence, however pernicious to the integrity of parliament, is distinguishable from that exertion of almost absolute prerogative, which Hume has assumed as the sole spring of Elizabeth's government, and would never be employed till some deficiency of strength was experienced in the other.

\* Hume.

† "In the session of 1571, a committee was appointed to confer with the attorney and solicitor-general about the return of burgesses from nine places which had not been represented in the last parliament. But in the end it was ordered, by Mr. Attorney's assent, that the burgesses shall remain according to their returns; for that the validity of the charters of their towns is elsewhere to be examined, if cause be."

"D'Ewes observes that it was very common in former times, in order to avoid the charge of paying wages to their burgesses, that a borough which had fallen into poverty or decay, either got license of the sovereign for the time being to be discharged from electing members, or discontinued it of themselves; but that of late the members for the most part bearing their own charges, many of those towns which had thus discontinued their privilege renewed it both in Elizabeth's reign and that of James. This could only have been, it is hardly necessary to say, by obtaining writs out of chancery for that purpose. As to the payment of wages, the words of D'Ewes intimate that it was not entirely disused. In the session of 1586, the borough of Grantham complained that Arthur Hall (whose name now appears for the last time) had sued them for wages due to him as their representative in the preceding parliament; alleging that, as well by reason of his negligent attendance and some other offences by him committed in some of its sessions, as of his promise not to require any such wages, they ought not to be charged; and a committee having been appointed to inquire into this, reported that they had requested Mr. Hall to remit his claim for wages, which he had freely done."

"D'Ewes has preserved a somewhat remarkable debate on a bill presented in the session of 1571, in order to render valid elections of non-resident burgesses. According to the tenour of the king's writ, confirmed by an act passed under Henry V., every city and borough was required to elect none but members of their own community. To this provision, as a seat in the commons' house grew more an object of general ambition, while many boroughs fell into comparative decay, less and less attention had been paid; till, the greater part of the borough representatives having become strangers, it was deemed by some expedient to repeal the ancient statute, and give a sanction to the innovation that time had wrought; while others contended in favour of the original usage, and seemed anxious to restore its vigour. It was alleged on the one hand by Mr. Norton that the bill would take away all pretence for sending unfit men, as was too often seen, and remove any objection that might be started to the sufficiency of the present parliament, wherein, for the most part against positive law, strangers to their several boroughs had been chosen: that persons able and fit for so great an employment ought to be preferred without regard to their inhabitation; since a man could not be presumed to be the wiser for being a resident burgess: and that the whole body of the realm, and the service of the same, was rather to be respected than any private regard of place or person. This is a remarkable, and perhaps the earliest assertion, of an important constitutional principle, that each member of the house of commons is deputed to serve, not only for his constituents, but for the whole kingdom; a principle, which marks the distinction between a modern English parliament and such deputations of the estates as were assembled in several continental kingdoms; a principle to which the house of commons is indebted for its weight and dignity, as well as its beneficial efficiency, and which none but the servile worshippers of the populace are ever found to gainsay. It is obvious that such a principle could never obtain currency, or even be advanced on any plausible ground, until the law for the election of resident burgesses had gone into disuse.

"Those who defended the existing law, forgetting, as is often the case with the defenders of existing laws, that it had lost its practical efficacy, urged that the inferior ranks using manual and mechanical arts ought like the rest to be regarded and consulted with on matters which concerned them, and of which strangers could less judge. 'We,' said a member, 'who have never seen Berwick or St. Michael's Mount, can but blindly guess of them, albeit we look on the maps that come from thence, or see letters of instruction sent; some one whom observation, experience, and due consideration of that country hath taught, can more perfectly open what shall in question thereof grow, and more effectually reason thereupon, than the skillfullest otherwise whatsoever.' But the greatest mischief resulting from an abandonment of their old constitution would be the interference of noblemen with elections; lords' letters, it was said, would from henceforth bear the sway; instances of which, so late as the days of Mary, were alleged, though no one cared to allude particularly to any thing of a more recent date. Some proposed to impose a fine of forty pounds on any borough making its election on a peer's nomination. The bill was committed by a majority; but as no further entry appears in the journals, we may infer it to have dropped.

"It may be mentioned, as not unconnected with this subject, that in the same session a fine was imposed on the borough of Westbury for receiving a bribe of four pounds from Thomas Long, 'being a very simple man and of small capacity to serve in that place;' and the mayor was ordered to repay the money. Long, however, does not seem to have been expelled. This is the earliest precedent on record for the punishment of bribery in elections.

"We shall find an additional proof that the house of commons under the Tudor princes, and especially Elizabeth, was not so feeble and insignificant an assembly as has been often insinuated, if we look at their frequent assertion and gradual acquisition of those peculiar authorities and immunities which constitute what is called privilege of parliament. Of these the first, in order of time if not of importance, was their exemption from arrest on civil process during their session. Several instances occur under the Plantagenet dynasty, where this privilege was claimed and admitted; but generally by means of a distinct act of parliament, or at least by a writ of privilege out of chancery. The house of commons for the first time took upon themselves to avenge their own injury in 1543, when the remarkable case of George Ferrers occurred. This is related in detail by Holinshed, and is perhaps the only piece of constitutional information we owe to him. Without repeating all the circumstances, it will be sufficient here to mention, that the commons sent their serjeant with his mace to demand the release of Ferrers, a burgess who had been arrested on his way to the house; that the gaolers and sheriffs of London having not only refused compliance, but ill-treated the serjeant; they compelled them, as well as the sheriffs of London, and even the plaintiff who had sued the writ against Ferrers, to appear at the bar of the house, and committed them to prison; and that the king, in the presence of the judges, confirmed in the strongest manner this assertion of privilege by the commons. It was, however, so far at least as our knowledge extends, a very important novelty in constitutional practice; not a trace occurring in any former instance on record, either of a party being delivered from arrest at the mere demand of the serjeant, or of any one being committed to prison by the sole authority of the house of commons. With respect to the first, 'the chancellor,' says Holinshed, 'offered to grant them a writ of privilege, which they of the commons' house refused, being of a clear opinion that all commandments and other acts proceeding from the nether house were to be done and executed by their serjeant without writ, only by show of his mace, which was his warrant.' It might naturally seem to follow from this position, if it were conceded, that the house had the same power of attachment for contempt, that is, of committing to prison persons refusing obedience to lawful process, which our law attributes to all courts of justice, as essential to the discharge of their duties. The king's behaviour is worthy of notice: while he dexterously endeavours to insinuate that the offence was rather against him than the commons, Ferrers happening to be in his service, he displays that cunning flattery towards them in their moment of exasperation, which his daughter knew so well how to employ.

"Such important powers were not likely to be thrown away, though their exertion might not always be thought expedient. The commons had sometimes recourse to a writ of privilege in order to release their members under arrest, and did not re-



peat the proceeding in Ferrers's case till that of Smalley, a member's servant, in 1575, whom they sent their serjeant to deliver. And this was only 'after sundry reasons, arguments, and disputations,' as the journal informs us; and, what is more, after rescinding a previous resolution that they could find no precedents for setting at liberty any one in arrest except by writ of privilege. It is to be observed, that the privilege of immunity extended to the menial servants of members, till taken away by a statute of George III. Several persons however were, at different times, under Mary and Elizabeth, committed by the house to the Tower, or to the custody of their own serjeant, for assaults on their members. Smalley himself above mentioned, it having been discovered that he had fraudulently procured this arrest, in order to get rid of the debt, was committed for a month, and ordered to pay the plaintiff one hundred pounds, which was possibly the amount of what he owed. One also, who had served a subpoena out of the star-chamber on a member in the session of 1584, was not only put in confinement, but obliged to pay the party's expenses, before they would discharge him, making his humble submission on his knees. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the chancellor had but just before made answer to a committee deputed 'to signify to him how by the ancient liberties of the house, the members thereof are privileged from being served with subpoenas,' that 'he thought the house had no such privilege, nor would he allow any precedents for it, unless they had also been ratified in the court of chancery.' They continued to enforce this summary mode of redress with no objection, so far as appears, of any other authority, till, by the end of the queen's reign, it had become their established law of privilege that 'no subpoena or summons for the attendance of a member in any other court ought to be served, without leave obtained or information given to the house; and that the persons who procured or served such process were guilty of a breach of privilege, and were punishable by commitment or otherwise, by the order of the house.' The great importance of such a privilege was the security it furnished, when fully claimed and acted upon, against those irregular detentions and examinations by the council, and which, in despite of the promised liberty of speech, had, as we have seen, oppressed some of their most distinguished members. But it must be owned that by thus suspending all civil and private suits against themselves, the commons gave too much encouragement to needy and worthless men who sought their walls as a place of sanctuary.

"This power of punishment, as it were for contempt, assumed in respect of those who molested members of the commons by legal process, was still more naturally applicable to offences against established order committed by any of themselves. In the earliest record that is extant of their daily proceedings, the commons' journal of the first parliament of Edward VI., we find on 21st January, 1547-8, a short entry of an order that John Storie, one of the burgesses, shall be committed to the custody of the serjeant. The order is repeated the next day: on the next, articles of accusation are read against Storie. It is ordered on the following day that he shall be committed prisoner to the Tower. His wife soon after presents a petition, which is ordered to be delivered to the protector. On the 26th of February, letters from Storie in the Tower are read. These probably were not deemed

satisfactory, for it is not till the 2d of March that we have an entry of a letter from Mr. Storie in the Tower with his submission. And an order immediately follows, that 'the king's privy-council in the nether house shall humbly declare unto the lord-protector's grace, that the resolution of the house is, that Mr. Storie be enlarged and at liberty, out of prison; and to require the king's majesty to forgive him his offences in this case towards his majesty and his council.'

"Storie was a zealous enemy of the reformation, and suffered death for treason under Elizabeth. His temper appears to have been ungovernable; even in Mary's reign he fell a second time under the censure of the house for disrespect to the speaker. It is highly probable that his offence in the present instance was some ebullition of virulence against the changes in religion; for the first entry concerning him immediately follows the third reading of the bill that established the English liturgy. It is also manifest that he had to atone for language disrespectful to the protector's government, as well as to the house. But it is worthy of notice, that the commons by their single authority commit their burgess first to their own officer, and next to the Tower; and that upon his submission they inform the protector of their resolution to discharge him out of custody, recommending him to forgiveness as to his offence against the council, which, as they must have been aware, the privilege of parliament as to words spoken within its walls (if we are right in supposing such to have been the case) would extend to cover. It would be very unreasonable to conclude that this is the first instance of a member's commitment by order of the house, the earlier journals not being in existence. Nothing indicates that the course taken was unprecedented. Yet on the other hand we can as little infer that it rested on any previous usage; and the times were just such, in which a new precedent was likely to be established. The right of the house indeed to punish its own members for indecent abuse of the liberty of speech, may be thought 'to result naturally from the king's concession of that liberty; and its right to preserve order in debate is plainly incident to that of debating at all.

"In the subsequent reign of Mary, Mr. Copley incurred the displeasure of the house for speaking irreverent words of her majesty, and was committed to the serjeant-at-arms; but the despotic character of that government led the commons to recede in some degree from the regard to their own privileges they had shown in the former case. The speaker was directed to declare this offence to the queen, and to request her mercy for the offender. Mary answered, that she would well consider that request, but desired that Copley should be examined as to the cause of his behaviour. A prorogation followed the same day, and of course no more took place in this affair.

"A more remarkable assertion of the house's right to inflict punishment on its own members occurred in 1581, and being much better known than those I have mentioned, has been sometimes treated as the earliest precedent. One Arthur Hall, a burgess for Grantham, was charged with having caused to be published a book against the present parliament, on account of certain proceedings in the last session, wherein he was privately interested, 'not only reproaching some particular good members of the house, but also very much slanderous and derogatory to its general authority, power, and state,

and prejudicial to the validity of its proceedings in making and establishing of laws.' Hall was the master of Smalley, whose case has been mentioned above, and had so much incurred the displeasure of the house by his supposed privy to the fraud of his servant, that a bill was brought in and read a first time, the precise nature of which does not appear, but expressed to be against him and two of his servants. It seems probable, from these and some other passages in the entries that occur on this subject in the journal, that Hall in his libel had depreciated the house of commons as an estate of parliament, and especially in respect of its privileges, pretty much in the strain which the advocates of prerogative came afterwards to employ. Whatever share therefore personal resentment may have had in exasperating the house, they had a public quarrel to avenge against one of their members, who was led by pique to betray their ancient liberties. The vengeance of popular assemblies is not easily satisfied. Though Hall made a pretty humble submission, they went on, by a unanimous vote, to heap every punishment in their power upon his head. They expelled him, they imposed a fine of five hundred marks upon him, they sent him to the Tower until he should make a satisfactory retraction. At the end of the session he had not been released; nor was it the design of the commons that his imprisonment should then terminate; but their own dissolution, which ensued, put an end to the business. Hall sat in some later parliaments. This is the leading precedent, as far as records show, for the power of expulsion, which the commons have ever retained without dispute of those who would most curtail their privileges. But in 1558 it had been put to the vote whether one outlawed and guilty of divers frauds should continue to sit, and carried in his favour by a very small majority; which affords a presumption that the right of expulsion was already deemed to appertain to the house. They exercised it with no small violence in the session of 1585 against the famous Dr. Parry, who having spoken warmly against the bill inflicting the penalty of death on Jesuits and seminary priests, as being cruel and bloody, the commons not only ordered him into the custody of the serjeant, for opposing a bill approved of by a committee, and directed the speaker to reprimand him upon his knees, but on his failing to make a sufficient apology, voted him no longer a Burgess of that house. The year afterwards Bland, a currier, was brought to their bar for using what were judged contumelious expressions against the house for something they had done in a matter of little moment, and discharged on account of his poverty, on making submission, and paying a fine of twenty shillings. In this case they perhaps stretched their power somewhat further than in the case of Arthur Hall, who, as one of their body, might seem more amenable to their jurisdiction.

"The commons asserted in this reign, perhaps for the first time, another most important privilege, the right of determining all matters relative to their own elections. Difficulties of this nature had in former times been decided in chancery, from which the writ issued, and into which the return was made. Whether no cases of interference on the part of the house had occurred, it is impossible to pronounce, on account of the unsatisfactory state of the rolls and journals of parliament under Edward IV., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. One remarkable entry, however, may be found in the reign of Mary,

when a committee is appointed 'to inquire if Alexander Nowell, prebendary of Westminster, may be of the house;' and it is declared next day by them, that 'Alexander Nowell, being prebendary in Westminster, and thereby having voice in the convocation-house, cannot be a member of this house; and so agreed by the house, and the queen's writ to be directed for another Burgess in his place.' Nothing further appears on record till in 1586 the house appointed a committee to examine the state and circumstances of the returns for the county of Norfolk. The fact was, that the chancellor had issued a second writ for this county, on the ground of some irregularity in the first return, and a different person had been elected. Some notice having been taken of this matter in the commons, the speaker received orders to signify to them her majesty's displeasure that 'the house had been troubled with a thing impertinent for them to deal with, and only belonging to the charge and office of the lord-chancellor, whom she had appointed to confer with the judges about the returns for the county of Norfolk, and to act therein according to justice and right.' The house, in spite of this peremptory inhibition, proceeded to nominate a committee to examine into and report the circumstances of these returns; who reported the whole case with their opinion, that those elected on the first writ should take their seats, declaring further that they understood the chancellor and some of the judges to be of the same opinion; but that 'they had not thought it proper to inquire of the chancellor what he had done, because they thought it prejudicial to the privilege of the house to have the same determined by others than such as were members thereof. And though they thought very reverently of the said lord-chancellor and judges, and knew them to be competent judges in their places; yet in this case they took them not for judges in parliament in this house: and thereupon required that the members, if it were so thought good, might take their oaths and be allowed of by force of the first writ, as allowed by the censure of this house, and not as allowed of by the said lord-chancellor and judges. Which was agreed unto by the whole house.' This judicial control over their elections was not lost. A committee was appointed, in the session of 1589, to examine into sundry abuses of returns, among which is enumerated that some are returned for new places. And several instances of the house's deciding on elections occur in subsequent parliaments.

"This tenaciousness of their own dignity and privileges was shown in some disagreements with the upper house. They complained to the lords in 1597, that they had received a message from the commons at their bar without uncovering, or rising from their places. But the lords proved, upon a conference, that this was agreeable to usage in the case of messages; though when bills were brought up from the lower house, the speaker of the lords always left his place, and received them at the bar. Another remonstrance of the commons, against having amendments to bills sent down to them on paper instead of parchment, seems a little frivolous, but serves to indicate a rising spirit, jealous of the superiority that the peers had arrogated. In one point more material, and in which they had more precedent on their side, the commons successfully vindicated their privilege. The lords sent them a message in the session of 1593, reminding them of the queen's want of a supply, and requesting that a committee of conference might be appointed. This



was accordingly done, and Sir Robert Cecil reported from it that the lords would consent to nothing less than a grant of three entire subsidies, the commons having shown a reluctance to give more than two. But Mr. Francis Bacon said, 'he yielded to the subsidy, but disliked that this house should join with the upper house in granting it. For the custom and privilege of this house hath always been, first to make offer of the subsidies from hence, then to the upper house; except it were that they present a bill unto this house, with desire of our assent thereto, and then to send it up again.' But the house was now so much awakened to the privilege of originating money-bills, that, in spite of all the exertions of the court, the proposition for another conference with the lords was lost on a division by 217 to 128. It was by his opposition to the ministry in this session, that Bacon, who acted perhaps full as much from pique towards the Cecils, and ambitious attachment to Essex, as from any real patriotism, so deeply offended the queen that, with all his subsequent pliancy, he never fully reinstated himself in her favour.

"That the government of England was a monarchy, bounded by law, far unlike the actual state of the principal kingdoms on the continent, appears to have been so obvious and fundamental a truth, that flattery itself did not venture directly to contravene it. Hume has laid hold of a passage in Raleigh's preface to his *History of the World* (written indeed a few years later than the age of Elizabeth), as if it fairly represented public opinion as to our form of government. Raleigh says that Philip II. 'attempted to make himself not only an absolute monarch over the Netherlands, like unto the kings and sovereigns of England and France; but, Turk-like, to tread under his feet all their national and fundamental laws, privileges, and ancient rights.' But who, that was really desirous of establishing the truth, would have brought Raleigh into court as an exceptionable witness on such a question? Unscrupulous ambition taught men in that age who sought to win or regain the crown's favour, to falsify all law and fact in behalf of prerogative, as unblushingly as our modern demagogues exaggerate and distort the liberties of the people. The sentence itself, if designed to carry the full meaning that Hume assigns to it, is little better than an absurdity. For why were the rights and privileges of the Netherlands more fundamental than those of England? and by what logic could it be proved more Turk-like to impose the tax of the twentieth penny, or to bring Spanish troops into those provinces, in contravention of their ancient charters, than to transgress the Great Charter of this kingdom, with all those unrescinded statutes and those traditional unwritten liberties which were the ancient inheritance of its subjects? Or could any one, conversant in the slightest degree with the two countries, range in the same class of absolute sovereigns the kings of France and England? The arbitrary acts of our Tudor princes, even of Henry VIII., were trifling in comparison of the despotism of Francis I. and Henry II., who forced their most tyrannical ordinances down the throats of the parliament of Paris with all the violence of military usurpers. No permanent law had ever been attempted in England, nor any internal tax imposed, without consent of the people's representatives. No law in France had ever received such consent; nor had the taxes, enormously burthensome as they were in Raleigh's time, been imposed, for one hundred and fifty years

past, by any higher authority than a royal ordinance. If a few nobler spirits had protested against the excessive despotism of the house of Valois; if La Boetie had drunk at the springs of classical republicanism; if Hottoman had appealed to the records of their freeborn ancestry that surrounded the throne of Clovis; if Languet had spoken in yet a bolder tone of a rightful resistance to tyranny; if the Jesuits and partisans of the League had cunningly attempted to win men's hearts to their faction by the sweet sounds of civil liberty and the popular origin of politic rule; yet these obnoxious paradoxes availed little with the nation, which, after the wild fanaticism of a rebellion arising wholly from religious bigotry had passed away, relapsed at once into its patient loyalty, its self-complacent servitude. But did the English ever recognise, even by implication, the strange parallels which Raleigh has made for their government with that of France, and Hume with that of Turkey? The language adopted in addressing Elizabeth was always remarkably submissive. Hypocritical adulation was so much among the vices of that age, that the want of it passed for rudeness. Yet Onslow, speaker of the parliament of 1566, being then solicitor-general, in addressing the queen says: 'By our common law, although there be for the prince provided many princely prerogatives and royalties, yet it is not such as the prince can take money or other things, or do as he will at his own pleasure without order, but quietly to suffer his subjects to enjoy their own, without wrongful oppression; wherein other princes by their liberty do take as pleaseth them.'

"In the first months of Elizabeth's reign, Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London, published an answer to a book by John Knox, against female monarchy, or, as he termed it, 'Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women;' which, though written in the time of Mary, and directed against her, was of course not acceptable to her sister. The answerer relies, among other arguments, on the nature of the English constitution, which, by diminishing the power of the crown, renders it less unfit to be worn by a woman. 'Well,' he says, 'a woman may not reign in England! Better in England than any where, as it shall well appear to him that without affection will consider the kind of regimen. While I compare ours with other, as it is in itself, and not maimed by usurpation, I can find none either so good or so indifferent. The regiment of England is not a mere monarchy, as some for lack of consideration think, nor a mere oligarchy nor democracy, but a rule mixed of all these, wherein each one of these have or should have like authority. The image whereof, and not the image but the thing indeed, is to be seen in the parliament-house, wherein you shall find these three estates; the king or queen which representeth the monarchy, the noblemen which be the aristocracy, and the burgesses and knights the democracy. If the parliament use their privileges, the king can ordain nothing without them: if he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and their fault in permitting it. Wherefore, in my judgment, those that in King Henry VIII.'s days would not grant him that his proclamations should have the force of a statute, were good fathers of the country and worthy commendation in defending their liberty. But to what purpose is all this? To declare that it is not in England so dangerous a matter to have a woman ruler, as men take it to be. For first it is not she that ruleth, but the laws, the executors whereof be her

judges appointed by her, her justices and such other officers. Secondly, she maketh no statutes or laws, but the honourable court of parliament; she breaketh none, but it must be she and they together, or else not. If on the other part the regiment were such as all hanged on the king's or queen's will, and not upon the laws written; if she might decree and make laws alone without her senate; if she judged offences according to her wisdom, and not by limitation of statutes and laws; if she might dispose alone of war and peace; if, to be short, she were a mere monarch, and not a mixed ruler, you might peradventure make me to fear the matter the more, and the less to defend the cause.'

"This passage, notwithstanding some slight mistakes it contains, affords a proof of the doctrine current among Englishmen in 1559, and may perhaps be the less suspected, as it does not proceed from a skilful pen. And the extracts which might be made from the works of Hooker are evidence still more satisfactory, on account of the gravity and judiciousness of the writer, that they continued to be the orthodox faith in the later period of Elizabeth's reign. It may be observed, that those who speak of the limitations of the sovereign's power, and of the acknowledged liberties of the subject, use a distinct and intelligible language; while the opposite tenets are insinuated by means of vague and obscure generalities, as in the sentence above quoted from Raleigh. Sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state to Elizabeth, has bequeathed us a valuable legacy in his treatise on the commonwealth of England. But undoubtedly he evades, as far as possible, all great constitutional principles, and treats them, if at all, with a vagueness and timidity very different from the tone of Fortescue. He thus concludes his chapter on the parliament: 'This is the order and form of the highest and most authentic court of England, by virtue whereof all these things be established whereof I spoke before, and no other means accounted available to make any new "forfeiture of life, members, or lands," of any Englishman, where there was no law ordered for it before.' This leaves no small latitude for the authority of royal proclamations, which the phrase, I make no question, was studiously adopted in order to preserve.

"There was unfortunately a notion very prevalent in the cabinet of Elizabeth, though it was not quite so broadly or at least so frequently promulgated as in the following reigns, that, besides the common prerogatives of the English crown, which were admitted to have legal bounds, there was a kind of paramount sovereignty, which they denominated her absolute power, incident, as they pretended, to the abstract nature of sovereignty, and arising out of its primary office of preserving the state from destruction. This seemed analogous to the dictatorial power which might be said to reside in the Roman senate, since it could confer it upon an individual. And we all must, in fact, admit that self-preservation is the first necessity of commonwealths as well as persons, which may justify, in Montesquieu's poetical language, the veiling of the statutes of liberty. Thus martial law is proclaimed during an invasion, and houses are destroyed in expectation of a siege. But few governments are to be trusted with this insidious plea of necessity, which more often means their own security than that of the people. Nor do I conceive that the ministers of Elizabeth restrained this pretended absolute power, even in theory, to such cases of overbearing exigency.

It was the misfortune of the sixteenth century to see kingly power strained to the highest pitch in the two principal European monarchies. Charles V. and Philip II. had crushed and trampled the ancient liberties of Castile and Arragon. Francis I. and his successors, who found the work nearly done to their hands, had inflicted every practical oppression upon their subjects. These examples could not be without their effect on a government so unceasingly attentive to all that passed on the stage of Europe. Nor was this effect confined to the court of Elizabeth. A king of England, in the presence of absolute sovereigns, or perhaps of their ambassadors, must always feel some degree of that humiliation with which a young man, in check of a prudent father, regards the careless prodigality of the rich heirs with whom he associates. Good sense and elevated views of duty may subdue the emotion; but he must be above human nature who is insensible to the contrast.

"There must be few of my readers who are unacquainted with the animated sketch that Hume has delineated of the English constitution under Elizabeth. It has been partly the object of the present chapter to correct his exaggerated outline; and nothing would be more easy than to point at other mistakes into which he has fallen through prejudice, through carelessness, or through want of acquaintance with law. His capital and inexcusable fault in every thing he has written on our constitution is to have sought for evidence upon one side only of the question. Thus the remonstrance of the judges against arbitrary imprisonment by the council is infinitely more conclusive to prove that the right of personal liberty existed, than the fact of its infringement can be to prove that it did not. There is something fallacious in the negative argument which he perpetually uses, that because we find no mention of any umbrage being taken at certain strains of prerogative, they must have been perfectly consonant to law. For even if nothing of this could be traced, which is not so often the case as he represents it, we should remember that even when a constant watchfulness is exercised by means of political parties and a free press, a nation is seldom alive to the transgressions of a prudent and successful government. The character of the English constitution under the house of Plantagenet, may still be applied to it under the line of Tudor, that it was a monarchy greatly limited by law, but retaining much power that was ill calculated to promote the public good, and swerving continually into an irregular course, which there was no restraint adequate to correct. It may be added, that the practical exercise of authority seems to have been less frequently violent and oppressive, and its legal limitations better understood in the reign of Elizabeth, than for some preceding ages; and that sufficient indications had become distinguishable before its close, from which it might be gathered that the seventeenth century had arisen upon a race of men in whom the spirit of those who stood against John and Edward was rekindled with a less partial and a steadier warmth."

#### *Revenue, Commerce, Maritime Enterprises, &c.*

Queen Elizabeth's economy was remarkable; and in some instances seemed to border on avarice. The smallest expense, if it could possibly be spared, appeared considerable in her eyes; and even the charge of an express during the most delicate transactions was not below her notice. She was also



attentive to every profit, and embraced opportunities of gain which may appear somewhat extraordinary. She kept, for instance, the see of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue; and it was usual with her, when she promoted a bishop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the see of some of its manors. But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper, appears from this circumstance, that she never amassed any treasure; and even refused subsidies from the parliament when she had no present occasion for them. Yet we must not conclude, from this circumstance, that her economy proceeded from a tender concern for her people: she loaded them with monopolies and exclusive patents, which are much more oppressive than the most heavy taxes levied in an equal and regular manner. The real source of her frugal conduct was derived from her desire of independency, and her care to preserve her dignity, which would have been endangered had she reduced herself to the necessity of having frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies. In consequence of this motive, the queen, though engaged in successful and necessary wars, thought it more prudent to make a continual dilapidation of the royal demesnes, than demand the most moderate supplies from the commons. As she lived unmarried, and had no posterity, she was content to serve her present turn, though at the expense of her successors; who, by reason of this policy, joined to other circumstances, found themselves on a sudden reduced to the most extreme indigence.

There is a curious letter of the queen's written to a bishop of Ely, and preserved in the register of that see. It is in these words: "Proud prelate, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement: but I would have you know, that I who made you what you are can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God I will immediately unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourself, Elizabeth." The bishop, it seems, had promised to exchange some part of the land belonging to the see for a pretended equivalent, and did so, but it was in consequence of the above letter.

The splendour of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence except clothes, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister; an incredible sum for that age\*. The States, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds: and the king of France four hundred and fifty thousand. Though that prince was extremely frugal, and after the peace of Vervins was continually amassing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of those sums which she had so generously advanced him during his greatest distresses. One payment of twenty thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her. The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between

the years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, besides the pittance of a double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, granted her by parliament. In the year 1599 she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months on the service of Ireland. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that in ten years Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds. She gave the earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds upon his departure for the government of that kingdom. Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts conferred on that favourite, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds; a sum which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her strong affection towards him! It was a common saying during this reign; "The queen pays bountifully, though she rewards sparingly."

It is difficult to compute exactly the queen's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much short of five hundred thousand pounds a-year. In the year 1590 she raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a-year to fifty thousand, and obliged Sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund some of his former profit.\* This improvement of the revenue was owing to the suggestions of one Caermarthen; and was opposed by Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham: but the queen's perseverance overcame all their opposition. The great undertakings which she executed with so narrow a revenue, and with such small supplies from her people, proved the mighty effects of wisdom and economy. She received from the parliament, during the course of her whole reign, only twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. It is difficult to determine exactly the amount of these supplies; because the value of a subsidy was continually falling; and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thousand pounds. If we suppose that the supplies granted Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years amounted to three millions, we shall not probably be much wide of the truth. This sum makes only sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds a-year; and it is surprising, that while the queen's demands were so moderate, and her expenses so well regulated, she should ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a supply from parliament, or be reduced to make sale of the crown lands. But such was the extreme, we had almost said absurd, parsimony of the parliaments during that period. They valued nothing in comparison of their money. The members had no connexion with the court; and the very idea which they conceived of the trust committed to them was, to reduce the demands of the crown, and to grant as few supplies as possible. The crown, on the other hand, conceived the parliament in no other light than as a means of supply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of seldom summoning parliaments. No redress of grievances was expected from these assemblies: they were supposed to meet for no other purpose than to impose taxes.

Before the reign of Elizabeth, the English princes had usually recourse to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was so low, that besides paying the high interest of ten or twelve per cent., they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security. Sir Thomas Gresham,

\* We think it impossible to reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. p. 344. that in the year 1545, the crown owed but 200,000 pounds. We own that this last sum appears a great deal more likely. The whole account of Queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions.

\* This account of Camden is difficult or impossible to be reconciled to the state of the customs in the beginning of the subsequent reign, as they appear in the journals of the Commons.

that great and enterprising merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and as the money was regularly repaid, her credit by degrees established itself in the city, and she shook off this dependence on foreigners.

In the year 1559, however, the queen employed Gresham to borrow for her two hundred thousand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debased. She was so impolitic as to make, herself, an innovation in the coin, by dividing a pound of silver into sixty-two shillings, instead of sixty, the former standard. This is the last time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

The following account of the maritime enterprises of this energetic period, is taken from Mackintosh.

"The progress of trade might have been more slow if it had depended alone on those exact calculations of advantage from accessible and well-understood sources which are its natural province. But the voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese had disclosed to the dazzled imagination of mankind new worlds, and races of men before unknown;—the owners of treasures, apparently unbanded, which they had neither power to defend, nor skill to extract from the earth. The spirit of commerce mingled with the passion for discovery, which was exalted by the grandeur of vast and unknown objects. A maritime chivalry arose, which equipped crusades for the settlement and conquest of the new world; professing to save the tribes of that immense region from eternal perdition, and somewhat disguising these expeditions of rapine and destruction under the illusions of military glory and religious fanaticism. Great noblemen, who would have recoiled with disgust from the small gains of honest industry, eagerly plunged into associations which held out wealth and empire in the train of splendid victory. The lord-treasurer, the lord-steward, the lord privy-seal, and the lord high-admiral were at the head of the first company formed for the trade of Russia on the discovery of that country. For nearly a century it became a prevalent passion among men of all ranks, including the highest, to become members of associations framed for the purposes of discovery, colonisation, and aggrandisement, which formed a species of subordinate republics, the vassals of the crown of England. By links like these the feudal world was gradually allied with the commercial, in a manner which civilized the landholder, and elevated the merchant. Among the various objects of maritime expedition, Robert Thorne, a merchant of London, who had long resided at Seville, suggested to Henry VIII. the facility of opening a trade to the Spice Islands and the eastern continent (in spite of the papal distribution of the world) by voyages through the polar seas, further from Newfoundland to the westward, or round the continent of Scandinavia towards the east. These bold projects were not clogged by too minutely accurate information. 'The sea,' said Thorne, 'can only be dangerous from ice within two or three leagues of the pole.' The distance from England to the Spice Islands by these untried courses would, by Thorne's calculations, be 2000 miles less than the voyage from the Spanish peninsula either westward or eastward. In the last year of the reign of Edward VI. Sir Hugh Willoughby was sent, with three ships, to discover a north-eastern passage to the Indian Seas, by exploring the northern coasts of Europe and Asia; which,

though ascertained as far as the north-eastern point of Norway by Alfred, had been so totally covered with darkness that the maps of the sixteenth century were altogether disfigured. This small squadron conveyed nearly one hundred mariners, eleven merchants, two surgeons, and one chaplain, besides officers. The issue of the expedition was disastrous. Nothing is known of the fate of Willoughby's own ship, but that the vessel and the frozen bodies of the company were found, in the following year, at the mouth of a river in Lapland; with a melancholy fragment of a manuscript journal, carrying the account of the progress of the voyage to the period of the determination to winter in that inclement region. Richard Chancellor, who commanded one of the ships, reached a solitary port on the White Sea, called St. Nicholas, since grown into the considerable town of Archangel; which he found to belong to a prince who at that time first assumed the title of czar of Muscovy. Ivan Vassilowich IV., who then ruled the Muscovite dominions, was a barbarian of vigorous faculties, who, in the midst of brutal vices and scarcely credible crimes, showed many symptoms of regarding with generous eyes the civilization which he dimly saw rising beyond his western frontier. Foreign physicians were seen at his court: he procured workmen and artists from England; and a colony of 300 men of useful and even refined occupation were prevented, by the jealousy of mean monopolists in the Hanse Towns, from embarking for Muscovy in quest of fortune.

"After a toilsome journey of fifteen hundred miles, Chancellor reached the czar's residence of Moscow, which he and his companions estimated to be of the size of the city of London with its suburbs. The capture of Narva had then procured for the Russians some means of communication with Europe, through the Baltic, which brought to the court of Ivan other foreign envoys besides the English mariner. Among them was Possevin, an Italian Jesuit sent by Pope Gregory XIII., and Sigismund baron Hirberstein, ambassadors to Ivan from Charles V. and his successor Ferdinand.

"The full account of Muscovy which we owe to these early travellers agrees remarkably with the simple but more descriptive narratives of Chancellor and his successors. The czar esteemed the friendship of Elizabeth, who paid court to him, and offered to him an asylum in her dominions if the hostility of his subjects or his neighbours should render it desirable. He granted ample privileges to the English traders, and expressed a warm desire to wed an English lady from the number of the queen's kinswomen. Though Elizabeth had not always been gentle to the ladies of her blood, she would not assuredly have doomed the most obnoxious of them to a fate so much more cruel than death. Some of the favours granted to an English ambassador will afford a specimen of the administration. 'Leave for Richard Transham, an Englishman, the czar's apothecary, to go home with his wife and property; the same permission to Richard Elmes, a surgeon, and to Jane Richards, the widow of Bommell, a Dutch physician, who was roasted to death in the city of Moscow, in 1579.'

"The attempts of the navigators to push their voyages far to the eastward appear to have closed in disappointment. But by the conquests of the Mahometan principalities of Casan and Astracan, on the Volga, Ivan became master of the Caspian; which opened a new course for English adventure towards regions renowned for their ancient wealth.



Anthony Jenkinson employed thirty-six years of his life in journeys and voyages so extensive and various, that it is difficult to understand how any man in an age when languages and geography were so little known, could have accomplished them. His travels stretched from Algiers to the northern extremity of Russia, and from London, by Moscow, to Persia; and through that country to Bockhara on the Sogd; to say nothing of all the countries of Europe. With the difficulties which remained to be overcome, if he had completed his design by advancing to China or to India, it is unlikely that he should have been fully acquainted. The existence of a traveller so enterprising, so persevering, and necessarily so intelligent,—the extent and judicious selection of his objects and means,—would of themselves be sufficient to show the nature and force of the impulse which was at that period communicated to the English mind.

"The same national movement produced the attempts to find a north-west passage to the treasures of the East. A settlement on Newfoundland facilitated these efforts. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the elder brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, was the most zealous supporter of schemes for pursuing discovery through the seas which he thought open to the north of America. In 1567, Martin Frobisher, in two barks of twenty-five tons each, discovered the inward sea, called Hudson's Bay. About ten years afterwards he made two successive voyages into the same seas, with a more considerable force, but with less accession to geography, and with expectations of a treasure which proved to be imaginary. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, himself, in 1583, undertook the command of a voyage of discovery, but it proved fruitless and disastrous. The largest ship deserted, under pretence of a contagious disease. The ship called the Admiral was lost in a storm at sea, which induced him to turn his course to England. In defiance of advice he chose to hoist his flag in a small vessel of ten tons, in which he continued to the last. In the last communication with him, during a tempest in which the sea rolled mountains high, he called out to the commander of a larger vessel in company,—'We are as near heaven at sea as on land.' A little afterwards, in the same evening, it was observed from the Golden Hind, that the lights of Sir Humphrey's little bark suddenly went out. 'The watch of the Golden Hind,' cried the general, 'is cast away;' which proved too true:—no further tidings of him or of his bark were ever heard. In 1585, and in the following year, the course of discovery was resumed by John Davis, in two very small vessels, with forty-one men, who entered the great northern sea, somewhat improperly called from his name, Davis's Straits. To pursue these voyages further would be foreign to the present purpose. No reader of this age needs to be informed, that a series of voyages, honourable to British seamen, have nearly demonstrated the northern communication between the western and eastern seas of America; and have also checked human presumption, by showing, with almost equal certainty, that, in the present state of knowledge, that communication cannot be turned into a road for commercial navigation. But the patience under suffering, and the perseverance after disappointment, the hardihood, and skill, and calmness displayed by these early mariners, throw the strongest light on the value of that school in which the commanders and seamen of the English navy were then formed.

"We must now turn to those more impure channels into which no small portion of the nautical enterprises of that age flowed. The number of pirates who then swarmed in the British seas may be in some degree estimated from the facility with which Bothwell collected them at Shetland; a station to which they flocked on account of its remoteness from legal authority. The records of the privy-council show the same multiplication of sea-robbers more distinctly, from 1570 to 1575; when twenty two piratical cases were the subject of proceedings in that body. In the next five years the numbers were more than doubled. Their decrease in subsequent years must be ascribed to enlistment in naval expeditions against the American Spaniards, where they continued to exercise their former profession, but with some accession of dignity from the grandeur of the object. The expeditions of John Hawkins, a gentleman of Devonshire, afford a melancholy instance of the fortitude of a seaman dishonoured by application to the purposes of a criminal. His own account of his slaving expeditions on the west coast of Africa will, better than any other words, characterize the deeds of blood which were long, by a prostitution of terms, called by the respectable name of trade. He begins by bewailing (as sportsmen sometimes complain of the scarcity or shyness of game) that he was not able to catch above one hundred and fifty negroes; whose countrymen had, it seems, the insolence to kill and wound some of his crew. In this difficulty, 'a negro came to us; sent by a negro king oppressed by other kings his neighbours, desiring our aid, with a promise, that as many negroes as might by these wars be obtained should be at our pleasure. I went myself, and with the assistance of the king of our side assaulted the town by land and sea, and "very hardly with fire" (the huts being covered with dry palm leaves), and out of eight thousand souls, seized two hundred and fifty persons, men, women, and children.' The sale of these slaves to the inhabitants of Spanish America, who were forbidden to trade with foreigners, was accomplished by fraud or by arms.

"The immense extent of coast of the thinly peopled territories of Spain in America, which the whole naval force of the world would have been insufficient to guard, opened facilities for contraband trade, which produced the natural effect on the adventurous and hardy mariners of England. A hatred against Spain was deeply rooted in the nation who had so cruelly suffered under Philip and Mary. The two governments, as we have seen, began gradually to manifest more hostile feelings towards each other. Men of lawless character scarcely thought seriously of the principle of international law, which enjoins the members of a community to offer no violence to the members of another, as long as the two states are at peace; and this sort of refined jurisprudence was deemed more inapplicable to the barbarous regions where Europeans often met. Two centuries after this period, the French and English East India companies continued to carry on war, after their sovereigns had concluded peace. In the time of Elizabeth the example of private war was not forgotten; and the frequency of piracy seems to indicate that hostilities by sea were not regarded as subject to the same strict rules with those on land. The encroachments on the Spanish colonies were made on plausible grounds, and by slow degrees. The Dutch and English ships were first content with trade, and the

colonists, whom they supplied cheaply and plentifully with European commodities, received them. They entered a harbour under allegations, generally false, of needing water, provisions, or repairs. They set forth the amity of the two sovereigns as a sufficient reason for expecting hospitality. When by this fair language they had won their way into a haven, if they were stronger than the inhabitants of the town, they generally ended with the most atrocious acts of rapine and murder. The complaints of a Spanish viceroy reached Madrid slowly. The negotiations for redress in London were perhaps protracted so long by contradictory averments, that the decision might be too late for any purpose, either of compensation to the sufferers, or of the execution of justice on the wrong-doers.

"Francis Drake was perhaps the most distinguished among these freebooters, whom the spirit of maritime adventure sent forth, and who afterwards signally served their country by a more honourable exercise of their knowledge and valour. His first expedition in 1572, in which he attacked Nombre de Dios, displays a most lively picture of an union of watchfulness, activity, caution, and resolution, which, though they were then applied by him to the purposes of robbery, are in themselves qualities by which friends are protected, enemies are quelled, and men in general are ruled. In a hazardous journey across the isthmus of Panama, his Indian guides showed him from the top of a high mountain the South Sea, which no English vessel had ever entered. He secretly resolved on sailing in an English vessel on that sea, and with that mixture of piety, which forms so strong a contrast with his ordinary occupations, falling on his knees and lifting up his hands to heaven, implored the blessing of God upon the enterprise on which he had just determined. An event occurred in his second voyage so characteristic of the spirit and manners of the age that it seems worthy of being related in the words of an eye-witness. 'In this port (St. Julian) our general began to inquire diligently into the actions of Mr. Thomas Doughty, the second in command, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutiny, whereby the success of the voyage might be hazarded. Whereupon the company were called together, and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by Doughty's confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true; which when our general saw, although his private affection for Mr. Doughty (as he then in the presence of us all sacredly protested) was great, yet that the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectations of her majesty, and of the honour of his country, did more touch him (as indeed it ought) than the private respect to one man; so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as near as might be to the course of our laws in England, it was concluded that Mr. Doughty should receive punishment according to the quality of his offence; and he seeing no remedy but patience, desired to receive the communion, which he did at the house of Mr. Fletcher, our minister, and our general himself accompanied him in that holy action, which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he having embraced our general, and taken leave of all the company, with prayers for the queen's majesty and her realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life.' The expedition of Drake in 1577, has become memorable as the first in which the com-

mander accomplished in his own person the circumnavigation of this planet. For Magalhães, though he perfected the practical demonstration of the earth's spherical form, having by a western route reached the Moluccas,—the navigation to which by the Cape of Good Hope had become familiar,—yet having been killed in those islands on his return to Europe in 1521, had completed his fame indeed, but without perfectly attaining his object. After an interval of sixty years, in which discovery slumbered, this achievement was performed by Drake, who, in this respect more fortunate than the discoverer, reached in 1580 by the southern promontory of Africa the port of Plymouth, from which he had sailed three years before by the road round Cape Horn. Drake was directly encouraged in this enterprise by his sovereign, who said to him before he sailed, 'We do account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us.' After his return Elizabeth dined with him on board his own vessel, on which occasion she conferred on him the honour of knighthood."

Henry VIII. in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ships from Hamburg, Lubec, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice; but Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put affairs upon a better footing; both by building some ships of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading vessels, which on occasion were converted into ships of war. In the year 1582, the seamen in England were found to be fourteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five men; the number of vessels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and seventeen above eighty tons. Monson pretends, that though navigation decayed in the first years of James I. by the practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms, yet before the year 1640, this number of seamen was tripled in England.

The navy which the queen left at her decease appears considerable, when we reflect only on the number of vessels, which were forty-two: but when we consider that none of these ships carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ships of a thousand tons; and twenty-three below five hundred, some of fifty, and some even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was seven hundred and seventy-four; we must entertain a contemptible idea of the English navy, compared to the force which it has now attained.

Harrison, in his Description of Britain, printed in 1577, has the following passage: "Certes, there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful sort of ships than the queen's majesty of England at this present; and those generally are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of them of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.—The queen's highness hath at this present already made and furnished to the number of one-and-twenty great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham road. Beside these, her grace hath other in hand also, of whom hereafter, as their turns do come about, I will not let to leave some further remembrance. She hath likewise three notable galleys, the Speedwell, the Tryeright, and the Black-Galley, with the signet whereof, and the rest of the navy-royal, it is incredible to say how marvellously her grace is delighted: and not without great cause, sith by their means



for coasts are kept in quiet, and sundry foreign enemies put back, which otherwise would invade us." After speaking of the merchant ships, which he says are commonly estimated at seventeen or eighteen hundred, he continues. "I add, therefore, to the end all men should understand somewhat of the 'great masses of treasure' daily employed upon our navy, how there are few of those ships of the first and second sort (that is of the merchant ships), that being apparelled and made ready to sail, are not worth one thousand pounds, or three thousand duckats at the least, if they should presently be sold. What shall we then think of the navy-royal, of which some one vessel is worth two of the other, as the shipwright has often told me?—It is possible that some covetous person, hearing this report, will either not credit at all, or suppose money so employed to be nothing profitable to the queen's coffers, as a good husband said once, when he heard that provisions should be made for armour, wishing the queen's money to be rather laid out to some speedier return of gain unto her grace: but if he wist that the good keeping of the sea is the safeguard of our land, he would alter his censure, and soon give over his judgment." Speaking of the forests, this author says, "An infinite deal of wood hath been destroyed within these few years, and I dare affirm, that, if wood do go so fast to decay in the next hundred years of grace, as they have done, or are like to do in this, it is to be feared that sea-coal will be good merchandise even in the city of London." Harrison's prophecy was fulfilled in a very few years; for about 1615, there were two hundred sail employed in carrying coal to London.

In the year 1588, there were not above five vessels fitted out by the noblemen and sea-ports which exceeded two hundred tons.

In the year 1599, an alarm was given of an invasion by the Spaniards; and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppose them. Nothing gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this sudden armament. In the year 1575, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine. A distribution was made in the year 1595 of a hundred and forty thousand men, besides those which Wales could supply. These armies were formidable by their numbers; but their discipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Newport frequently ran over and plundered the east coast: so unfit was the militia, as it was then constituted, for the defence of the kingdom. The lord-lieutenants were first appointed to the counties in this reign.

Mr. Murden has published from the Salisbury collections a paper which contains the military force of the nation at the time of the Spanish Armada, and which is somewhat different from the account given by our ordinary historians. It makes all the able-bodied men of the kingdom amount to a hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and thirteen; those armed, to eighty thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; of whom forty-four thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven were trained. It must be supposed that these able-bodied men consisted of such only as were registered, otherwise the small number is not to be accounted for. Yet Sir Edward Coke said in the house of commons, that he was employed about the same time, together with Popple, chief justice, to take a survey of all the people of England, and that they found them to be nine

hundred thousand of all sorts. This number, by the ordinary rules of computation, supposes that there were above two hundred thousand men able to bear arms. Yet even this number is surprisingly small. Can we suppose that the kingdom is sixteen times more populous at present? And that Murden's was the real number of men, excluding catholics and children and infirm persons?

Harrison says, that in the musters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for service amounted to 1,172,674; yet was it believed that a full third was omitted. Such uncertainty and contradiction are there in all these accounts. Notwithstanding the greatness of this number, the same author complains much of the decay of populousness: a vulgar complaint in all places and all ages. Guicciardini makes the inhabitants of England in this reign amount to two millions.

Whatever opinion we may form of the comparative populousness of England in different periods, it must be allowed that, abstracting from the national debt, there is a prodigious increase of power in that, more perhaps than in any other European state since the beginning of the last century. It is very certain that Ireland alone could at present exert a far greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of at the death of Queen Elizabeth. And we might go further, and assert, that one good county in England is able to make, at least to support, a greater effort than the whole kingdom was capable of in the reign of Henry V.; when the maintenance of a garrison in a small town like Calais formed more than a third of the ordinary national expense. Such are the effects of liberty, industry, and good government!

The state of the English manufactures was at this time very low; and foreign wares of almost all kinds had the preference. About the year 1590, there were in London four persons only rated in the subsidy-books so high as four hundred pounds. This computation is not indeed to be deemed an exact estimate of their wealth. In 1567 there were found, on inquiry, to be four thousand eight hundred and fifty-one strangers of all nations in London: of whom three thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots. The persecutions in France and the Low Countries drove afterwards a greater number of foreigners into England; and the commerce as well as manufactures of that kingdom was very much improved by them.

By a lucky accident in language, which has a great effect on men's ideas, the invidious word *usury*, which formerly meant the taking of any interest for money, came now to express only the taking of exorbitant and illegal interest. An act passed in 1571 violently condemns all usury; but permits ten per cent. interest to be paid. Henry IV. of France reduced interest to 6½ per cent.; an indication of the great advance of France above England in commerce.

Dr. Howel, says, that Queen Elizabeth in the third year of her reign was presented with a pair of black silk knit stockings by her silk-woman, and never wore cloth hose any more. The author of *The present State of England* says, that about 1577, pocket watches were first brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580, the use of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel. Before that time, the queen, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain.

Camden says, that in 1581 Randolph, so much employed by the queen in foreign embassies, possessed the office of postmaster-general of England. It appears, therefore, that posts were then established; though, from Charles the First's regulations in 1635, it would seem that few post-houses were erected before that time.

In a remonstrance of the Hanse Towns to the diet of the empire in 1582, it is affirmed that England exported annually about two hundred thousand pieces of cloth. This number seems to be much exaggerated.

In the fifth of this reign was enacted the first law for the relief of the poor.

A judicious author of that age confirms the vulgar observation, that the kingdom was depopulating from the increase of enclosures and decay of tillage; and he ascribes the reason very justly to the restraints put on the exportation of corn; while full liberty was allowed to export all the produce of pasturage, such as wool, hides, leather, tallow, &c. These prohibitions of exportation were derived from the prerogative, and were very injudicious. The queen, once, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good success. From the same author we learn, that the complaints renewed in our time, were then very common, concerning the high prices of every thing.

In a work intitled "A compendious or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen;" the author says, that in twenty or thirty years before 1581, commodities had in general risen fifty per cent.; some more. "Cannot you, neighbour, remember," says he, "that within these thirty years, I could in this town buy the best pig or goose I could lay my hands on for four-pence, which now costeth twelve-pence, a good capon for three-pence, or four-pence, a chicken for a penny, a hen for two-pence?" Yet the price of ordinary labour was then eight-pence a day.

#### *Manners, &c.*

The nobility in this age still supported, in some degree, the ancient magnificence in their hospitality, and in the numbers of their retainers; and the queen found it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expenses in this last particular. The expense of hospitality she somewhat encouraged by the frequent visits she paid her nobility, and the sumptuous feasts which she received from them.

We find the earl of Leicester desiring Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, to provide him with a riding-master in that country, to whom he promises a hundred pounds a-year, besides maintaining himself and servant and a couple of horses. "I know," adds the earl, "that such a man as I want may receive higher wages in France: but let him consider, that a shilling in England goes as far as two shillings in France." It is known that every thing is much changed since that time.

Harrison, after enumerating the queen's palaces, adds: "But what shall I need to take upon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the queen's majesty hath? Sith all is hers; and when it pleaseth her in the summer season to recreate herself abroad, and view the estate of the country, and hear the complaints of her poor commons injured by her unjust officers or their substitutes, every nobleman's house is her palace, where she continueth during pleasure, and till she return again to some of her own, in which she remaineth so long as she pleaseth."

The earl of Leicester gave her an entertainment

in Kenilworth-castle, which was extraordinary for expense and magnificence. Among other particulars, we are told, that three hundred and sixty-five hogsh-heads of beer were drank at it. The earl had fortified this castle at great expense; and it contained arms for ten thousand men. The earl of Derby had a family consisting of two hundred and forty servants. Stowe remarks it as a singular proof of beneficence in this nobleman, that he was contented with his rent from his tenants, and exacted not any extraordinary services from them: a proof that the great power of the sovereign (what was almost unavoidable) had very generally countenanced the nobility in tyrannising over the people. Burleigh, though he was frugal, and had no paternal estate, kept a family consisting of a hundred servants. He had a standing table for gentlemen, and two other tables for persons of meaner condition, which were always served alike, whether he were in town or in the country. About his person he had people of great distinction, insomuch that he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thousand pounds a-year; and as many among his ordinary servants, who were worth from a thousand pounds to three, five, ten, and twenty thousand pounds. It is to be remarked, that though the revenues of the crown were at that time very small, the ministers and courtiers sometimes found means, by employing the boundless prerogative, to acquire greater fortunes than it is possible for them at present to amass, from their larger salaries, and more limited authority.

Burleigh entertained the queen twelve several times in his country-house; where she remained three, four or five weeks at a time. Each visit cost him two or three thousand pounds. The quantity of silver plate possessed by this nobleman is surprising: no less than fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds weight; which besides the fashion would be above forty-two thousand pounds sterling in value. Yet Burleigh left only four thousand pounds a-year in land, and eleven thousand pounds in money; and as land was then commonly sold at ten years' purchase, his plate was nearly equal to all the rest of his fortune. It appears that little value was then put upon the fashion of the plate, which probably was but rude: the weight was chiefly considered.

In the Life of Burleigh, published by Collins, the author hints, that this quantity of plate was considered only as small in a man of Burleigh's rank. His words are, "his plate was not above fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds:" that he means pounds weight is evident. For, by Burleigh's will, which is annexed to his life, that nobleman gives away in legacies, to friends and relations, near four thousand pounds weight, which would have been above twelve thousand pounds sterling in value. The remainder he orders to be divided into two equal portions; the half to his eldest son and heir; the other half to be divided equally among his second son and three daughters. Were we therefore to understand the whole value of his plate to be only fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds sterling, he left not the tenth of it to the heir of his family.

But, though there were preserved great remains of the ancient customs, the nobility were by degrees acquiring a taste for elegant luxury; and many edifices in particular were built by them, neat, large, and sumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, says Camden; but to the no less decay of the glorious hospitality of the nation. It is, however, more reasonable to think, that this new turn of ex-



pense promoted arts and industry; while the ancient hospitality was the source of vice, disorder, sedition and idleness.

Harrison says, the "greatest part of our building in the cities and good towns of England consisteth only of timber, cast over with thick clay to keep out the wind. Certes, this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in Queen Mary's days to wonder; but chiefly when they saw that large diet was used in many of these so homely cottages, insomuch that one of no small reputation amongst them said, after this manner; these English, quoth he, have their houses made of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in such coarse cabins, than of their own thin diet in their princely habitations and palaces. The clay with which our houses are commonly impanelled is either white, red, or blue." The author adds, that the new houses of the nobility are commonly of brick or stone, and that glass windows were beginning to be used in England.

Among the other species of luxury, that of apparel began much to increase during this age; and the queen thought proper to restrain it by proclamation. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, or more desirous of making impression on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or studied more the variety and richness of her dresses. She appeared almost every day in a different habit; and tried all the several modes by which she hoped to render herself agreeable. She was also so fond of her clothes, that she never could part with any of them; and at her death she had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thousand, which she had ever worn in her lifetime.

The retrenchment of the ancient hospitality, and the diminution of retainers, were favourable to the prerogative of the sovereign; and by disabling the great noblemen from resistance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of justice. There were many peculiar causes in the situation and character of Henry VII., which augmented the authority of the crown: most of these causes concurred in succeeding princes; together with the factions in religion, and the acquisition of the supremacy, a most important article of prerogative: but the manners of the age were a general cause which operated during this whole period, and which continually tended to diminish the riches, and still more the influence of the aristocracy, anciently so formidable to the crown. The habits of luxury dissipated the immense fortunes of the ancient barons; and as the new methods of expense gave subsistence to mechanics and merchants, who lived in an independent manner on the fruits of their own industry, a nobleman, instead of that unlimited ascendancy which he was wont to assume over those who were maintained at his board, or subsisted by salaries conferred on them, retained only that moderate influence which customers have over tradesmen, and which can never be dangerous to civil government. The landed proprietors also, having a greater demand for money than for men, endeavoured to turn their lands to the best account with regard to profit; and either enclosing their fields, or joining many small farms into a few large ones, dismissed those useless hands which formerly were anxious at their call in every attempt to subvert the government, or oppose a neighbouring baron. By

all these means the cities increased; the middle rank of men began to be rich and powerful; the prince, who in effect was the same with the law was implicitly obeyed; and though the further progress of the same causes begat a new plan of liberty, founded on the privileges of the commons, yet in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the rise of this order, the sovereign took advantage of the present situation, and assumed an authority almost absolute.

Whatever may be commonly imagined, from the authority of Lord Bacon, and from that of Harrington, and later authors, the laws of Henry VII. contributed very little towards the great revolution which happened about this period in the English constitution. The practice of breaking entails by a fine and recovery had been introduced in the preceding reigns; and this prince only gave indirectly a legal sanction to the practice, by reforming some abuses which attended it. But the settled authority which he acquired to the crown, enabled the sovereign to encroach on the separate jurisdictions of the barons, and produced a more general and regular execution of the laws. The counties palatine underwent the same fate as the feudal powers; and, by a statute of Henry VIII., the jurisdiction of these counties was annexed to the crown, and all writs were ordained to run in the king's name. But the change of manners was the chief cause of the secret revolution of government, and subverted the power of the barons. There appear still in this reign some remains of the ancient slavery of the boors and peasants, but none afterwards.

The following extracts from Miss Aikin's *Court of Elizabeth* will illustrate the manners and characters more vividly than any other of our historians. The following is her account of Thomas Gresham, and of the Royal Exchange; and of the manners of the nobility.

Thomas Gresham was born of a family at once enlightened, wealthy and commercial; and he had shared the advantage of an education at the university of Cambridge previously to his entrance on the walk of life to which he was destined, and which, fortunately for himself, his superior acquirements did not tempt him to desert or to despise.

His father, Sir Richard Gresham, had been agent to Henry VIII. for the negotiation of loans with the merchants of Antwerp, and in 1552 he himself was nominated to act in a similar capacity to Edward VI., when he was eminently serviceable in redeeming the credit of the king, sunk to the lowest ebb by the mismanagement of his father's immediate successor in the agency. Under Elizabeth he enjoyed the same appointment, to which was added that of queen's merchant; and it appears by the official letters of the time that political as well as pecuniary affairs were often intrusted to his discreet and able management. He was also a spirited promoter of the infant manufactures of his country, several of which owed to him their first establishment. By his diligence and commercial talents he at length rendered himself the most opulent subject in the kingdom; and the queen showed her sense of his merit and consequence by bestowing on him the honour of knighthood.

Gresham had always made a liberal and patriotic use of his wealth; but after the death of his only son, in 1564, he formed the resolution of making his country his principal heir. The merchants of London had hitherto been unprovided with any building in the nature of a bourse or exchange, such

as Gresham had seen in the great commercial cities of Flanders; and he now munificently offered, if the city would give him a piece of ground, to build them one at his own expense. The edifice was begun accordingly in 1566, and finished within three years. It was a quadrangle of brick, with walks on the ground-floor for the merchants (who now ceased to transact their business in the middle aisle of St. Paul's cathedral), with vaults for warehouses beneath and a range of shops above, from the rent of which the proprietor sought some remuneration for his great charges. But the shops did not immediately find occupants; and it seems to have been partly with the view of bringing them into vogue that the queen promised her countenance to the undertaking. In January 1571, attended by a splendid train, she entered the city; and after dining with Sir Thomas at his spacious mansion in Bishopsgate-street (still remaining), she repaired to the bourse, visited every part of it, and caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet that henceforth it should bear the name of the Royal Exchange. Gresham offered the shops rent-free for a year to such as would furnish them with wares and wax lights against the coming of the queen; and a most sumptuous display was made of the richest commodities and manufactures of every quarter of the globe.

Afterwards the shops of the exchange became the favourite resort of fashionable customers of both sexes: much money was squandered here, and, if we are to trust the representations of satirists and comic writers, many reputations were lost. The building was destroyed in the fire of London; and the dirvies of that day, according to their custom, pronounced this catastrophe a judgment on the avarice and unfair dealing of the merchants and shopkeepers; and on the pride, prodigality and luxury of the purchasers and idlers by whom it was frequented and maintained.

On the first of May (1571) and the two following days solemn justs were held before the queen at Westminster; in which the challengers were the earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Sir Christopher Hatton,—all four deserving of biographical commemoration.

Edward, earl of Oxford, was the seventeenth of the illustrious family of Vere who had borne that title; and his character presented an extraordinary union of the haughtiness, violence and impetuosity of the feudal baron, with many of the elegant propensities and mental accomplishments which adorn the nobleman of a happier age. It was probably to his travels in Italy that he owed his more refined tastes both in literature and in luxury; and it was thence that he brought those perfumed and embroidered gloves which he was the first to introduce into England. A superb pair which he presented to her majesty were so much approved by her, that she sat for her portrait with them on her hands. These gloves became of course highly fashionable, but those prepared in Spain were soon found to excel in scent all others; and the importance attached to this discovery may be estimated by the following commission given by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, then in France, to Sir Thomas Chaloner, ambassador in Spain:—"I pray you, good my lord ambassador, send me two pair of perfumed gloves, perfumed with orange-flowers and jasmine, the one for my wife's hand, the other for mine own; and whereinsoever I can pleasure you with any thing in this country, you shall have it in recompense

thereof, or else so much money as they shall cost you; provided always that they be of the best choice, wherein your judgment is inferior to none."

The earl of Oxford enjoyed in his own times a high poetical reputation; but his once celebrated comedies have perished, and two or three fugitive pieces inserted in collections are the only legacy bequeathed to posterity by his muse. Of these "The complaint of a lover wearing black and tawny" has ceased, in the change of manners and fashions, to interest or affect the reader. "Fancy and Desire" may still lay claim to the praise of ingenuity, though the idea is perhaps not original even here; and has since been exhibited with very considerable improvements both in French and English, especially in Ben Jonson's celebrated song, "Tell me where was Fancy bred?" Two or three stanzas may bear quotation.

"Where wert thou born, Desire?"  
 "In pomp and pride of May."  
 "By whom, sweet boy, wert thou begot?"  
 "By fond Conceit, men say."  
 "Tell me who was thy nurse?"  
 "Fresh Youth in sugred joy."  
 "What was thy meat and daily food?"  
 "Sad sighs with great annoy."  
 "What hadst thou then to drink?"  
 "Unsavory lovers' tears."  
 "What cradle wert thou rocked in?"  
 "In hope devoid of fears," &c.

In the chivalrous exercises of the tilt and tournament the earl of Oxford had few superiors: he was victor in the justs both of this year and of the year 1580; and on the latter occasion he was led by two ladies into the presence-chamber, all armed as he was, to receive a prize from her majesty's own hand. Afterwards, by gross misconduct, he incurred from his sovereign a disgrace equally marked and public; being committed to the Tower for an attempt on one of her maids of honour. On other occasions his lawless propensities broke out with a violence which Elizabeth herself was scarcely able to restrain.

He had openly begun to muster his friends, retainers and servants, to take vengeance on Sir Thomas Knevet, by whom he had been wounded in a duel; and the queen, who interfered to prevent the execution of this savage design, was obliged for some time to appoint Knevet a guard in order to secure his life. He also publicly insulted Sir Philip Sidney in the tennis-court of the palace; and her majesty could discover no other means of preventing fatal consequences than compelling Sir Philip Sidney, as inferior in rank, to compromise the quarrel on terms which he regarded as so inequitable and degrading, that after transmitting to her majesty a spirited remonstrance against encouraging the insolence of the great nobles, he retired to Penshurst in disgust. The duke of Norfolk was the nephew of this earl of Oxford, who was very strongly attached to him, and used the utmost urgency of entreaty with Burleigh, whose daughter he had married, to prevail on him to procure his pardon "but not succeeding," says Lord Orford, "he was so incensed against that minister, that in most absurd and unjust revenge (though the cause was amiable) he swore he would do all he could to ruin his daughter; and accordingly not only forsook her bed, but sold and consumed great part of the vast inheritance descended to him from his ancestors."

This remarkable person died very aged early in the reign of James I.

Sir Charles Howard, eldest son of Lord Howard of Effingham, was at this period of his life chiefly



remarkable for the uncommon beauty of his person, —a species of merit never overlooked by her majesty,—for grace and agility in his exercises, and for the manners of an accomplished courtier. At no time was he regarded as a person of profound judgment; and of vanity and self-consequence he is said to have possessed an abundant share. He was however brave, courteous, liberal, and diligent in affairs; and the favour of the queen admitted him in 1585 to succeed his father in the office of lord-high-admiral. His intrepid bearing in the year 1588, encouraged his sailors to meet the terrible Armada with stout hearts and cheerful countenances; and the glory of its defeat was as much his own as the participation of winds and waves would allow. Partly in consideration of this distinguished piece of service he was created earl of Nottingham; and the queen's partiality towards her relations increasing with her years, he became towards the end of the reign one of the most considerable persons at her court, where his hostility to Essex grew equally notorious with the better grounded antipathy entertained by Sussex, also a royal kinsman, against Leicester, the earlier favourite of her majesty.

The earl of Nottingham survived to the year 1624, the 88th of his age.

Sir Henry Lee was one of the finest courtiers and certainly the most complete knight-errant of his time. When he had arrived at his fortieth year, he had travelled and seen some military service; but the tilt-yard was ever the scene of his most conspicuous exploits and those in which he placed his highest glory. He had declared himself the queen's own knight and champion; and having inscribed upon his shield the constellation of Ariadne's Crown, culminating in her majesty's nativity, bound himself by a solemn vow to appear armed in the tilt-yard on every anniversary of her happy accession till disabled by age. This vow gave origin to the annual exercises of the Knights-Tilters, a society consisting of twenty-five of the most gallant and favoured of the courtiers of Elizabeth. The modern reader may wonder to find included in this number so grave an officer as Bromley, lord chancellor; but under the maiden reign neither the deepest statesman, the most studious lawyer, nor the rudest soldier, was exempted from the humiliating obligation of accepting, and even soliciting, those household and menial offices usually discharged by mere courtiers; nor from the irksome one of assuming, for the sake of their sovereign lady, the romantic disguise of armed champions and enamoured knights. Sir Henry Lee, however, appears to have devoted his life to these chivalrous pageantries rather from a quixotical imagination than with any serious views of ambition or interest. He was a gentleman of ancient family and plentiful fortune, little connected, as far as appears, with any court faction or political party, and neither capable nor ambitious of any public station of importance. It is an amiable and generous trait of his character, that he attended the unfortunate duke of Norfolk even to the scaffold; received his last embrace, and repeated to the assembled multitude his request that they would assist him with their prayers in his final agony. His royal Dulcinea rewarded his fatigues and his adoration by the heutenancy of Woodstock manor and the office of keeper of the armoury; and moreover, by the appropriate meed of admission into the most noble order of the Garter. He resigned the championship at the approach of old age with a solemn and characteristic ceremony, and

at his mansion of Quarendon in Bucks, in 1611 in his 81st year; and was interred in the parish church under a splendid tomb hung round with military trophies, and inscribed with a very long, very quaint and very tumid epitaph.

Christopher Hatton, the last of this undaunted band of challengers, was a new competitor for the smiles of royalty; and bright was the dawn of fortune and of favour which already broke upon him. He was of a decayed family of Northamptonshire gentry; and had just commenced the study of the law at one of the inns of court, when hope or curiosity stimulated him to gain admittance at some court-festival, where he had an opportunity of dancing before the queen in a mask. His figure and his performance so captivated her fancy, that she immediately bestowed upon him some flattering marks of attention, which encouraged him to quit his profession and turn courtier.

This showy outside and these gay accomplishments were unexpectedly found in union with a moderate and cautious temper, enlightened views and a solid understanding; and after due deliberation, Elizabeth, that penetrating judge of men, decided, in spite of ridicule, that she could not do better than make this superlatively-excellent dancer of galliards her lord-chancellor.

The enemies of Hatton are said to have promoted this appointment in expectation of his disgracing himself by ignorance and incapacity; but their malice was disappointed; whatever he did not know, he was able to learn and willing to be taught; he discharged the duties of his high office with prudence first and afterwards with ability, and died in 1591 in possession of it and of the public esteem. It is remarkable, considering the general predilection of the queen in favour of celibacy, that Hatton was the only one of her ministers who lived and died a bachelor.

The credulity of this period will be sufficiently proved by the following extracts:—

It is worth recording, on the subject of the negotiations between Elizabeth and the royal family of France, that Burleigh seems to have been encouraged to expect a successful issue by a calculation of the queen's nativity; seen by Strype in his own handwriting; from which it was foretold that she should marry, in middle life, a foreign prince younger than herself; and probably be the mother of a son, who should be prosperous in his middle age. Catherine de' Medici also, to whom some female fortune-teller had predicted that all her sons should be kings, hoped, after the election of her second son to the throne of Poland, to find the full accomplishment of the prophecy in the advancement of the youngest to the matrimonial crown of England.

Great alarms were excited in the country during the year 1577 by the prevalence of certain magical practices, which were supposed to strike at the life of her majesty. There were found at Islington concealed in the house of a catholic priest who was a reputed sorcerer, three waxen images, formed to represent the queen and two of her chief counsellors; other dealings also of professors of the occult sciences were from time to time discovered. "Whether it were the effect of this magic," says Strype, who wrote in the beginning of the eighteenth century, "or proceeded from some natural cause, but the queen was in some part of this year under excessive anguish by pains of her teeth: insomuch that she took no rest for divers nights, and endured very great torment night and day." In this extre-

mity, a certain "outlandish physician" was consulted; who composed on the case, with much solemnity of style, a long Latin letter, in which, after observing with due humility that it was a perilous attempt in a person of his slender abilities to prescribe for a disease which had caused perplexity and diversity of opinion among the skilful and eminent physicians ordinarily employed by her majesty; he ventured however to suggest various applications as worthy of trial; finally hinting at the expediency of having recourse to extraction, on the possible failure of all other means to afford relief. How this weighty matter terminated we are not here informed; but it is upon record that Aylmer, bishop of London, once submitted to have a tooth drawn, in order to encourage her majesty to undergo that operation; and as the promotion of the learned prelate was at this time recent, and his gratitude, it may be presumed, still lively, we may perhaps be permitted to conjecture that it was the bishop who on this occasion performed the part of exorcist.

The following account will give an idea of the amusements of this period.

Leicester, anxious to secure his ascendancy by fresh efforts of gallantry and instances of devotedness, entreated to be indulged in the privilege of entertaining her majesty for several days at his seat of Wanstead-house; a recent and expensive purchase, which he had been occupied in adorning with a magnificence suited to the ostentatious prodigality of his disposition.

It was for the entertainment of her majesty on this occasion that Philip Sidney condescended to task a genius worthy of better things with the composition of a mask in celebration of her surpassing beauties and royal virtues; entitled "The Lady of May." In defence of this public act of adulation, the young poet had probably the particular request of his uncle and patron to plead, as well as the common practice of the age; but it must still be mortifying, under any circumstances, to record the abasement of such a spirit to a level with the vulgar herd of Elizabeth's flatterers.

Unsatisfied with festivities and homage, the queen continued her progress from Wanstead through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; receiving the attendance of numerous troops of gentry, and paying visits in her way to all who felt themselves entitled, or called upon, to solicit with due humility the costly honour of entertaining her. Her train was numerous and brilliant, and the French ambassadors constantly attended her motions. About the middle of August she arrived at Norwich.

This ancient city, then one of the most considerable in the kingdom, yielded to none in a zealous attachment to protestant principles and to the queen's person; and as its remote situation had rendered the arrival of a royal visitant within its walls an extremely rare occurrence, the magistrates resolved to spare nothing which could contribute to the splendour of her reception.

At the furthest limits of the city she was met by the mayor, who addressed her in a long and very abject Latin oration; in which he was not ashamed to pronounce that the city enjoyed its charters and privileges "by her only clemency." At the conclusion he produced a large silver cup filled with gold pieces, saying, "Sunt hic centum libræ puri auri:" Welcome sounds! which failed not to reach the ear of her gracious majesty, who, lifting up the cover with alacrity, said audibly to the footman to whose care it was delivered; "Look to it, there is

a hundred pound." Pageants were set up in the principal streets, of which one had at least the merit of appropriateness; since it accurately represented the various processes employed in those woollen manufactures for which Norwich was already famous.

Two days after her majesty's arrival, Mercury in a blue satin doublet lined with cloth of gold, with a hat of the same, garnished with wings, and wings at his feet, appeared under her chamber-window in an extraordinarily fine painted coach, and invited her to go abroad and see more shows; and a kind of mask in which Venus and Cupid with Wantonness and Riot were discomfited by the goddess of Chastity and her attendants, was performed in the open air. A troop of nymphs and fairies lay in ambush for her return from dining with the earl of Surrey; and in the midst of these heathenish exhibitions, the minister of the Dutch church watched his opportunity to offer to her the grateful homage of his flock. To these deserving strangers, protestant refugees from Spanish oppression, the policy of Elizabeth, in this instance equally generous and discerning, had granted every privilege capable of inducing them to make her kingdom their permanent abode. At Norwich, where the greater number had settled, a church was given them for the performance of public worship in their own tongue and according to the form which they preferred; and encouragement was held out to them to establish here several branches of manufacture which they had previously carried on to great advantage at home. This accession of skill and industry soon raised the woollen fabrics of England to a pitch of excellence unknown in former ages, and repaid with usury to the country this exercise of public hospitality.

It appears that the inventing of masks, pageants and devices for the recreation of the queen on her progresses had become a distinct profession. George Ferrers, formerly commemorated as master of the pastimes to Edward VI.; one Goldingham; and Churchyard, author of "the Worthiness of Wales," of some legends in the "Mirror for Magistrates," and of a prodigious quantity of verse on various subjects, were the most celebrated proficient in this branch; all three are handed down to posterity as contributors to "the princely pleasures of Kennelworth," and the two latter as managers of the Norwich entertainments. They vied with each other in the gorgeousness, the pedantry and the surprisingness of their devices; but the palm was surely due to him of the number who had the glory of contriving a battle between certain allegorical personages, in the midst of which, "legs and arms of men, well and lively wrought, were to be let fall in numbers on the ground as bloody as might be." The combat was to have been exhibited in the open air; but the skies were unpropitious, and a violent shower of rain unfortunately deprived her majesty of the satisfaction of witnessing the effect of so extraordinary and elegant a device.

When the French king found leisure to turn his attention once more to the object, from which he had been apparently diverted by the civil wars which had broken out afresh in his country; he was encouraged to send in 1581 a splendid embassy, headed by a prince of the blood, to settle the terms of this august alliance; of which every one now expected to see the completion. A magnificent reception was prepared by Elizabeth for these noble strangers; but she had the weakness to choose to appear before them in the borrowed character of a heroine of romance, rather than in that of a great princess whose



vigorous yet cautious politics had rendered her for more than twenty years the admiration of all the statesmen of Europe. She caused to be erected on the south side of her palace of Whitehall, a vast banquetting-house, framed of timber and covered with painted canvass, which was decorated internally in a style of the most fantastic gaudiness. Pendants of fruits of various kinds (amongst which cucumbers and even carrots are enumerated) were hung from festoons of ivy, bay, rosemary and different flowers; the whole lavishly sprinkled with gold spangles: the ceiling was painted like a sky, with stars, sunbeams and clouds, intermixed with scutcheons of the royal arms: and a profusion of glass lustres illuminated the whole. In this enchanted palace the French ambassadors were entertained by the maiden queen at several splendid banquets, while her ministers were engaged by her command in drawing up the marriage articles. Meantime several of her youthful courtiers, anxious to complete the gay illusion in the imagination of their sovereign, prepared for the exhibition of what was called "a triumph;"—of which the following was the plan.

The young earl of Arundel, Lord Windsor, Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville, the four challengers, styled themselves the foster-children of Desire; and to that end of the tilt-yard where her majesty was seated, their adulation gave the name of the Castle of Perfect Beauty. This castle the queen was summoned to surrender in a very courtly message delivered by a boy dressed in red and white, the colours of Desire. On her refusal, a mount placed on wheels was rolled into the tilt-yard; and the four cavaliers rode in superbly armed and accoutred; each at the head of a splendid troop; and when they had passed in military order before the queen, the boy who had delivered the former message thus again addressed her:—

"If the message lately delivered unto you had been believed and followed, O queen! in whom the whole story of virtue is written with the language of beauty; nothing should this violence have needed in your inviolate presence. Your eyes which till now have been wont to discern only the bowed knees of kneeling hearts, and, inwardly turned, found always the heavenly peace of a sweet mind, should not now have their fair beams reflected with the shining of armour, should not now be driven to see the fury of desire, nor the fiery force of fury. But sith so it is (alas that it is so!) that in the defence of obstinate refusal there never groweth victory but by compulsion, they are come:—what need I say more? You see them, ready in heart as you know, and able with hands, as they hope, not only to assailing, but to prevailing. Perchance you despise the smallness of number. I say unto you, the force of Desire goeth not by fulness of company. Nay, rather view with what irresistible determination themselves approach; and how not only the heavens send their invisible instruments to aid them (*music within the mount*) but also the very earth, the dullest of all the elements, which with natural heaviness still strives to the sleepy centre, yet, for advancing this enterprise, is content actually (as you shall see) to move itself upon itself to rise up in height, that it may the better command the high and high-mounded fortresses.

"(*Here the mount rose up in height.*) Many words, when deeds are in the field are tedious both unto the speaker and hearer. You see their forces, but know not their fortunes: if you be re-

solved, it boots not; and threats dread not. I have discharged my charge, which was even when all things were ready for the assault, then to offer parley; a thing not so much used as gracious in besiegers. You shall now be summoned to yield; which if it be rejected, then look for the affectionate alarm to be followed with desirous assault. The time approacheth for their approaches, but no time shall stay me from wishing, that however this succeed, the world may long enjoy its chiefest ornament, which decks it with herself, and herself with the love of goodness."

The rolling mount was now moved close to the queen, the music sounded, and one of the boys accompanied with cornets sung a fresh summons to the fortress.

When this was ended, another boy, turning to the challengers and their retinue, sung an alarm, which ended, the two cannons were shot off, "the one with sweet powder and the other with sweet water, very odoriferous and pleasant; and the noise of the shooting was very excellent consent of melody within the mount. And after that, was store of pretty scaling-ladders; and the footmen threw flowers and such fancies against the walls, with all such devices as might seem fit shot for Desire. All which did continue till time the defendants came in." These were above twenty in number, and each accompanied by his servants, pages and trumpeters. Speeches were delivered to the queen on the part of these knights, several of whom appeared in some assumed character; Sir Thomas Perrot and Anthony Cook thought proper to personate Adam and Eve; the latter having "hair hung all down his helmet." The messenger sent on the part of Thomas Ratcliff described his master as a forlorn knight, whom despair of achieving the favour of his peerless and sunlike mistress had driven out of the haunts of men into a cave of the desert; where moss was his couch, and moss-moistened by tears his only food. Even here, however, the report of this assault upon the castle of Perfect Beauty had reached his ears and roused him from his slumber of despondency; and in token of his devoted loyalty and inviolable fidelity to his divine lady, he sent his shield; which he entreated her to accept as the ensign of her fame and the instrument of his glory, prostrating himself at her feet as one ready to undertake any adventures in hope of her gracious favour.—Of this romantic picture of devoted and despairing passion the description of Amadis de Gaul at the Poor Rock seems to have been the prototype.

On the part of the four sons of Sir Francis Knolles, Mercury appeared; and described them as "legitimate sons of Despair, brethren to hard mishap; suckled with sighs and swathed up in sorrow, weaned in woe and drenched by Desire, long time fostered with favourable countenance and fed with sweet fancies, but now of late (alas!) wholly given over to grief and disgraced by disdain," &c. The speeches being ended, probably to the relief of the bearers, the tilting commenced and lasted till night. It was resumed the next day with some fresh circumstances of magnificence and a few more harangues:—at length the challengers presented to the queen an olive bough in token of their humble submission; and both parties were dismissed by her with thanks and commendations.

Bohun ends his minute description of "the habit of Queen Elizabeth in public and private," with a passage proper to complete such portion of her history. "The coming of the duke d'Alençon opened

a way to a more free way of living, and relaxed very much the old severe form of discipline. The queen danced often then; and omitted no sort of recreation, pleasing conversation, or variety of delights for his satisfaction. At the same time, the plenty of good dishes, pleasant wines, fragrant ointments and perfumes, dances, masks, and variety of rich attire, were all taken up and used to show him how much he was honoured. There were then acted comedies and tragedies with much cost and splendour. When these things had once been entertained, the courtiers were never more to be reclaimed from them; and they could not be satiated or wearied with them. But when Alençon was once dismissed and gone, the queen herself left off these diversions and betook herself as before to the care of her kingdom; and both by example and severe corrections endeavoured to reduce her nobility to their old severe way of life."

Sir William Holles of Haughton in Nottinghamshire, a gentleman who refused to marry his daughter to the earl of Cumberland, because he did not chioose "to stand cap in hand" to his son-in-law, died at a great age in the year 1590; and a few particulars respecting him and his descendants may deserve record, on account of the strong light which they reflect on several points of manners. Sir William was distinguished, perhaps, beyond any other person of the same rank in the kingdom, for boundless hospitality and a magnificent style of living. "He began his Christmas," says the historian of the family, "at Allhallowtide and continued it until Candelmas; during which any man was permitted to stay three days, without being asked whence he came or what he was." For each of the twelve days of Christmas he allowed a fat ox and other provisions in proportion. He would never dine till after one o'clock; and being asked why he preferred so unusually late an hour, he answered, that "for aught he knew there might a friend come twenty miles to dine with him, and he would be loth he should lose his labour."

At the coronation of Edward VI. he appeared with fifty followers in blue coats and badges;—then the ordinary costume of retainers and serving men;—and he never went to the sessions at Retford, though only four miles from his own mansion, without thirty "proper fellows" at his heels. What was then rare among the greatest subjects, he kept a company of actors of his own to perform plays and masques at festival times; in summer they travelled about the country.

This Sir William was succeeded in his estates by Sir John Holles his grandson, who was one of the band of gentlemen-pensioners to Elizabeth; and in the reign of James I. purchased the title of earl of Clare. His grandfather had engaged his hand to a kinswoman of the earl of Shrewsbury; but the young man declining to complete this contract, and taking to wife a daughter of Sir Thomas Stanhope, the consequence was a long and inveterate feud between the houses of Holles and of Talbot, which was productive of several remarkable incidents. Its first effect was a duel between Orme, a servant of Holles, and Pudsey, master of horse to the earl of Shrewsbury; in which the latter was slain. The earl prosecuted Orme and sought to take away his life; but Sir John Holles in the first instance caused him to be conveyed away to Ireland, and afterwards obtained his pardon of the queen. For his conduct in this business he was himself challenged by Gervase Markham, champion and gallant to the countess

of Shrewsbury; but Holles refused the duel, because the unreasonable demand of Markham that it should take place in a park belonging to the earl his enemy, gave him just ground to apprehend that some treachery was meditated. Anxious however to wipe away the aspersions which his adversary had taken occasion to cast upon his courage, he sought a rencounter which might wear the appearance of accident; and soon after, having met Markham on the road, they immediately dismounted and attacked each other with their rapiers; Markham fell, severely wounded; and the earl of Shrewsbury lost no time in raising his servants and tenantry to the number of a hundred and twenty in order to apprehend Holles in case Markham's hurt should prove mortal. On the other side Lord Sheffield, the kinsman of Holles, joined him with sixty men. "I hear, cousin," said he on his arrival, "that my lord of Shrewsbury is prepared to trouble you; but take my word, before he carry you it shall cost many a broken pate;" and he and his company remained at Haughton till the wounded man was out of danger. Markham had vowed never to eat supper or take the sacrament till he was revenged; and in consequence found himself obliged to abstain from both to the day of his death. What appears the most extraordinary part of the story is, that we do not find the queen and council interfering to put a stop to this private war, worthy of the barbarism of the feudal ages. Gervase Markham, who was the portionless younger son of a Nottinghamshire gentleman of ancient family, became the most voluminous miscellaneous writer of his age; using his pen apparently as his chief means of subsistence. He wrote on a vast variety of subjects, and both in verse and prose; but his works on farriery and husbandry appear to have been the most useful, and those on field sports the most entertaining, of his performances.

The ceremonial of her court rivalled the servility of the East: no person of whatever rank ventured to address her otherwise than kneeling; and this attitude was preserved by all her ministers during their audiences of business, with the exception of Burleigh, in whose favour, when aged and infirm, she dispensed with its observance. Hentzner, a German traveller who visited England near the conclusion of her reign, relates; that as she passed through several apartments from the chapel to dinner, wherever she turned her eyes he observed the spectators throw themselves on their knees. The same traveller further relates, that the officers and ladies whose business it was to arrange the dishes and give tastes of them to the yeomen of the guard by whom they were brought in, did not presume to approach the royal table without repeated prostrations and genuflections, and every mark of reverence due to her majesty in person.

The appropriation of her time and the arrangements of her domestic life present more favourable traits.

"First in the morning she spent some time at her devotions; then she betook herself to the dispatch of her civil affairs, reading letters, ordering answers, considering what should be brought before the council and consulting with her ministers. When she had thus wearied herself, she would walk in a shady garden or pleasant gallery, without any other attendance than that of a few learned men. Then she took her coach and passed in the sight of her people to the neighbouring groves and fields; and sometimes would hunt or hawk. There was scarce



a day but she employed some part of it in reading and study; sometimes before she entered upon her state affairs, sometimes after them."

She slept little, seldom drank wine, was sparing in her diet, and a religious observer of the fasts. She sometimes dined alone, but more commonly had with her some of her friends. "At supper she would divert herself with her friends and attendants; and if they made her no answer would put them upon mirth and pleasant discourse with great civility. She would then also admit Tarleton, a famous comedian and pleasant talker; and other such men, to divert her with stories of the town and the common jests and accidents."

"She would recreate herself with a game of chess, dancing or singing. . . . She would often play at cards and tables; and if at any time she happened to win, she would be sure to demand the money. . . . She was waited on in her bedchamber by married ladies of the nobility; the marchioness of Winchester, widow, Lady Warwick, and Lady Scrope; and here she would seldom suffer any to wait upon her but Leicester, Hatton, Essex, Nottingham and Raleigh. . . . Some lady always slept in her chamber; and besides her guards, there was always a gentleman of good quality and some others up in the next chamber to wake her if any thing extraordinary happened."

"She loved a prudent and moderate habit in her private apartment and conversation with her own servants; but when she appeared in public she was ever richly adorned with the most valuable clothes; set off again with much gold and jewels of inestimable value; and on such occasions she ever wore high shoes, that she might seem taller than indeed she was. The first day of the parliament she would appear in a robe embroidered with pearls; the royal crown on her head, the golden ball in her left hand and the sceptre in her right; and as she never failed then of the loud acclamations of her people, so she was ever pleased with it, and went along in a kind of triumph with all the ensigns of majesty. The royal name was ever venerable to the English people; but this queen's name was more sacred than any of her ancestors. . . . In the furniture of her palaces she ever affected magnificence and an extraordinary splendour. She adorned the galleries with pictures by the best artists; the walls she covered with rich tapestries. She was a true lover of jewels, pearls, all sorts of precious stones, gold and silver plate, rich beds, fine couches and chariots, Persian and Indian carpets, statues, medals, &c., which she would purchase at great prices. Hampton-court was the most richly furnished of all her palaces; and here she had caused her naval victories against the Spaniards to be worked in fine tapestries and laid up among the richest pieces of her wardrobe. . . . When she made any public feasts, her tables were magnificently served and many side-tables adorned with rich plate. At these times many of the nobility waited on her at table. She made the greatest displays of her regal magnificence when foreign ambassadors were present. At these times she would also have vocal and instrumental music during dinner; and after dinner, dancing."

The queen was laudably watchful over the morals of her court; and not content with dismissing from her service, or banishing her presence, such of her female attendants as were found offending against the laws of chastity, she was equitable enough to set with marks of her displeasure the libertinism

of the other sex; and in several instances she deferred the promotion of otherwise deserving young men till she saw them reform their manners in this respect. Europe had assuredly never beheld a court so decent, so learned, or so accomplished as hers; and it will not be foreign from the purpose of illustrating more fully the character of the sovereign, to borrow from a contemporary writer a few particulars on this head.

It was rare to find a courtier acquainted with no language but his own. The ladies studied Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian and French. The "more ancient" among them exercised themselves some with the needle, some with "*caul work*," (probably netting) "divers in spinning silk; some in continual reading either of the Scriptures or of histories either of their own or foreign countries; divers in writing volumes of their own or translating the works of others into Latin or English;" while the younger ones in the meantime applied to their "lutes, citharnes, pricksong and all kinds of music." Many of the elder sort were also "skilful in surgery and distillation of waters; beside sundry artificial practices pertaining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies." "This," adds our author, "I will generally say of them all; that as each of them are cunning in something whereby they keep themselves occupied in the court, there is in manner none of them but when they be at home can help to supply the ordinary want of the kitchen with a number of delicate dishes of their own devising, wherein the *portingal* is their chief counsellor; as some of them are most commonly with the clerk of the kitchen," &c.

Every office at court had "either a Bible or the book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, or both, besides some histories and chronicles lying therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same."

The following extracts from Lingard show the manners of the age in a more revolting light:—

"The following were the kinds of torture chiefly employed in the Tower.

"1. The rack was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor: his wrists and ancles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame: these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put; and, if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more till the bones started from their sockets.

"2. The scavenger's daughter was a broad hoop of iron, so called, consisting of two parts, fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders, and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that from excess of compression the blood started from the nostrils; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet.

"3. Iron gauntlets, which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. They served to compress the wrists, and to suspend the prisoner in the air, from two distant points of a beam. He was placed on three pieces of wood, piled one on the other, which

when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet. 'I felt,' says F. Gerard, one of the sufferers, 'the chief pain in my breast, belly, arms, and hands. I thought that all the blood in my body had run into my arms, and began to burst out at my finger ends. This was a mistake; but the arms swelled, till the gauntlets were buried within the flesh. After being thus suspended an hour, I fainted; and when I came to myself I found the executioners supporting me in their arms: they replaced the pieces of wood under my feet; but as soon as I was recovered, removed them again. Thus I continued hanging for the space of five hours, during which I fainted eight or nine times.'

"4. A fourth kind of torture was a cell called 'little ease.' It was of so small dimensions, and so constructed, that the prisoner could neither stand, walk, sit, or lie in it at full length. He was compelled to draw himself up in a squatting posture, and so remained during several days.

"I will add a few lines from Rishton's Diary, that the reader may form some notion of the proceedings in the Tower.

"Dec. 5, 1580. Several catholics were brought from different prisons.

"Dec. 10. Thomas Cottam and Luke Kirbye, priests (two of the number), suffered compression in the scavenger's daughter for more than an hour. Cottam bled profusely from the nose.

"Dec. 15. Ralph Sherwine and Robert Johnson, priests, were severely tortured on the rack.

"Dec. 16. Ralph Sherwine was tortured a second time on the rack.

"Dec. 31. John Hart, after being chained five days to the floor, was led to the rack. Also Henry Orton, a lay gentleman.

"1581. Jan. 3. Christopher Thompson, an aged priest was brought to the Tower, and racked the same day.

"Jan. 14. Nicholas Roscaroc, a lay gentleman, was racked.

"Thus he continues till June 21, 1585, when he was discharged. See his Diarium, at the end of his edition of Sanders.

"I have seen many of these prints (of the tortures), and among them one calculated to excite feelings of the strongest abhorrence. It represents the execution of Margaret Middleton, the wife of Clitheroe, a rich citizen of York, who, for standing mute, suffered the *peine forte et dure*. She had harboured a priest in quality of a schoolmaster: and at the bar refused to plead guilty, because she knew that no sufficient proof could be brought against her, or not guilty, because she deemed such a plea equivalent to a falsehood.

"As this barbarous mode of punishment is now grown obsolete, I shall describe her death in the words of one who was present in York at the time.

"The place of execution was the tolbooth, six or seven yards from the prison. After she had prayed, Fawcet (one of the sheriffs) commanded them to put off her apparel; when she, with the four women, requested him on their knees, that, for the honour of womanhood, this might be dispensed with. But they would not grant it. Then she requested them, that the women might unaparel her, and that they would turne their faces from her during that time.

"The women took off her clothes, and put upon her the long linen habit. Then very quietly she laied her down upon the ground, her face covered with a handkerchief, and most part of her body

with the habit. The dore was laid upon her: her hands she joined towards her face. Then the sheriff saied, Naie, ye must have your hands bound. Then two serjeants parted her hands, and bound them to two posts. (In the print her feet are bound to two others.) After this they laied weight upon her, which, when she first felt, she said Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, have mercy upon mee: which were the last words she was heard to speake. She was in dying about one quarter of an hower. A sharp stone, as much as a man's fist, had been put under her back: upon her was laied to the quantitie of seven or eight hundred weight, which, breaking her ribbs, caused them to burst forth of the skinnie.' March 25, 1586."

#### Literature.

Learning, on its revival, was held in high estimation by the English princes and nobles; and as it was not yet prostituted by being too common, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature. The four successive sovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may on one account or other be admitted into the class of authors. Queen Catherine Parr translated a book: Lady Jane Gray, considering her age, and her sex, and her station, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Sir Thomas Smith was raised from being professor in Cambridge, first to be ambassador to France, then secretary of state. The dispatches of those times, and among others those of Burleigh himself, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin classics. Even the ladies of the court valued themselves on knowledge: Lady Burleigh, Lady Bacon, and their two sisters, were mistresses of the ancient as well as modern languages; and placed more pride in their erudition than in their rank and quality.

Queen Elizabeth wrote and translated several books; and she was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue.

The following are the words of Roger Ascham, the queen's preceptor. "It is your shame (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England), that one maid should go beyond you all in excellency of learning, and knowledge of divers tongues. Point out six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together show not so much good will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge as doth the queen's majesty herself. Yea, I believe that, besides her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day, than some prebendary of this church doth Latin in a whole week. Amongst all the benefits which God had blessed me withal, next the knowledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning," &c. "Truly," says Harrison, "it is a rare thing with us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language; and to say how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that, besides sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, are thereto no less skilful in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some of them, it resteth not in me, sith I am persuaded, that as the noblemen and gentlemen do surmount in this behalf, so these come little or nothing at all behind them for their parts; which industry God continue. The stranger, that entereth in the court of England upon the sudden, shall rather imagine himself to come into some public school of the



university where many give ear to one that readeth unto them, than into a prince's palace, if you confer thus with those of other nations."

It is pretended that Elizabeth made an extemporary reply in Greek to the university of Cambridge, who had addressed her in that language. It is certain, that she answered in Latin without premeditation, and in a very spirited manner, to the Polish ambassador, who had been wanting in respect to her. When she had finished, she turned about to her courtiers, and said, "God's death, my lords," (for she was much addicted to swearing) "I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin that hath long lain rusting." Elizabeth, even after she was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author; and, next to her desire of ambition for beauty, this seems to have been the chief object of her vanity. She translated Boethius of the Consolation of Philosophy; in order, as she pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV.'s change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compositions, we may pronounce, that, notwithstanding her application and her excellent parts, her taste in literature was but indifferent: she was much inferior to her successor in this particular, who was himself no perfect model of eloquence.

The following sonnet of her composition was published during her lifetime in Puttenham's "Arte of English Poesie;" and its authenticity, its principal merit, has never been called in question.

#### SONNET BY QUEEN ELIZABETH

The doubt of future foes exiles my present joy,  
And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine annoy.  
For falsehood now doth flow, and subjects' faith doth ebb:  
Which would not be if Reason ruled, or Wisdom weaved the web.

But clouds of toys untried do cloak aspiring minds,  
Which turn to rain of late repent by course of changed winds.  
The top of hope supposed the root of ruth will be;  
And fruitless all their grafted guiles, as shortly ye shall see.

Those dazzled eyes with pride, which great ambition blinds,  
Shall be unseal'd by worthy wights whose foresight falsehood finds.

The Daughter of Debate that eke discord doth sow,  
Shall reap no gain where former rule hath taught still peace to grow.

No foreign banish'd wight shall anchor in this port;  
Our realm it brooks no strangers' force, let them elsewhere resort.

Our rusty sword with rest shall first his edge employ,  
To poll their tops that seek such change, and gape for joy.

John Lilly, a dramatic poet, in the year 1581 gave to the public a romance in two parts; the first entitled "Euphues the Anatomy of Wit;" the second, "Euphues and his England." A work which in despite, or rather perhaps by favour, of the new and singular affectations with which it was overrun, obtained extraordinary popularity; and communicated its infection for a time to the style of polite writing and fashionable speech.

An author of the present day, whose elegant taste and whose profound acquaintance with the writers of this and the following reign entitle him to be heard with deference, has favoured us with his opinion of Euphues in these words.\* "This production is a tissue of antithesis and alliteration, and therefore justly entitled to the appellation of *affected*; but we cannot with Berkenhout consider it as a *most contemptible piece of nonsense*. The moral is uniformly good; the vices and follies of the day are attacked with much force and keenness; there is in it much display of the manners of the times; and though as a composition it is very meretricious and

sometimes absurd in point of ornament, yet the construction of its sentences is frequently turned with peculiar neatness and spirit, though with much monotony of cadence." "So greatly," adds the same writer, "was the style of Euphues admired in the court of Elizabeth, and, indeed, throughout the kingdom, that it became a proof of refined manners to adopt its phraseology. Edward Blount, who republished six of Lilly's plays in 1632, under the title of *Six Court Comedies*, declares that 'Our nation are in his debt for a new English which he taught them.'—'Euphues and his England,' he adds, 'began first that language. All our ladies were then his scholars; and that beauty in court who could not parley Euphues, was as little regarded as she which now there speaks not French:' a representation certainly not exaggerated; for Ben Jonson, describing a fashionable lady, makes her address her gallant in the following terms:—'O master Brisk, (as it is in Euphues,) hard is the choice when one is compelled, either by silence to die with grief, or by speaking, to live with shame:' upon which Mr. Whalley observes, that the court ladies in Elizabeth's time had all the phrases of Euphues by heart."

Shakspeare is believed to have satirized the affectations of Lilly, amongst other prevailing modes of pedantry and bad taste, under the character of the schoolmaster Holophernes; and to Sidney is ascribed by Drayton the merit, that he

..... "did first reduce  
Our tongue from Lilly's writing then in use;  
Talking of stones, stars, plants, of fishes, flies,  
Playing with words and idle similies."

But in this statement there is an inaccuracy, if it refers to the better model of style furnished by him in his *Arcadia*; since that work, though not published till after the death of its author, is known to have been composed previously to the appearance of Euphues. Possibly, however, the lines of Drayton may be explained as alluding to the critical precepts contained in Sidney's *Defence of Poetry*, which was written in 1582 or 1583.

It may appear extraordinary that this accomplished person, after his noble letter of remonstrance against the French marriage, should have consented to take so conspicuous a part in festivities designed to celebrate the arrival of the commissioners by whom its terms were to be concluded. But the actions of every man, it may be pleaded, belong to such an age, or such a station, as well as to such a school of philosophy, religious sect, political party, or natural class of character; and the spirit which prompted this eminent person to aspire after all praise and every kind of glory, compelled him, at the court of Elizabeth, to unite, with whatever incongruity, the quaint personage of a knight errant of romance and a devotee of the beauties and perfections of his liege lady, with the manly attributes of an English patriot and a champion of reformed religion.

Fulke Greville furnishes another instance of a respectable character strangely disguised by the affectations and servilities of a courtier of this "Queen of Faery." He was the cousin, school-fellow and inseparable companion of Sidney; and so devoted to him, that in the inscription which he composed long after for his own tomb, he entitled himself "servant to Queen Elizabeth, councillor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney." Born to a fortune so ample as to render him entirely independent of the emoluments of office or the favours of a sovereign; and early smitten with a passion for

\* Nathan Drake, M.D.

the gentle muse which rendered him nearly insensible to the enticements of ambition; Greville was yet contented to devote himself, as a volunteer, to that court-life the irksomeness of which has often been treated as insupportable by men who have embraced it from interest or from necessity.

A devotedness so signal was not indeed suffered to go without its reward. Besides that it obtained for him a lucrative office, Naunton says of Greville, "He had no mean place in Queen Elizabeth's favour, neither did he hold it for any short time or term; for if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease, the smoothest time without rubs, of any of her favourites." Lord Bacon also testifies, that he "had much and private access to her, which he used honourably and did many men good: yet he would say merrily of himself, that he was like Robin Goodfellow; for when the maids spilt the milk-pans or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin: so what tales the ladies about the queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him." The poems of Fulke Greville, celebrated and fashionable in his own time, but now known only to the more curious students of our early literature, consist of two tragedies in interwoven rhyme, with choruses on the Greek model; a hundred love sonnets, in one of which he styles his mistress "Fair dog;" and "Treaties" "on Human learning," "on Fame and Honour," and "of Wars." Of these pieces, the last three, as well as the tragedies, contain many noble, free and virtuous sentiments; many fine and ingenious thoughts; and some elegant lines; but the harshness and the pedantry of the style render their perusal on the whole more of a fatigue than a pleasure; and they have gradually sunk into that neglect which constantly awaits the verse of which it has been the aim to instruct rather than to delight. Among the English patrons of letters however, Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brook, will ever deserve a conspicuous station; and Speed and Camden have gratefully recorded their obligations both to his liberality and to his honourable exertion of court interest.

English literature, under the auspices of Elizabeth and her learned court, had been advancing with a steady and rapid progress; and it may be interesting to contemplate the state of one of its fairest provinces as exhibited by the pen of an able critic, who in the year 1589, gave to the world an *Art of English Poesy*. This work, though addressed to the queen, was published with a dedication by the printer to Lord Burleigh; for the author thought proper to remain concealed: on its first appearance its merit caused it to be ascribed to Spenser by some; and by others to Sidney; but it was traced at length to Puttenham, one of her majesty's gentlemen-pensioners; the author of some adulatory poems addressed to her and called *Partheniads*: and of various other pieces now lost.

The subject is here methodically treated in three books; the first, "Of Poets and Poesy;" the second "Of Proportion;" the third, "Of Ornament." After some remarks on the origin of the art and its earliest professors; and an account of the various kinds of poems known to the ancients;—in which there is an absence of pedantry, of quaintness and of every species of puerility, very rare among the didactic writers of the age;—the critic proceeds to an enumeration of our principal vernacular poets, or "*vulgar makers*," as he is pleased to anglicise the words. Beginning with a just tribute to Chaucer, as the father of genuine English verse, he passes

rapidly to the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII.; when, as he observes, there "sprang up a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder and Henry, earl of Surrey, were the two chieftains: who having travelled into Italy and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian poesy, as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Arioste and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesy, from that it had been before; and for that cause may justly be said the first reformers of our English metre and style."

After slight notice of the minor poets who flourished under Edward VI. and Mary, he goes on to observe that "in her majesty's time that now is, are sprung up another crew of courtly makers, noblemen and gentlemen of her majesty's own servants; who have written excellently well, as it would appear if their doing could be found out and made public with the rest." And in a subsequent passage he thus awards to each of them his appropriate commendation. "Of the latter sort I think thus: That for tragedy the Lord Buckhurst and Master Edward Ferrys (Ferrers), for such doings as I have seen of theirs do deserve the highest price. The earl of Oxford and Master Edwards of her majesty's chapel for comedy and interlude. For eglogue and pastoral poesy, Sir Philip Sidney and Master Chaloner; and that other gentleman who wrote the late *Shepherd's Calendar*. For ditty and amorous ode I find Sir Walter Raleigh's vein most lofty, insolent and passionate. Master Edward Dyer for elegy, most sweet, solemn and of high conceit. Gascoigne for a good metre and for a plentiful vein. Phaer and Golding for a learned and well corrected verse; specially in translation clear and very faithfully answering their author's intent. Others have also written with much facility, but more commendably perchance if they had not written so much nor so popularly." The passage concludes with a piece of flattery to her majesty in her poetical capacity, unworthy of transcription.

Under the head of "Poetical Proportion" or metre, our author writes learnedly of the measures of the ancients; and on those employed by our native poets with singular taste and judgment; except that the artist-like pride in difficulty overcome has inspired him with an unwarrantable fondness for verses arranged in eggs, roundells, lozenges, triquets and other ingenious figures, of which he has given diagrams, further illustrated by finished specimens of his own construction.

Great efforts had been made about this period by a literary party, of which Stanihurst the translator of Virgil, Sidney and Gabriel Hervey were the leaders, to introduce the Greek and Roman measures into English verse; and Puttenham has judged it necessary to compose a chapter thus intitled: "How, if all manner of sudden innovations were not very scandalous, specially in the laws of any language or art, the use of Greek and Latin feet might be brought into our vulgar poesy; and with good grace enough." But it is evident on the whole, that he bore no good will to this pedantic novelty.

In treating of "Ornament," our author enumerates, explains and exemplifies all the rhetorical figures of the Greeks; adding, for the benefit of courtiers and ladies to whom his work is principally addressed, translations of their names;—several of which would require to be retranslated for the benefit of the modern reader; as for example the three



following, all figures of derision :—"The fleering frump;"—"The broad flout;"—"The privy nip." At the present day, however, the work of Puttenham is most to be valued for the remarks on language and on manners and the contemporary anecdotes with which it abounds; and of which some examples may be quoted. After observing that "as it hath been always reputed a great fault to use figurative speeches foolishly and indiscreetly, so it is esteemed no less an imperfection in man's utterance to have none use of figure at all; specially in our writing and speeches public, making them but as our ordinary talk, than which nothing can be more unsavory and far from all civility:—I remember," says he, "in the first year of Queen Mary's reign a knight of Yorkshire was chosen speaker of the parliament, a good gentleman, and wise in the affairs of his shire; and not unlearned in the laws of the realm; but as well for lack of some of his teeth as for want of language, nothing well spoken; which at that time and business was most behoveful for him to have been: this man, after he had made his oration to the queen; which ye know is of course to be done at the first assembly of both houses; a bencher of the Temple, both well learned and very eloquent, returning from the parliament house, asked another gentleman his friend how he liked Mr. Speaker's oration; 'Mary,' quoth the other, 'methinks I heard not a better alehouse tale told this seven years.' ..... And though grave and wise councillors in their consultations do not use much superfluous eloquence; and also in their judicial hearings do much mislike all scholastical rhetorics; yet in such a case.... if the lord chancellor of England or archbishop of Canterbury himself were to speak, he ought to do it cunningly and eloquently, which cannot be without the use of figures: and nevertheless none impeachment or blemish to the gravity of the persons or of the cause; wherein I report me to them that knew Sir Nicholas Bacon lord keeper of the great seal, or the now lord treasurer of England; and have been conversant with their speeches made in the parliament house and Star-chamber. From whose lips I have seen to proceed more grave and natural eloquence than from all the orators of Oxford or Cambridge; but all is as it is handled; and maketh no matter whether the same eloquence be natural to them or artificial (though I rather think natural); yet were they known to be learned and not unskilful of the art when they were younger men.... I have come to the lord keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon and found him sitting in his gallery alone with the works of Quintilian before him; indeed he was a most eloquent man and of rare learning and wisdom as ever I knew England to breed; and one that joyed as much in learned men and men of good wits."

Puttenham mentions being a by-stander when a doctor of civil law, "pleading in a litigious cause betwixt a man and his wife, before a great magistrate, who (as they can tell that knew him) was a man very well learned and grave, but somewhat sour and of no plausible utterance: the gentleman's chance was to say: 'My lord, the simple woman is not so much to blame as her lewd abettors, who by craft persuasions have led her into this wilfulness.' Quoth the Judge: 'What need such eloquent terms in this place?' The gentleman replied, 'Doth your lordship dislike the term *coercion*? and methinks I stand it to great purpose: for I am sure she would never have done it, but by force of persuasion.' " &c.

Pursuing the subject of language, which he says,

"in our maker or poet must be heedily looked unto that it be natural, pure and the most usual of all his country;" after some other rules or cautions he adds: "Our maker therefore at these days shall not follow Piers Plowman, nor Gower, nor Lydgate, nor yet Chaucer; for their language is now out of use with us; neither shall he take the terms of Northern men, such as they use in daily talk, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen or of their best clerks, all is a matter; nor in effect any speech used beyond the river of Trent; though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so courtly nor so current as our Southern English is; no more is the far Western man's speech: ye shall therefore take the usual speech of the court and that of London and the shires lying about London within sixty miles and not much above. I say not this but in every shire of England there be gentlemen and others that speak, but specially write as good Southern as we of Middlesex or Surry do; but not the common people of every shire, to whom the gentleman and also their learned clerks do for the most part condescend; but herein we are ruled by the English dictionaries and other books written by learned men; and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalf. Albeit peradventure some small admonition be not impertinent, for we find in our English writers many words and speeches amendable; and ye shall see in some many inhorn terms so ill affected brought in by men of learning, as preachers and schoolmasters; and many strange terms of other languages by secretaries and merchants and travellers; and many dark words and not usual nor well sounding, though they be daily spoken in court. Wherefore great heed must be taken by our maker in this point that his choice be good." He modestly expresses his apprehensions that in some of these respects he may himself be accounted a transgressor; and he subjoins a list of the new, foreign or unusual words employed by him in this tract, with his reasons for their adoption. Of this number are; *scientific, conduict*, "a French word, but well allowed of us, and long since usual; it sounds something more than this word (leading) for it is applied only to the leading of a captain; and not as a little boy should lead a blind man;" *idiom*, from the Greek; *significative*, "borrowed of the Latin and French, but to us brought in first by some nobleman's secretary, as I think, yet doth so well serve the turn as it could not now be spared; and many more like usurped Latin and French words; as, *method, methodical, placation, function, assubtiling, refining, compendious, prolix, figurative, inveigle*, a term borrowed of our common lawyers; *impression*, also a new term, but well expressing the matter and more than our English word;" *penetrate, penetrable, indignity*, (in the sense of unworthiness) and a few more. The whole enumeration is curious; and strikingly exhibits the state of language at this epoch, when the rapid advancement of letters and of all the arts of social life was creating a daily want of new terms, which writers of all classes and individuals in every walk of life regarded themselves as authorised to supply at their own discretion, in any manner and from any sources most accessible to them; whether pure or corrupt, ancient or modern. The pedants of the universities and the travelled coxcombs of the court, had each a neological jargon of their own, unintelligible to each other and to the people at large; on the other hand, there were a few persons of grave professions and austere characters, who, like Cato the Censor

during a similar period of accelerated progress in the Roman state, prided themselves on preserving in all its unsophisticated simplicity, or primitive rudeness, the tongue of their forefathers.

The judicious Puttenham, uniting the accuracy of scholastic learning with the enlargement of mind acquired by long intercourse among foreign nations and with the polish of a courtier, places himself between the contending parties; and with a manly disdain of every species of affectation, but especially of that of rusticity and barbarism, avails himself, without scruple as without excess, of the copiousness of other languages to supply the remaining deficiencies of his own.

Several chapters of the book "of Ornament" are devoted to the discussion of the "decent," or "seemly," in words and actions; and prove the author to have been a nice observer of manners as well as a refined critic of style. He severely censures a certain translator of Virgil, who said "that Æneas was fain to *trudge* out of Troy; which term better became to be spoken of a beggar, or of a rogue, or of a lackey;" and another who called the same hero "by fate a *fugitive*;" and who inquires "What moved Juno to *tug* so great a captain;" a word "the most indecent in this case that could have been devised; since it is derived from the cart and signifies the draught or pull of the horses." The phrase "a prince's *pelf*" is reprobated; because *pelf* means properly the "scraps or shreds of taylor and of skinner." He gives strict rules for the decorous behaviour of ambassadors and all who address themselves to princes; being himself a courtier and having probably exercised some diplomatic function. "I have seen," says he, "foreign ambassadors in the queen's presence laugh so dissolutely at some rare pastime or sport that hath been made there, that nothing in the world could have worse becomen them." With respect to men in other stations of life he is pleased to say; it is decent for a priest "to be sober and sad;" "a judge to be incorrupted, solitary and unacquainted with courtiers or courtly entertainments;... without plait or wrinkle, sour in look and churlish in speech; contrariwise a courtly gentleman to be lofty and curious in countenance, yet sometimes a creeper and a curry favell with his superiors." "And in a prince it is decent to go slowly and to march with leisure; and with a certain grandity rather than gravity; as our sovereign lady and mistress, the every image of majesty and magnificence, is accustomed to do generally; unless it be when she walketh apace for her pleasure, or to catch her a heat in the cold mornings. Nevertheless it is not so decent in a meaner person, as I have discerned in some counterfeit ladies of the country, which use it much to their own derision. This comeliness was wanting in Queen Mary, otherwise a very good and honourable princess. And was some blemish to the Emperor Ferdinand, a most noble-minded man, yet so careless and forgetful of himself in that behalf, as I have seen him run up a pair of stairs so swift and nimble a pace, as almost had not become a very mean man, who had not gone on some hasty business."

Respecting the poets mentioned by Puttenham whose names have not already occurred in the present work, it may be observed; that excepting a few lines quoted by this critic, there is nothing remaining of Sir Edward Dyer's, except, which is highly probable, he is to be reckoned among the anonymous contributors to the popular collections of that day.

Of Gascoigne, on the contrary, enough is left to exhaust the patience of any modern reader. In his youth, neglecting the study of the law for poetry and pleasure, he poured forth an abundance of amatory pieces; some of them sonnets closely imitating the Italian ones in style as well as structure. Afterwards, during a five-years' service in the war of Flanders, he found leisure for much serious thought; and discarding the levities of his early years, he composed by way of expiation a moral satire in blank verse called the *Steel Glass*; and several religious pieces. Notwithstanding however this newly assumed seriousness, he attended her majesty in her progress in the summer of 1575; and composed a large number of courtly verses as a contribution to "the princely pleasures of Kenelworth." Gascoigne died in October, 1577. Of his minor poems the following may be cited as a pleasing specimen.

#### THE LULLABY OF A LOVER.

Sing lullaby as women do,  
Wherewith they bring their babes to rest,  
And lullaby can I sing too  
As womanly as can the best.  
With lullaby they still the child;  
And if I be not much beguild,  
Full many wanton babes have I,  
Which must be still'd with lullaby.

First lullaby my youthful years,  
It is now time to go to bed,  
For crooked age and hoary years  
Have won the haven within my head:  
With lullaby then youth be still,  
With lullaby content thy will,  
Since courage quails and comes behind,  
Go sleep and so beguile thy mind.

Next lullaby my gazing eyes,  
Which wonted were to gaze apace;  
For every glass may now suffice  
To show the furrows in my face,  
With lullaby then wink awhile,  
With lullaby your looks beguile:  
Let no fair face or beauty bright  
Entice you oft with vain delight.

And lullaby my wanton will,  
Let reason's rule now reign thy thought,  
Since all too late I find by skill,  
How dear I have thy fancies bought:  
With lullaby now take thine ease,  
With lullaby thy doubts appease:  
For trust to this, if thou be still,  
My body shall obey thy will.

Thus lullaby my youth, mine eyes,  
My will, my war, and all that was;  
I can no mo delays devise,  
But welcome pain, let pleasure pass:  
With lullaby now take your leave,  
With lullaby your dreams deceive,  
And when you rise with waking eye,  
Remember then this lullaby.

Respecting another poet of greater popularity than Gascoigne and of a more original turn of genius, Warner, the author of *Albion's England*, Puttenham has preserved a discreet silence;—for his great work had been prohibited by the capricious tyranny, or rigid decorum, of Archbishop Whitgift; and seizure made in 1586 of the copies surreptitiously printed. This long and singular poem is a kind of metrical chronicle, containing the remarkable events of *English* history from the flood,—the starting point of all chroniclers;—to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is written in the common ballad measure; and in a style often creeping and prosaic, sometimes quaint and affected; but passages of beautiful simplicity and strokes of genuine pathos frequently occur to redeem its faults; and the tediousness of the historical narration is relieved by a large intermixture of interesting and entertaining episodes. The ballads of Queen Eleanor



and fair Rosamond, Argente and Curan, and the Patient Countess, selected by Dr. Percy in his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, may be regarded by the poetical student of the present day as a sufficient specimen of the talents of Warner: but in his own time he was complimented as the Homer or Virgil of the age: the persevering reader travelled not only with patience but delight, through his seventy-seven long chapters; and it is said that the work became popular enough, notwithstanding its prohibition by authority, to supersede in some degree its celebrated predecessor the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

It was in Ireland that Edmund Spenser, one of our first genuine poets,—whose rich and melodious strains will find delighted audience as long as inexhaustible fertility of invention, truth, fluency, and vivacity of description, copious learning and a pure, amiable, and heart-ennobling morality shall be prized among the students of English verse,—first tuned his enchanting lyre; and where the ear of Raleigh soon caught its strains. This eminent person was probably of obscure parentage and slender means, for it was as a sizer, the lowest order of students, that he was entered at Cambridge; but that his humble merit early attracted the notice of men of learning and virtue is apparent from his intimacy with Stubbs, already commemorated, and from his friendship with that noted literary character Gabriel Hervey, by whom he was introduced to the acquaintance of Philip Sidney. His leaning towards puritanical principles, clearly manifested by various passages in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, had probably betrayed itself to his superiors at the university, by his choice of associates, or other circumstances, previously to the publication of that piece; and possibly might have some share in the disappointment of his hopes of a fellowship which occurred in 1576. Quitting college on this occurrence, he retired for some time into the north of England; but the friendship of Sidney drew him again from his solitude; and it was at Penshurst that he composed much of his *Shepherd's Calendar*; published in 1579 under the signature of *Immerito* and dedicated to this generous patron of his muse. The earl of Leicester, probably at his nephew's request, sent Spenser he same year on some commission to France; and in the next he obtained the post of secretary to Lord Grey, and attended him to Ireland.

Though the child of fancy and the muse, Spenser now showed that business was not "the contradiction of his fate;" he drew up an excellent discourse on the state of Ireland, still read and valued, and received as his reward the grant of a considerable tract of land out of the forfeited Desmond estates and of the castle of Kilcolman; which henceforth became his residence, and where he had soon the satisfaction of receiving a visit from Raleigh. Both pupils of classical antiquity, both poets and aspirants after immortal fame, they met in this land of ignorance and barbarity as brothers; and so strong was the impression made on the mind of Raleigh, that even on becoming a successful courtier he dismissed not from his memory or his affection the tuncful shepherd whom he had left behind tending his flocks "under the foot of Mole, that mountain boar." He spoke of him to the queen with all the enthusiasm of kindred genius; obtained for him some favours or promises of favours; and on a second visit which he made to Ireland, probably for the purpose of inspecting the large grants which he had himself obtained, he dragged his friend from his obscure retreat, carried him over

with him to England, and hastened to initiate him in those arts of pushing a fortune at court, which with himself had succeeded so prosperously. But bitterly did the disappointed poet learn to deprecate the mistaken kindness which had taught him to exchange leisure and independence, though in a solitude so barbarous and remote, for the servility, the intrigues and the treacheries of this heart-sickening scene. He put upon lasting record his grief and his repentance in a few lines of energetic warning to the inexperienced in the ways of courts; and hastened back to earn in obscurity his title to immortal fame by the composition of the *Faery Queen*. This great work appeared in 1589, with a preface addressed to Raleigh and a considerable apparatus of commendatory poems; one of which, a sonnet of great elegance, is marked with initials which assign it to the same patronising friend.

His premature death in 1599, under circumstances of severe distress, called forth the universal commiseration and regret of the friends and patrons of English genius. After witnessing the plunder of his house and the destruction of his whole property by the Irish rebels, the unfortunate poet had fled to England for shelter;—the annuity of fifty pounds which he enjoyed as poet-laureat to her majesty apparently his sole resource; and having taken up his melancholy abode in an obscure lodging in London, he pined away under the pressure of penury and despondence.

The genius of this great poet, formed on the most approved models of the time and exercised upon themes peculiarly congenial to its taste; received in all its plenitude that homage of contemporary applause which has sometimes failed to reward the efforts of the noblest masters of the lyre. The adventures of chivalry and the dim shadowings of moral allegory, were almost equally the delight of a romantic, a serious and a learned age. It was also a point of loyalty to admire in Gloriana queen of Faery, or in the Empress Mercilla, the avowed types of the graces and virtues of her majesty; and she herself had discernment sufficient to distinguish between the brazen trump of vulgar flattery with which her ear was sated, and the pastoral reed of antique fame tuned sweetly to her praise by Colin Clout. Spenser was interred with great solemnity in Westminster Abbey by the side of Chaucer; the generous Essex defraying the cost of the funeral and walking himself as a mourner. That ostentatious but munificent woman Anne countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, erected a handsome monument to his memory several years afterwards; the brother-poets who attended his obsequies threw elegies and sonnets into the grave; and of the more distinguished votaries of the muse in that day there is scarcely one who has withheld his tribute to the fame and merit of this delightful author. Shakespeare, in one of his sonnets, had already testified his high delight in his works; Joseph Hall, afterwards eminent as a bishop, a preacher and polemic, but at this time a young student of Emanuel College, has more than one complimentary allusion to the poems of Spenser in his "*Toothless Satires*," printed in 1597. Thus, in the invocation to his first satire, referring to Spenser's description of the marriage of the Thames and Medway, he inquires,

..... "what buser muse can hide  
To sit and sing by Granat's naked side?  
They haunt the tided Thames and sail Medway,  
E'er since the fame of their late bridal day,  
Nought have we here but willow-shaded shore,  
To tell our Grant his banks are left forlorn."

And again, in ridiculing the imitation of some of the more extravagant fictions of the Orlando Furioso, he thus suddenly checks himself;

"But let no rebel satyr dare traduce  
Th' eternal legends of thy faery muse,  
Renowned Spenser! whom no earthly wight  
Dares once to emulate, much less dares despight.  
Salust of France\* and Tuscan Ariost,  
Yield up the laurel garland ye have lost."

These pieces of Hall, reprinted in 1599 with three additional books under the uncouth title of "Virgidemiarum" (a harvest of rods) present the earliest example in our language of regular satire on the ancient model; and have gained from an excellent poetical critic the following high eulogium. "These satires are marked with a classical precision, to which English poetry had yet rarely attained. They are replete with animation of style and sentiment. The indignation of the satirist is always the result of good sense. Nor are the thorns of severe invective unmix'd with the flowers of pure poetry. The characters are delineated in strong and lively colouring; and their discriminations are touched with the masterly traces of genuine humour. The versification is equally energetic and elegant; and the fabric of the couplets approaches to the modern standard.†"

A few of Hall's allusions to reigning follies may here be quoted. Contrasting the customs of our barbarous ancestors with those of his own times, he says,

"They naked went, or clad in ruder hide,  
Or homespun russet void of foreign pride.  
But thou canst mask in garish gaudery,  
To suit a fool's far-fetched livery.  
A French head joined to neck Italian,  
Thy thighs from Germany and breast from Spain.  
An Englishman in none, a fool in all,  
Many in one, and one in several."

Shakespeare makes Portia satirize the same affection in her English admirer:—"How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour every where."

Other contemporary writers have similar allusions; and it may be concluded, that the passion for travelling then, and ever since, so prevalent amongst the English youth, was fast eradicating all traces of a national costume by rendering fashionable the introduction of novel garments, capriciously adopted by turns from every country of Europe.

"Cadiz spoil" is more than once referred to by Hall; and amongst expedients for raising a fortune he enumerates, with a satirical glance at Sir Walter Raleigh, the trading to Guiana for gold; as also the search of the philosopher's stone. He likewise ridicules the costly mineral elixirs of marvellous virtues vended by alchemical quacks; and with sounder sense in this point than usually belonged to his age, mocks at the predictions of judicial astrology.

In several passages he reprehends the new luxuries of the time, among which coaches are not forgotten.

It should appear that the increasing conveniences and pleasures of a London life had already begun to occasion the desertion of rural mansions and the decay of that boundless hospitality which the former possessors had made their boast; for thus feelingly and beautifully does the poet describe the desolation of one of these seats of antiquated magnificence:—

\* Du Bartas, then an admired writer in England as well as France.

† Warton's History of English Poetry.

"Beat the broad gates, a goodly hollow sound  
With double echoes doth again rebound;  
But not a dog doth bark to welcome thee,  
Nor churlish porter canst thou chafing see;  
All dumb and silent like the dead of night.  
Or dwelling of some sleepy Sybarite!  
The marble pavement hid with desert weed,  
With hoozeleek, thistle, dock and hemlock-seed.—  
Look to the towered chimneys, which should be  
The windpipes of good hospitality;  
Lo there the unthankful swallow takes her rest,  
And fills the tunnel with her circled nest."

The translation of the Orlando Furioso through which that singular work of genius had just become known to the English reader, was executed by Sir John Harrington; the same who afterwards composed for Henry prince of Wales, the Brief View of the English Church: the godson of Elizabeth and the child of her faithful servants James Harrington and Isabella Markham.

After the usual course of school and college education, young Harrington, who was born in 1561, presented himself at court, where his wit and learning soon procured him a kind of distinction, which was not however unattended with danger. A satirical piece was traced to him as its author, containing certain allusions to living characters, which gave so much offence to the courtiers, that he was threatened with the animadversions of the Star-chamber; but the secret favour of Elizabeth towards a godson whom she loved and who amused her, saved him from this very serious kind of retaliation. He some time after translated a tale out of Ariosto which proved very entertaining to the court ladies and soon met the eyes of the queen; who, in affected displeasure at certain indelicate passages, ordered him to appear no more at court—till he had translated the whole poem. The command was obeyed with alacrity; and he speedily committed his Orlando to the press, with a dedication to her majesty. Before this time our sprightly poet had found means to dissipate a considerable portion of the large estate to which he was born; and being well inclined to listen to the friendly counsels of Essex, who bade him, "lay good hold on her majesty's bounty and ask freely;" he dexterously opened his case by the following lines slipped behind her cushion.

"For ever dear, for ever dreaded prince,  
You read a verse of mine a little since;  
And so pronounced each word and every letter,  
Your gracious reading graced my verse the better;  
Sith then your highness doth by gift exceeding  
Make what you read the better for your reading;  
Let my poor muse your pains thus far importune,  
Like as you read my verse, so—read my fortune.  
"From your Highness' saucy Godson."

Of the further progress of his suit and the various little arts of pleasing to which Harrington now applied himself, some amusing hints may be gathered out of the following extracts taken from a notebook kept by himself.

.... "I am to send good store of news from the country for her highness entertainment .... Her highness loveth merry tales."

"The queen stood up and bade me reach forth my arm to rest her thereon. O! what sweet burden to my next song. Petrarch shall eke out good matter for this business."

"The queen loveth to see me in my new frize jerkin; and saith 'tis well enough cut. I will have another made liken to it. I do remember she spit on Sir Matthew's fringed cloth; and said the fool's wit was gone to rags.—Heaven spare me from such jibing!"

"I must turn my poor wits towards my suit for



the lands in the north. . . . I must go in an early hour, before her highness hath special matters brought up to counsel on.—I must go before the breakfast covers are placed, and stand uncovered as her highness cometh forth her chamber; then kneel and say, God save your majesty! I crave your ear at what hour may suit for your servant to meet your blessed countenance. Thus will I gain her favour to follow to the auditory.

"Trust not a friend to do or say,  
In that yourself can sue or pray."

The lands alluded to in the last extract, formed a large estate in the north of England, which an ancestor of Harrington had forfeited by his adherence to the house of York during the civil wars; and which he was now endeavouring to recover. This further mention of the business occurs in one of his letters.

"Yet I will adventure to give her majesty five hundred pounds in money and some pretty jewel or garment, as you shall advise; only praying her majesty to further my suit with some of her learned counsel; which I pray you to find some proper time to move in; this some hold as a dangerous adventure, but five and twenty manors do well justify my trying it."

How notorious must have been the avarice and venality of a sovereign, before such a mode of ensuring success in a lawsuit could have entered into the imagination of a courtier!

The progress of the drama is a subject which claims in this place some share of our attention, partly because it excited in a variety of ways that of Elizabeth herself. By the appearance of Ferrex and Porrex in 1561, and many other plays, a new impulse had been given to English genius; and both tragedies and comedies approaching the regular models, besides historical and pastoral dramas, allegorical pieces resembling the old moralities and translations from the ancients, were from this time produced in abundance; and received by all classes with avidity and delight.

About twenty dramatic poets flourished between 1561 and 1590; and an inspection of the titles alone of their numerous productions would furnish evidence of an acquaintance with the stores of history, mythology, classical fiction and romance, strikingly illustrative of the literary diligence and intellectual activity of the age.

Richard Edwards produced a tragi-comedy on the affecting ancient story of Damon and Pythias, besides his comedy of Palamon and Arcite, which gained notice as having been performed for the entertainment of her majesty at Oxford. In connexion with this latter piece it may be remarked; that of the chivalrous idea of Theseus in this celebrated Tale and in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, as well as of all the other *gothicked* representations of ancient heroes; of which Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, his *Rape of Lucrece* and some passages of Spenser's *Faery Queen*, afford further examples; Guido Colonna's *Historia Trojana*, written in 1260, was the original: a work long and widely popular, which had been translated, paraphrased and imitated in French and English; and which the barbarism of its incongruities, however palpable, had not as yet *consigned to oblivion or contempt*.

George Gascoigne, besides his tragedy from Euripides, translated also a comedy from Ariosto, performed by the students of Gray's-inn under the title of *The Supplices*; which was the first specimen in

our language of a drama in prose. Italian literature was at this period cultivated amongst us with an assiduity unequalled either before or since; and it possessed few authors of merit or celebrity whose works were not speedily familiarised to the English public through the medium of translators. The study of this enchanting language found however a vehement opponent in Roger Ascham; who exclaims against the "enchantments of Circe, brought out of Italy to mar men's manners in England; much by examples of ill life, but more by precepts of fond books, of late translated out of Italian into English, and sold in every shop in London." He afterwards declares that "there be mo of these ungracious books set out in print within these few months than have been seen in England many years before."

To these strictures on the moral tendencies of the popular writers of Italy some force must be allowed; but it is obvious to remark, that similar objections might be urged with at least equal cogency against the favourite classics of Ascham; and that the use of so valuable an instrument of intellectual advancement as the free introduction of the literature of a highly polished nation into one comparatively rude, is not to be denied to beings capable of moral discrimination, from the apprehension of such partial and incidental injury as may arise out of its abuse. Italy, in fact, was at once the plenteous storehouse whence the English poets, dramatists and romance writers of the latter half of the sixteenth century drew their most precious materials; the school where they acquired taste and skill to adapt them to their various purposes; and the Parnassian mount on which they caught the purest inspirations of the muse.

Elizabeth was a zealous patroness of these studies; she spoke the Italian language with fluency and elegance; and used it frequently in her mottoes and devices: by her encouragement, as we have seen Harrington was urged to complete his version of the *Orlando Furioso*; and she willingly accepted in the year 1600 the dedication of Fairfax's admirable translation of the great epic of Tasso.

But to return to our dramatic writers: . . . Thomas Kyd was the author of a tragedy entitled *Jeronimo*, which for the absurd horrors of its plot and the mingled puerility and bombast of its language, was a source of perpetual ridicule to rival poets; while from a certain wild pathos combined with its imposing grandiloquence it was long a favourite with the people. The same person also translated a play by Garnier on the story of Cornelia the wife of Pompey;—a solitary instance apparently of obligation to the French theatre on the part of these founders of our national drama.

By Thomas Hughes the misfortunes of Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon, were made the subject of a tragedy performed before the queen.

Preston, to whom when a youth her majesty had granted a pension of a shilling a day in consideration of his excellent acting in the play of *Palamon and Arcite*, composed on the story of Cambyses, king of Persia, "A lamentable tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth;" which is now only remembered as having been an object of ridicule to Shakespeare.

Lilly, the author of *Euphues*, composed six court comedies and other pieces principally on classical subjects, but disfigured by all the barbarous affectations of style which had marked his earlier production.

Christopher Marlow, unquestionably a man of genius, however deficient in taste and learning,

astonished the world with his Tamburlain the Great, which became in a manner proverbial for its rant and extravagance: he also composed, but in a purer style and with a pathetic cast of sentiment, a drama on the subject of King Edward II.; and ministered relief to the ferocious prejudices of the age by his fiend-like portraiture of Barabas in *The rich Jew of Malta*. Marlow was also the author of a tragedy, in which the sublime and the grotesque were extraordinarily mingled, on the noted story of *Dr. Faustus*; a tale of preternatural horrors, which, after the lapse of two centuries, was again to receive a similar distinction from the pen of one of the most celebrated of German dramatists:—not the only example which could be produced of a coincidence of taste between the early tragedians of the two countries.

Of the works of these and other contemporary poets, the fathers of the English theatre, some are extant in print; others have come down to us in manuscript; and of no inconsiderable portion the titles alone survive. A few have acquired an incidental value in the eyes of the curious, as having furnished the ground-work of some of the dramas of our great poet; but not one of the number can justly be said to make a part of the living literature of the country.

It was reserved for the transcendent genius of Shakespeare alone,—in that infancy of our theatre when nothing proceeded from the crowd of rival dramatists but rude and abortive efforts ridiculed by the learned and judicious of their own age and forgotten by posterity,—to astonish and enchant the nation with those inimitable works which form the perpetual boast and immortal heritage of Englishmen.

By a strange kind of fatality which excites at once our surprise and our unavailing regrets, the domestic and the literary history of this great luminary of his age are almost equally enveloped in doubt and obscurity. Even of the few particulars of his origin and early adventures which have reached us through various channels, the greater number are either imperfectly attested, or exposed to objections of different kinds which render them of little value; and respecting his theatrical life the most important circumstances still remain matter of conjecture, or at best of remote inference.

When Shakespeare first became a writer for the stage;—what was his earliest production;—whether all the pieces usually ascribed to him be really his; and whether there be any others of which he was entirely or in part the author;—what degree of assistance he either received from other dramatic writers or lent to them;—in what chronological order his acknowledged pieces ought to be arranged; and what dates should be assigned to their first representations;—are all questions on which the ingenuity and indefatigable diligence of a crowd of editors, critics and biographers have long been exerted, without producing any considerable approximation to certainty or to general agreement.

On a subject so intricate it will suffice for the purposes of the present work to state a few of the leading facts which appear to rest on the most satisfactory authorities. William Shakespeare, who was born at Stratford in 1564, settled in London about 1586 or 1587; and seems to have almost immediately adopted the profession of an actor. Yet his earliest effort in composition was not of the dramatic kind; for in 1593 he dedicated to his great patron the earl of Southampton, as “the first heir of his invention,” his *Venus and Adonis*, a narrative poem of considerable length in the six-line

stanza then popular. In the subsequent year he also inscribed to the same noble friend his *Rape of Lucrece*; a still longer poem of similar form in the stanza of seven lines: and containing passages of vivid description, of exquisite imagery and of sentimental excellence, which, had he written nothing more, would have entitled him to rank on a level with the author of the *Faery Queen*; and far above all other contemporary poets. He likewise employed his pen occasionally in the composition of sonnets, principally devoted to love and friendship, and written perhaps in emulation of those of Spenser; who as one of these sonnets testifies, was at this period the object of his ardent admiration.

Before the publication however of any one of these poems, he must already have attained considerable note as a dramatic author; since Robert Green, in a satirical piece printed in 1592, speaking of theatrical concerns, stigmatises this “player” as “an absolute *Joannes Factotum*,” and one who was “in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country.”

The tragedy of *Pericles*, which was published in 1609 with the name of Shakespeare in the title, page; and of which Dryden says in one of his prologues to a first play, “Shakespeare’s own muse his *Pericles* first bore;” was probably acted in 1590 and appears to have been long popular. *Romeo and Juliet* was certainly an early production of his muse; and one which excited much interest, as may well be imagined, amongst the younger portion of theatrical spectators.

There is high satisfaction in observing, that the age showed itself worthy of the immortal genius whom it had produced and fostered. It is agreed on all hands that Shakespeare was beloved as a man and admired and patronised as a poet. In the profession of an actor, indeed, his success does not appear to have been conspicuous; but the never-failing attraction of his pieces brought overflowing audiences to the Globe theatre in Southwark, of which he was enabled to become a joint proprietor. Lord Southampton is said to have once bestowed on him a munificent donation of a thousand pounds to enable him to complete a purchase; and it is probable that this nobleman might also introduce him to the notice of his beloved friend the earl of Essex. Of any particular gratuities bestowed on him by her majesty we are not informed: but there is every reason to suppose that he must have received from her on various occasions both praises and remuneration; for we are told that she caused several of his pieces to be represented before her; and that the *Merry Wives of Windsor* in particular owed its origin to her desire of seeing *Falstaff* exhibited as in love.

It remains to notice the principal enactments of Elizabeth respecting the conduct of the theatre; some of which are remarkable. During the early part of her reign, Sunday being still regarded principally in the light of a holiday, her majesty not only selected that day, more frequently than any other, for the representation of plays at court for her own amusement; but by her licence granted to Burbage in 1574 authorised the performance of them at the public theatre on *Sundays only* out of the hours of prayer. Five years after, however, Gosson in his *School of abuse* complains, that the players, “because they are allowed to play every Sunday, make four or five Sundays at least every week.” To limit this abuse, an order was issued by the privy-council in July 1591, purporting that no



plays should be publicly exhibited on Thursdays; because on that day bear-baiting and similar pastimes had usually been practised; and in an injunction to the lord mayor four days after, the representation of plays on Sunday (or the Sabbath as it now began to be called among the stricter sort of people) was utterly condemned; and it was further complained that on "all other days of the week in divers places the players do use to recite their plays, to the great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting and like pastimes; which are maintained for her majesty's pleasure."

In the year 1589 her majesty thought proper to appoint commissioners to inspect all performances of writers for the stage, with full powers to reject and obliterate whatever they might esteem unmannerly, licentious, or irreverent:—a regulation which might seem to claim the applause of every friend to public decency, were not the state in which the dramas of this age have come down to posterity sufficient evidence, that to render these impressive appeals to the passions of assembled multitudes politically and not morally inoffensive, was the genuine or principal motive of this act of power.

In illustration of this remark the following passage may be quoted: "At supper" the queen "would divert herself with her friends and attendants; and if they made her no answer, she would put them upon mirth and pleasant discourse with great civility. She would then admit Tarleton, a famous comedian and pleasant talker, and other such men, to divert her with stories of the town and the common jests and accidents. Tarleton, who was then the best comedian in England, had made a pleasant play; and when it was acting before the queen, he pointed at Raleigh, and said, 'See the knave commands the queen!' for which he was corrected by a frown from the queen: yet he had the confidence to add, that he was of too much and too intolerable a power; and going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the too great power of the earl of Leicester; which was so universally applauded by all present, that she thought fit to bear these reflections with a seeming unconcernedness. But yet she was so offended that she forbid Tarleton and all jesters from coming near her table."

The chancellor, Hatton, besides his other merits and accomplishments, was a cultivator of the drama. In 1568 a tragedy was performed before her majesty and afterwards published, entitled *Tancred and Gismund, or Gismonde of Salerne*; the joint performance of five students of the Temple, who appear each to have taken an act; the fourth bears the signature of Hatton. It is also probable that he gave the queen some assistance in similar pursuits, as her translation of a part of the tragedy of *Hercules Cæteus*, preserved in the Bodleian library, is in his handwriting.

But it was never forgotten by others, nor apparently by himself, that he was brought into notice by his dancing; and we learn from a contemporary letter-writer, that even after he had attained the dignity of lord chancellor he danced on occasions of festivity. We must now leave the Drama.

Francis Bacon, one of, if not the most illustrious man of his time, gave that early promise of his genius which in childhood attracted the admiring observation of Elizabeth herself. In the thirteenth year of his age, an earlier period than was even then customary, he was entered, together with his elder brother Anthony, of Trinity College, Cambridge. At this seat of learning he remained three years,

during which, besides exhibiting his powers of memory and application by great proficiency in the ordinary studies of the place, he evinced the extraordinary precocity of his penetrating and original intellect, by forming the first sketch of a new system of philosophy in opposition to that of Aristotle.

His father, designing him for public life, now sent him to complete his education in the house of Sir Amias Paulet, the queen's ambassador in France. He gained the confidence of this able and honourable man to such a degree, as to be intrusted by him with a mission to her majesty requiring secrecy and dispatch, of which he acquitted himself with great applause. Returning to France, he engaged in several excursions through its different provinces; and diligently occupied himself in the collection of facts and observations, which he afterwards threw together in a "Brief View of the State of Europe;" a work, however juvenile, which is said to exhibit much both of the peculiar spirit and of the method of its illustrious author. But the death of his father, in 1580, put an end to his travels and cast a melancholy blight upon his opening prospects.

For Anthony Bacon, the eldest of his sons by his second marriage, the lord-keeper had handsomely provided by the gift of his manor of Gorbamby; and he had amassed a considerable sum with which he was about to purchase another estate for the portion of the younger, when death interrupted his design; and only one-fifth of this money falling to Francis under the provisions of his father's will, he unexpectedly found himself compelled to resort to the practice of some gainful profession for his support. That of the law naturally engaged his preference. He entered himself of Gray's Inn; and passed within its precincts several studious years, during which he made himself master of the general principles of jurisprudence, as well as of the rules of legal practice in his own country; and he also found leisure to trace the outlines of his new philosophy in a work not now known to exist in a separate state, but incorporated probably in one of his more finished productions. In 1588 her majesty, desirous perhaps of encouraging a more entire devotion of his talents to the study of the law, distinguished him by the title of her counsel extraordinary;—an office of little emolument, though valuable as an introduction to practice. But the genius of Bacon disdained to plod in the trammels of a laborious profession; he felt that it was given him for higher and larger purposes: yet perceiving, at the same time, that the narrowness of his circumstances would prove an insuperable bar to his ambition of becoming, as he once beautifully expressed it, "the servant of posterity," he thus, in 1591, solicited the patronage of his uncle Lord Burleigh: "Again, the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me; for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful; yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get: Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends; for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations and verborities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity, or vain glory, or nature, or, if one take it favourably *philanthropia*, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be

removed. And I do easily see, that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than a man's own; which is the thing I do greatly affect."

Burleigh was no philosopher, though a lover of learning; and it could not perhaps be expected that he should at once perceive how eminently worthy was this labourer of the hire which he was reduced to solicit. He contented himself therefore with procuring for his kinsman the reversion of the place of register of the Star-chamber, worth about sixteen hundred pounds per annum. Of this office however, which might amply have satisfied the wants of a student, it was unfortunately near twenty years before Bacon obtained possession; and during this tedious time of expectation, he was wont to say, "that it was like another man's ground abutting upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barn." He made however a grateful return to the lord-treasurer for this instance of patronage, by composing an answer to a popish libel, entitled "A Declaration of the true Causes of the late Troubles;" in which he warmly vindicated the conduct of this minister, of his own father and of other members of the administration; not forgetting to make a high eulogium on the talents and dispositions of Robert Cecil;—now the most powerful instrument at court to serve or to injure. Unhappily for the fortunes of Bacon and in some respects for his moral character also; this selfish and perfidious statesman was endowed with sufficient reach of intellect to form some estimate of the transcendent abilities of his kinsman; and struck with dread or envy, he seems to have formed a systematic design of impeding by every art his favour and advancement. Unmoved by the eloquent adulation with which Bacon sought to propitiate his regard, he took all occasions to represent him to the queen; and with some degree certainly of justice, though more of malice; as a man of too speculative a turn to apply in earnest to the practical details of business; one moreover whose head was so filled with abstract and philosophical notions, that he would not fail to perplex any public affairs in which he might be permitted to take a lead. The effect of these suggestions on the mind of Elizabeth was greatly aggravated by the conduct of Bacon in the parliament of 1593; in consequence of which her majesty for a considerable time denied him that access to her person with which he had hitherto been freely and graciously indulged.

Some years before this period, Francis Bacon had become known to the earl of Essex; whose genuine love of merit induced him to offer him his friendship and protection. The eagerness with which these were accepted had deeply offended the Cecils; and their displeasure was about this time increased on seeing Anthony Bacon, by his brother's persuasion, enlist himself under the banner of the same political leader.

Anthony, whose singular history is on many accounts worthy of notice, was a man of an inquisitive and crafty turn of mind; and seemingly born for a politician. He, like his brother, had been induced to pay a visit to France, as the completion of a liberal education; and not finding himself involved in the same pecuniary difficulties, he had been enabled to make an abode in that country of much longer duration. From Paris, which he first visited in 1579, he proceeded to Bourges, Geneva, Montpellier, Marseilles, Montauban and Bordeaux, in each of which cities he resided for a considerable

length of time. At the latter place he rendered some services to the protestant inhabitants at great personal hazard. In 1584 he visited Henry IV., then king of Navarre, at Bear; and in 1586 he contracted at Montauban an intimacy with the celebrated Hugonot leader, du Plessis de Mornay. As Anthony Bacon was invested with no public character, his continued and voluntary abode in a catholic country began at length to excite a suspicion in the mind of his mother, his friends and the queen herself, that his conduct was influenced by some secret bias towards the Romish faith;—an impression which received confirmation from the intimacies which he cultivated with several English exiles and pensioners of the king of Spain. This idea appears, however, to have been unfounded. It was often by the express, though secret, request of Burleigh that he formed these connexions; and he had frequently supplied this minister with important articles of intelligence procured from such persons, with whom it was by no means unusual to perform the office of spy to England and to Spain alternately, or even to both at the same time. At length, the urgency of his friends and the clamours of his mother; whose protestant zeal, setting a sharper edge on a temper naturally keen, prompted her to employ expressions of great violence, compelled him, after many delays, to quit the continent; and in the beginning of 1592 he returned to his native country. His miserable state of health, from the gout and other disorders which rendered him a cripple for life, prevented his encountering the fatigues of the usual court attendance; yet he lost no time in procuring a seat in parliament; and his close connexion with the Cecils, joined to the opinion entertained of his political talents, seems to have excited a general expectation of his rising to high importance in the state. But he was not long in discovering that for some unknown reason the lord-treasurer was little his friend; and offended at the coolness with which his secret intelligence from numerous foreign correspondents was received by this minister and his son, in their joint capacity of secretaries of state, he was easily prevailed upon to address himself to Essex.

The earl had by this time learned, that there was no surer mode of recommending himself to her majesty and persuading her of his extraordinary zeal for her service, than to provide her with a constant supply of authentic and early intelligence from the various countries of Europe on which she kept a vigilant and jealous eye. He was accordingly occupied in establishing news-agents in every quarter; and the opportune offers of Anthony Bacon were accepted by him with the utmost eagerness. A connexion was immediately established between them, which ripened with time into so confidential an intimacy, that in 1595 the earl prevailed on Mr. Bacon to accept of apartments in Essex-house; which he continued to occupy till commanded by her majesty to quit them, immediately before the last rash enterprise of his patron.

Struck with the boundless affection manifested by Anthony towards his brother, with whom he had established an entire community of interests, Essex now espoused with more warmth than ever the cause of Francis. He strained every nerve to gain for him, in 1592, the situation of attorney-general: but Burleigh opposed the appointment; Robert Cecil openly expressed to the earl his surprise that he should seek to procure it for a "raw youth;" and her majesty declared that, after the manner in which



Francis Bacon had stood up against her in parliament, admission to her presence was the only favour to which he ought to aspire. She added that in her father's time such conduct would have been sufficient to banish a man the court for life. Lowering his tone, Essex afterwards sought for his friend the office of solicitor-general; but the same prejudices and antipathies still thwarted him; and finding all his efforts vain to establish him in any public station of honour or emolument, he nobly compensated his disappointment and relieved his necessities by the gift of an estate.

The spirit of Bacon was neither a courageous nor a lofty one. He too soon repented of his generous exertions in the popular cause; and sought to atone for them by so entire a submission of himself to her majesty, accompanied with such elegant professions of duty, humility and profound respect, that we can scarcely doubt that a word of solicitation from the lips of Burleigh might have gained him an easy pardon. It is painful to think that any party jealousies, or any compliance with the malignant passions of his son, should so have poisoned the naturally friendly and benevolent disposition of this aged minister, that he could bear to withhold the offices of kindness from the nephew of his late beloved wife; and the son of one of his nearest friends and most cordial coadjutors in public life. But according to the maxims of court-factions his desertion of the Bacons might be justified;—they had made their election, and it was the patronage of Essex which they preferred. Experience taught them too late, that for their own interests they had chosen wrong. Since the death of Leicester, the Cecils had possessed all the real power at the court of Elizabeth: they and they only could advance their adherents. Essex, it is true, through the influence which he exerted over the imagination or the affections of the queen, could frequently obtain grants to himself of real importance and great pecuniary value. But her majesty's singular caprice of temper rendered her jealous of every mark of favour extorted from the tender weakness of her heart; and she appears to have almost made it a rule to compensate every act of bounty towards himself, by some sensible mortification which she made him suffer in the person of a friend. So little was his patronage the road to advancement, that Sir Thomas Smith, clerk of the council, is recorded as the solitary instance of a man preferred out of his household to the service of her majesty; and Bacon himself somewhere says, speaking of the queen, "Against me she is never positive but to my lord of Essex."

Fulk Greville was one of the few who did honour to themselves by becoming at this time the advocate of Francis Bacon with the queen; and his solicitations were heard by her with such apparent complacency, that he wrote to Bacon, that he would wager two to one on his chance of becoming attorney, or at least solicitor-general. But Essex was to be mortified, and the influence of this generous Mæcenas was exerted finally in vain. To his unfortunate choice of a patron then, joined to the misdirected zeal with which that patron pleaded his cause, "in season and out of season," we are to ascribe in part the neglect experienced by Bacon during the reign of Elizabeth. But other causes occurred, which it may be interesting to trace, and which it would be unjust to ascribe to the queen and to Burleigh to pass over in silence.

At the period when Bacon first appealed to the

friendship of the lord-treasurer in a letter still extant, he was already in the thirtieth year of his age; and had borne for two years the character of queen's counsel extraordinary; but to the courts of law he was so entire a stranger that it was not till one or two years afterwards that we find him pleading his first cause. It was pretty evident therefore in 1592, when he sought the office of attorney-general, that pecuniary necessity alone had made it the object of his wishes; and his known inexperience in the practice of the law might reasonably justify in the queen and her ministers some scruple of placing him in so responsible a post. As a philosopher indeed, no encouragement could exceed his deserts; but this was a character which very few even of the learned of that day were capable of appreciating. Physical science, disgraced by its alliance with the "blind experiments" of alchemy and the deluding dreams of judicial astrology, was in possession of few titles to the respect of mankind; and its professors,—credulous enthusiasts for the most part, or designing impostors,—usually ended by bringing shame and loss on such persons as greedy hopes or vain curiosity bribed to become their patrons.

That general "Instauration" of the sciences which the mighty genius of Bacon had projected, was a scheme too vast and too profound to be comprehended by the minds of Elizabeth and her statesmen; and as it was not of a nature to address itself to their passions and interests, we must not wonder if they should have regarded it with indifference. At this period, too, it existed only in embryo; and so little was the public intellect prepared to seize the first hints thrown out by its illustrious author, that even many years afterwards, when his system had been produced to the world nearly in a state of maturity, the general sentiment seems pretty much to have corresponded with the judgment of King James, "that the philosophy of Bacon was like the peace of God which passeth all understanding."

#### *Architecture.*

The following dissertation on the architecture of this period is by Mr. Edmund Aikin, and was published by him, at the conclusion of the work of his talented sister.

During the period of English history included in our present survey, the nobility continued for the most part to inhabit their ancient castles; edifices which, originally adapted by strength of situation and construction merely to defence, were now in many instances, by the alteration of the original buildings and by the accession of additional ones, become splendid palaces. Among these it may be sufficient to mention Kennelworth, renowned for gorgeous festivities, where the earl of Leicester was reported to have expended sixty thousand pounds in buildings.

Some curious notices of the habitations of the time are preserved in Leland's Itinerary, written about 1535, as in the following description of Wreschill-castle near Howden in Yorkshire:—"Most part of the base court is of timber. The castle is moated about on three parts; the fourth part is dry, where the entry is into the castle. Five towers, one at each corner: the gateway is the fifth, having five lodgings in height; three of the other towers have four lodgings in height; the fourth containeth the buttery, pantry, pastry, lardery and kitchen. In one of the towers a study called Paradise, where was a closet in the middle of eight

squares latticed; about and at the top of every square was a desk lodged to set books on, &c. The garde robe in the castle was exceeding fair; and so were the gardens within the mote and the orchards without; and in the orchards were mounts 'opere topiario' written about with degrees like turnings of a cockle-shell, to come to top without pain."

These castles, though converted into dwellings of some convenience and magnificence, still retained formidable strength, which was proved in the following century, when so many of them sustained sieges for the king or parliament and were finally dilapidated.

Besides the regularly fortified castles, there were many mansion-houses of inferior importance, which, though not capable of resisting a regular siege, were strengthened against a tumultuous or hasty invasion. These houses generally formed a square of building enclosing a court and surrounded by a moat. A drawbridge formed the only access, which was protected by an embattled gate-house. One side of the square was principally occupied by a great hall; and the offices and lodgings were distributed on the other sides. Oxburgh-hall in Norfolk and Layer Marney in Essex, are fine examples of these houses. They were frequently of timber, as Moreton-hall in Cheshire, Speke-hall near Liverpool. Leland describes Morley-house near Manchester as "built, saving the foundation of stone squared that riseth within a great mote a six foot above the water;—all of timber; after the common sort of building of the gentlemen for most of Lancashire." Sometimes a strong tower was added at one corner as a citadel, which might be maintained when the rest of the house was destroyed. This is the case with the curious house of Stoke Say in Shropshire, where the situation near the Welsh border might render such an additional security desirable.

Thus the forms of ancient fortification were continued awhile rather from habit or ostentation than from any more important motives; but in the new buildings erected during the reign of Elizabeth and her successor they were finally laid aside. In some stately houses, though the show of strength was discontinued, the general form remained however the same. The circuit of building was entire, and enclosed one or more courts; a gateway formed the entrance, and the great hall was placed at the opposite side of the first court. Such was Audley End, in its original state one of the largest and most sumptuous houses in the kingdom. In other instances the house assumes the half H shape, with the offices placed in the wings; and the circuit is only completed by terraces and low walls; the gate-house remains as a detached lodge, or is entirely omitted: examples of this form are numerous; as Holland-house at Kensington, Oxnead and Blickling halls in Norfolk, Beaudesert and Wimbledon-house, built by Sir Thomas Cecil in 1588; remarkable for a great ascent of steps and terraces disposed in a manner resembling some Italian villas. In others the offices are detached in separate masses, or concealed, or placed in a basement story; and only the body of the house remains, either as a solid mass or enclosing small courts: this disposition does not differ from the most modern arrangements. Of these houses Longleat in Wiltshire and Wollaton near Nottingham are fine examples.

The distribution of domestic buildings is well illustrated in the Survey of Theobald's taken by the Parliament's Commissioners in 1650. This mansion was built by Lord Burleigh about 1560: it afterwards became a favourite residence of James I.

who received it from Lord Salisbury in exchange for the manor and palace of Hatfield. The Survey contains a very minute and accurate description of Theobald's palace, from which the following account is given partly in the words of the old surveyors.—It consisted of two principal quadrangles; besides the dial court, the buttery court and the dove-house court in which the offices were situated. The fountain court was a square of eighty-six feet, on the east side of which was a cloister of seven arches. On the ground floor of this quadrangle was a spacious hall; the roof of which was arched with carved timber of curious workmanship. On the same floor were the Lord Holland's, the marquis of Hamilton's and Lord Salisbury's apartments; the council chamber and waiting room. On the second floor was the presence chamber, finished with carved oak wainscoting and a ceiling full of gilded pendants. Also the privy chamber, the withdrawing room, the king's bedchamber and a gallery one hundred and twenty-three feet long; "wainscoted with oak; and paintings over the same of divers cities, rarely painted and set forth; with a fret ceiling, with divers pendants, roses, and flower-de-luces; also divers large stags' heads, which were an excellent ornament to the same." On the upper floor were the lord chamberlain's lodgings and several other apartments, with terrace walks on the leads. At each corner stood a high and fair tower, and over the hall in the middle "a large and fair turret in the fashion of a lantern, curiously wrought with divers pinnacles at each corner, wherein hangeth twelve bells for chiming and a clock with chimes and sundry work." The middle court was a quadrangle of one hundred and ten feet square, on the south side of which were the queen's chapel, presence chamber, and other apartments. The prince's lodgings were on the north side; on the east side was a cloister, over which was the green gallery, one hundred and nine feet by twelve feet, "excellently well painted with the several shires in England and the arms of the noblemen and gentlemen in the same." Over the gallery was a leaded walk, on which were two lofty arches of brick, "of no small ornament to the house and rendering it comely and pleasant to all that passed by." On the west side of the quadrangle was another cloister on five arches; over which were the duke's lodgings and over them the queen's gallery. On the south side of the house stood a large open cloister, built upon several large fair pillars, arched over "with a fair rail and ballustris; well painted with the kings and queens of England and the pedigree of the old Lord Burleigh and divers other ancient families; with paintings of many castles and battles." The gardens at Theobald's were large; and ornamented with labyrinths, canals and fountains. The great garden contained seven acres; besides which there were the pheasant garden, privy garden and laundry garden. In the former were nine knots artificially and exquisitely made, one of which was set forth in likeness of the king's arms. This description, and Bacon's idea of a palace in his forty-fifth Essay, with their numerous cloisters, galleries and turrets, are well illustrated by the plan of Audley End, in its original state, given in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, vol. ii. It is such a mansion also that is described in the following lines of a contemporary poet.

"High lifted up were many lofty towers,  
And goodly galleries far overlaid,  
Full of fair windows and delightful bowers;  
And on the top a dial told the timely hours."

FABY QUEEN, B. I. Canto IV.



The houses erected during the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, were frequently of magnificent dimensions: picturesque from the varied lines and projections of the plan and elevation; and rich by the multiplicity of parts; but they had lost all beauty of detail. The builders, having abandoned the familiar and long practised Gothic style, were now to serve their apprenticeship in Grecian architecture: "stately Doric and neat Ionic work" were introduced as fashionable novelties; employed first in the porches and frontispieces and gradually extended over the whole fronts of buildings. Among the architects employed at this period some foreign names occur. Holbein was much favoured by Henry VIII., and gave various designs for buildings at the old palaces of Whitehall and St. James's. John of Padua had a salary as deviser of his majesty's buildings; and was employed to build the palace of the Protector Somerset. Jerome de Trevisi is also mentioned; and it is said that the designs for Longleat and a model of Audley End, were obtained from Italy. The last circumstance is altogether extraordinary; this was the very best period of Italian architecture; and it seems highly improbable that semi-barbarous designs should proceed from the country of Palladio and Vignola. Thorpe, Smithson and other Englishmen, were also eminent builders; and probably these persons might have travelled and thus have gained the imperfect knowledge of Grecian architecture which appears in their works. They were immediately followed by Inigo Jones, who formed his style particularly on the works of Palladio, and became the founder of classic architecture in this country.

There is a remarkable and beautiful analogy between the progress of Grecian and Gothic architecture; in both of which we find, that while the powers of decoration were extended, the process of construction was improved and simplified. Thus the Doric, the primitive order, is full of difficulties in its arrangement, which render it only applicable to simple plans and to buildings where the internal distribution is of inferior consequence. The Ionic, though more ornamental, is by the suppression of divisions in the frieze so simplified as to be readily applicable to more complicated arrangements: still the capital presents difficulties from the dissimilarity of the front and sides; which objection is finally obviated by the introduction of that rich and exquisite composition, the Corinthian capital. Thus is obtained an order of the most elegant and ornamented character, but possessing a happy simplicity and regularity of composition which render it more easy of application than any other. In like manner in the latter, which has been called the florid style of Gothic architecture, there are buildings astonishingly rich and elaborate; but we find this excess of ornament supported and rendered practicable by a principle of simplicity in design and construction. In the earlier and middle styles of Gothic there are various difficulties of execution and some faults of disposition: such as the slender detached shafts, the richly carved capitals, the flowing and varied tracery of windows; and that profuse variety in detail which frequently causes all the windows, capitals, buttresses and principles of the same buildings to differ from one another. But the later style has more uniformity in corresponding parts; the capitals are very generally composed of plain mouldings; and the divisions of the windows consist chiefly of horizontal and perpendicular lines, with few of the

beautiful and difficult combinations of curves which are found in the preceding style. The general principle of decoration is to leave no plain surface, but to divide the whole into a series of panelling; by which is produced an extraordinary richness of effect, though the parts, when examined separately, are generally of simple forms and such as will admit of an easy and mechanical execution. The introduction of the four-centred arch enlarged the powers of design; enabled architects in many instances to proportion better the vault to the upright; and even to introduce vaults where they would have been inapplicable in the former style, on account of the want of elevation in rooms; as in the divinity school at Oxford. Without concurring in the ignorant wonder which has raised the vaulted ceilings of this style to the rank of mysteries; we may admire the ingenuity which has rendered real simplicity of construction the foundation of beautiful forms and of the most elaborate decoration. The most celebrated examples of this style are so highly finished, so exuberant in ornament, that the term "florid" has been applied as a characteristic epithet for the style; but there are many instances of very simple and unornamented buildings of the same period agreeing in all the essential principles of construction and design; and a late writer has with more propriety adopted the term "perpendicular" for this mode of architecture. This later Gothic; easy of construction and possessing a variety of character applicable to every kind of building; is well adapted for modern imitation.

But the power of mutability was at work; and Gothic architecture was doomed to fall. The first step towards its decline was pursuing to excess the principle of simplification and retrenching the most essential ornaments. The large windows of houses were merely divided by horizontal and upright bars; and, deprived of tracery and feathering, were as void of beauty in the details as in the general proportions; buttresses and battlements were generally omitted. A great deterioration took place in the decorative part; the ornamental panels and friezes of the Gothic style, consisting of geometrical combinations of circles and straight lines, had always a distinct outline and a sharpness of effect which contrasted agreeably with the foliage so often intermixed; but these were succeeded by strange grotesque combinations; confused, and void of outline and regularity. The source of ornament was now sought in the orders and members of Grecian architecture: but the eyes which had been accustomed to the Gothic flutter of parts, were not prepared to relish the simplicity of line which is essential to the beauty of the Greek style. Columns of a small size, inaccurately and coarsely executed, with arcades and grotesque caryatids, formed the ornaments of porches and frontispieces,—as at Browsholme-house in Yorkshire, Wimbeldon, and the Schools-tower at Oxford,—or were spread over the whole front and formed the cloisters and galleries in which those ancient mansions abounded; as at Holland-house, Longleat, Wollaton, Audley End, Longford-castle, &c. The roofs were either faced with notched and curved gables, or screened by parapets of ballustrades or latticed work; and decorated with obelisks and columnar chimney shafts; while turrets and pavilions broke the line of elevation. The windows were very large and frequently bowed: thus Bacon remarks, in the Essay before referred to, that "you shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass that one cannot tell where the

become to be out of the sun or cold." In wooden houses; and particularly town houses, the upper stories generally projected beyond the lower, with windows extremely wide, so as to occupy almost the whole line of front. The timbers were frequently left bare, carved and disposed in forms of panelling; while the various projections were supported by grotesque figures. Very curious houses of this character are still found in several old towns, as Chester, Shrewsbury, Coventry and the obscure parts of London; though natural decay, fire, and modern improvements, are continually diminishing their number. Among interior decorations, chimney-pieces were very conspicuous: they were miniature frontispieces, consisting, like the porches of the houses, of a mass of columns, arches, niches, and caryatids, piled up to the ceiling. Of these there is one at the old Tabley-hall in Cheshire singularly rude and grotesque; though dated so late as 1619; containing a hunting-piece and the figures of Lucrece and Cleopatra. Another in Queen Elizabeth's gallery at Windsor-castle is very rich; and comparatively pure and elegant in design. The sepulchral monuments of this age are very numerous, but only differ from those of an earlier date in the substitution of the members of Grecian for those of Gothic architecture, or rather in the confused mixture of both.

The unformed style of this period is well characterized in the following lines of Spenser, describing the access to the island containing the temple of Venus.

"It was a bridge ybuilt in goodly wise,  
With curious corbs and pendants graven fair;  
And arched all with porches did arise  
On stately pillars framed after the Doric guise."

FÆRRY QUEEN, B. IV. Canto X.

On the whole, this, though a glorious period for literature, was lost for the fine arts. The incongruous mixture of the conflicting principles of Grecian and Gothic architecture produced buildings more truly barbarous, more disgusting to a cultivated taste, than the rudest Norman work. Together with the architectural orders, our artists had received models and authorities for the grotesque style; which they were but too ready to follow. This extraordinary style of ornament had prevailed in ancient Rome early enough to be reprobated in the work of Vitruvius; and lay unobserved among obscure and subterranean ruins till the discovery of the Baths of Titus opened a rich magazine of gay and capricious ornament. Raffaele, struck with these remains of the antique art of painting, adopted the same style of ornament in the galleries of the Vatican; enriching and enlivening it with the stores of allegory and mythology furnished by his poetical fancy. The example of such a man could not want imitators; it influenced the whole architecture of France;—which very early possessed artists of great merit;—and appeared in this country with very inferior effect. It may well be imagined that this style, naturally licentious and only rendered tolerable by grace of composition and brilliancy of execution, would become utterly contemptible when presenting only coarsely executed and unmeaning extravagances.

Such was the general character of art. We may however make discriminations, and admit comparative merit. Wimbledon-house, seated on the side of a hill, was remarkable for a magnificent disposition of steps and terraces worthy an Italian villa. Wollaton-hall is admired by Mr. Price for the

grandeur of its masses. Charlton-house has a very picturesque arrangement of heights in the elevation; Longleat, on the other hand, has much simplicity of form. In its square projections and three orders of columns or pilasters, it bears no remote resemblance to the ancient part of the Louvre built about thirty years previously; though without the purity and delicacy of the details of the architecture and sculpture which distinguish the French building.

We cannot close our account of this illustrious period of our annals, without dwelling for a few sentences, on the amazing concentration in it, of every kind of intellectual power and superiority. We cannot run over in our minds the prominent names of the reign of Elizabeth, without feeling that glow which genius alone can excite: they act as a talisman on the remembrance, and we feel that we are communing with intellects of the loftiest kind; intellects, that framed and then gave an impulse to that advancement of society, which has not yet even reached its flood; and which promises, ere it does, to do more for the human race than had ever previously been even contemplated by the most comprehensive minds. To the art of government, the preceding pages will tell what vigorous minds applied themselves. In divinity, the name of Hooker would be sufficient to redeem a much more advanced period. In poetry, what names will ever compare to Shakspeare and Spenser, and a host of writers only secondary, because the more prominent surpassed all that had preceded them. In enterprise, we have the inspiring names of Raleigh, Frobisher, Drake, Cavendish, &c. In chivalrous honour, in the true exemplification of the title gentleman, the brilliant Sidney and Southamptons. In philosophy, the immortal Bacon. In fact, it is a catalogue of names so estimable, that without being accused of national vanity, every Englishman may boast, that no annals exist that can equal it. Religious and civil liberty; sound principles of moral and physical philosophy; an enlightened system of commercial enterprise and naval aggrandizement; a correct and profound taste in poetry; an extension and invigoration of the human mind; in fact, all that can aid or adorn the development of society; may be traced to the talent and genius of that illustrious band of men, whom the guiding mind of Elizabeth fostered and encouraged.

The self-aggrandizement of a period, for a time, conferred on the era of Anne, the false praise, that it was the Augustan age of English literature and art. This misplaced flattery is now universally derided; and many admirers of Elizabeth's period have somewhat absurdly applied it to her time. But all well acquainted with her history, must feel that the comparison is far more complimentary to the Roman annals than ours. The highly polished but artificial geniuses that decorated the luxurious court of the first emperor; the imitators and polishers of all that had gone before them; the minions of a usurper and the perfecters of an exhausted literature; the precursors of a decaying nation,—setting gradually, though gloriously, amidst erroneous systems; were a very different race to the vigorous, but somewhat rough, geniuses of Elizabeth's court, who laid the foundation of an empire greater even in extent, and far more so in power, than the Roman; who swayed the moral as well as the physical world; and laid foundations "broad and deep," whereon is erecting a new and universal fabric of society.



If classical comparisons are to be made, let us rather look to the era when Socrates overthrew the Sophist, and Euripides humanized the Athenians. But such parallels are at the best idle, and there is none that can exalt the constellation of genius that circled our Elizabeth.

We cannot take leave of this interesting reign, without alluding to a modern monument of art, that worthily commemorates the period it so nobly illustrates. The costly lover of refined art, should he ever glance at our pages, will immediately know we refer to Bone's enamel gallery of the illustrious of Elizabeth's reign. This collection of pictures, as an imperishable record of these heroes of our history,

should be enshrined amongst the archives of the nation. They would reflect a treble honour on us as a great national record, as an inimitable specimen of art, and as a proof of our possessing an artist, who, like our early dramatists, at once elevated and carried to its utmost perfection an invention, previously confined to mere elegance and decoration. This fine collection of pictures should never be allowed the chance of being separated, but should be secured for the advantage of succeeding generations, if for no other motive, as a stimulus for the propagation of an art which secures a history far more durable and illustrative than even that by medals.

END OF VOL. I.







PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---

DA  
30  
T65  
v.1

Tomlins, Frederick Guest  
A history of England



UTL AT DOWNSVIEW



D RANGE BAY SHLF POS ITEM C  
39 14 18 22 05 008 1